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CONTENTS

PART I

ENGLISH HISTORY

SUMMARY

CHAPTER I.—THE EDUCATION BILL

Public awaits Invasion of Continent, 1. British Air Offensive, 1. American Air Offensive, 2. Protests against Bomb Damage, 2. Government Reply, 3. Successes against U-boats, 3. Progress in Italy, 3. Landing at Nettuno, 4. Disappointing Results, 4. German Counter-attacks, 5. Allies reach Cassino, 5. By-election Surprises, 5. Labour Party Food Policy, 6. Reinstatement in Civil Employment Bill, 6. Education Bill Second Reading, 7. Lord Beaverbrook on Civil Aviation, 8. British Contribution to U.N.R.R.A., 9. Government's Road Plans, 9. Mr. Hudson's Controversy with the Farmers, 9. New Judges Appointed, 10. Foreign Secretary on Japanese Atrocities, 11. Conference on Electoral Reform, 11. Extension of "Pay-as-you-earn" Income Tax, 12. Protests against House of Commons Disqualification Bill, 12. White Paper on National Health Service, 12. Threat to Allied Force at Anzio, 13. Bombing of Monte Cassino Abbey, 14. Lord Chancellor on Protection of Monuments, 14. Prime Minister on British War Achievements, 15. On continuation of the Air Assault, 15. On the Campaign in Italy, 16. On British Attitude to Italy, 16. To Yugoslavia, 17. To Poland, 17. Criticism in the Commons, 18. Government By-election Success, 18. Discontent in the Minefields, 18. South Wales Strike, 19. Negotiations with the Minister of Fuel, 19. Wage Agreement causes new Outbreak, 20. Mr. Bevin's Warning to Miners, 20. T.U.C. General Council's Appeal, 20. Men Return to Work, 20. Royal Commission on Population, 21. Intensified Aerial Bombing of Germany, 21. Activity of Luftwaffe, 21. Air Minister's Review of Work of R.A.F., 21. Air Minister on Civil Aviation Policy, 22. War Minister on Reorganisation of Army, 23. Demand for Increase in Army Pay, 24. First Lord's Review of U-boat War, 24. First Lord on Demand for Shipping Space, 25. Civil Service Pensions Increase, 25. Lord Cranborne on Treatment of Racial Minorities, 25. Education Bill Committee Stage, 26. Government Defeat, 26. Prime Minister's Decision, 27. The Vote of Confidence, 27. Government Concessions, 27. Public Anxiety on Housing, 27. Lord Portal's Programme, 27. Mr. Willink's Statement, 28. Further Details, 29. Disappointment of the House, 29. Criticism in the Lords, 29. Prime Minister's Statement, 30. Committee on Basic English, 30. Commons Invitation to Congress, 31. Suspension of Travel between Great Britain and Eire, 31. Fighting at Cassino, 32. Increased Bombing of Germany, 32. British Invasion of Arakan, 32. British Invasion of Upper Burma, 33. Accounts for 1943-44, 33.

CHAPTER II.—INVASION OF NORMANDY

Government's Invasion Plans, 33. Diplomatic Ban Imposed, 34. Bombing of Communications, 34. Eclipse of the Luftwaffe, 34. Japanese Invasion of

Manipur, 35. New Water Supply Plan, 35. New Agreement in Coal Industry, 36. Defence Regulation 1AA, 36. Opposition in Commons, 37. Mr. Bevan's Revolt, 37. Budget Statement, 37. Cost of Subsidies, 38. External Finance, 39. Concessions to Business, 40. Estimates for Coming Year, 40. Criticism in Commons, 40. White Paper on Monetary Policy, 41. Criticism of Scheme, 42. Lord Keynes's Defence, 42. Premier on Imperial Preference, 43. New Imperial Conference, 43. Prime Minister's Leadership, 44. Wolfram Agreements with Spain and Portugal, 45. Report on Training of Teachers, 45. Education Bill Passed, 45. Plans for Civil Aviation Conference, 46. New Vote of Credit, 46. Control of Delegated Legislation, 46. Dairy Inspection Scheme, 47. British Prisoners Murdered, 47. White Paper on Full Employment, 47. Comparison with Barlow Report, 49. Mr. Bevin on its Importance, 50. Debate in Commons, 51. Electoral Reform Report, 51. The Food Situation, 52. Commons and Regulation 18B, 52. Allied Progress in Italy, 52. Capture of Rome, 53. Signs of Coming Invasion, 53. Prime Minister's Review of Foreign Situation, 53. Criticism in Commons, 55. Arrangements for Administering Liberated Territories, 55. Bombing of French Coast Line, 55. Preparations for Invasion, 56. Weather Uncertainties, 56. First Landing in Normandy, 56. Prime Minister's Report, 56. Capture of Bayeux, 57. Fighting round Caen, 57. Americans Capture Cherbourg, 58. British Capture Caen, 58. Further Progress in Italy, 58. Capture of Leghorn and Ancona, 59. Japanese driven from Manipur, 59. Lord Mountbatten on the Burma Campaign, 59. Commencement of Flying Bomb Raids, 60. Public Concern, 61. Premier's Statement, 61. Exodus from London, 63. Government's Building Policy, 63. Town and Country Planning Bill, 63. White Paper on Urban Development, 63. Mr. W. S. Morrison on Town and Country Planning Bill, 64. Reception in Commons, 65. New Facilities for Local Authorities, 65. Commons and Temporary Bungalows, 66. Fleming Report on Public Schools, 66. Home Secretary on Emergency Powers, 67. City of London Reconstruction Plan, 68. Lords' Amendments to Education Bill, 68. Plan for Disposal of Surplus War Stocks, 68. New War-time Elections Bill, 69. Speaker's Conference on Candidates' Expenses, 69. Mr. Amery on Indian Situation, 70. Home Secretary's Breach of Law, 70. Further Fighting round Caen, 71. Americans reach Avranches, 71. Allied Casualties, 71. Capture of Florence, 72. Premier on Military Situation, 72. On Relations with France, 73.

CHAPTER III.—LIBERATION OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM

Americans advance from Avranches, 73. Canadian Offensive towards Falaise, 74. Destruction of German Seventh Army, 74. Allied Landing in S. France, 74. Changes in Allied Command, 75. British Advance to Belgian Frontier, 75. Liberation of Belgium, 75. End of Flying-bomb Assault, 76. Extent of Damage, 76. Housing Problem in London, 77. Government Measures, 77. Airborne Attack on Holland, 77. British Advance to Nijmegen, 78. Airborne Attack on Arnhem, 78. Securing of Nijmegen Salient, 78. Canadian Advance in Coastal Sector, 79. Po Valley Reached by British Eighth Army, 79. By American Fifth Army, 79. Redistribution of Seats Bill, 80. Government's Demobilisation Plans, 80. Increases in Service Pay, 81. New Social Insurance Scheme, 81. New Workmen's Compensation Scheme, 82. Mr. Churchill in Quebec, 82. Premier's War Survey, 83. Size of British Armies, 83. Political Changes in Europe, 83. Temporary Housing Bill Passed, 84. Changes in Town and Country Planning Bill, 84. Opposition to Compensation Clauses, 85. Premier's Intervention, 85. Commons' Decision, 85. Revision of the Clauses, 86. Boundary Commission Amendment, 86. Revised Clauses Adopted, 86. Ministerial Changes, 87. Redistribution of Seats Bill Passed, 87. Allied lack of Ports, 87. Bombing of Walcheren, 88. Canadians Attack on South Bank of Scheldt, 88. Clearing of the Estuary, 88. Advances by British Second Army, 89. Trade Union Congress, 89. Congress and Trades Disputes Act, 90. Attitude on German People's Responsibility, 90. White Paper on Regulation of Air Transport, 90.

CHAPTER IV.—THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME

Expectation of Victory in Near Future, 91. Parties and the General Election, 91. Mr. Churchill in Moscow, 92. Report in Parliament, 92. Recognition of Pro-

CONTENTS

vii

visional French Government, 93. Premier's Statement on Dissolution, 93. British Export Trade Figures, 93. First Lord on Shipping Prospects, 94. Sir W. Jowitt on Social Security Plan, 94. Chancellor of Exchequer's Warning, 95. Home Secretary on Workmen's Compensation Plan, 95. Minister of National Insurance Appointed, 95. Mr. Bevin on Demobilisation Scheme, 96. Report on Rebuilding of House of Commons, 96. Plans for Redistribution of Man-Power, 97. Britain's Mobilisation Effort, 97. Reciprocal Aid to U.S., 98. White Paper on Civil Service Recruitment, 99. Government's Views on Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 99. Ministerial Changes, 100. New Session Opened, 101. Premier on the Programme, 101. Future of Lend-Lease, 102. Prospects for Export Trade, 102. Slow Progress in Housing, 103. Labour Suspicions of Government's Foreign Policy, 103. British Troops Clash with E.A.M., 104. Mr. Cock's Motion, 104. Premier's Defence, 105. Mr. Eden's Speech, 106. The Division, 106. Situation Worsens, 106. Labour Party Conference: Chairman's Address, 106. Decision to remain in Government, 107. Economic Programme, 107. Resolution on Greek Crisis, 107. Mr. E. Bevin's Speech, 108. Labour Party's Attitude to Premier, 108. Debate in Commons, 108. Premier's Visit to Athens, 109. Defence of his Policy, 109. Government's Polish Policy, 110. British Second Army Advance to Venlo, 111. British and American Air Activity, 111. Rocket Bombs on London, 111. Fighting in Italy, 112. Progress in Burma, 112. Disbandment of Home Guard, 113. Fixing of Agricultural Prices, 113. Wages Councils Bill, 114. Plan for Greater London, 114. Postponement of Final Victory, 114.

IMPERIAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

IRELAND	page 116
-------------------	----------

CHAPTER II

CANADA	122
------------------	-----

CHAPTER III

SOUTH AFRICA [<i>by G. V. Taylor</i>]	135
---	-----

CHAPTER IV

AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND [<i>both by Christine Comber, B.A.</i>]	142
---	-----

CHAPTER V

INDIA AND BURMA [<i>by Sir Frank Brown, C.I.E.</i>]	162
---	-----

FOREIGN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS	169
---------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER II

FRANCE AND ITALY	177
----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER III

GERMANY [<i>by Dr. D. E. Mende</i>]	187
---	-----

CHAPTER IV

SOVIET RUSSIA [<i>by D. Mowshowitch</i>] —THE BALTIC STATES—POLAND—CZECHOSLOVAKIA—HUNGARY—ROMANIA—YUGOSLAVIA—TURKEY—GREECE—BULGARIA—ALBANIA	197
--	-----

CHAPTER V

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE : BELGIUM—THE NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—DENMARK—ICELAND—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND	241
---	-----

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA : EGYPT AND THE SUDAN—PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN—SYRIA AND THE LEBANON—ARABIA—ARAB UNITY—IRAQ [<i>all six by A. M. Hyamson</i>] —IRAN—TANGIER	280
--	-----

CHAPTER VII

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN	293
--------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VIII

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL—CHILE—COLOMBIA—CUBA—ECUADOR—EL SALVADOR	302
--	-----

PART II

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN 1944	page 323
RETROSPECT OF LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1944	333
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">Literature, p. 333—Art [<i>by Hilda F. Finberg</i>], p. 359—Drama [<i>by W. A. Darlington</i>], p. 364—The Cinema [<i>by Monica Ewer</i>], p. 366—Music [<i>by W. McNaught</i>], p. 369—The Biological Sciences [<i>by W. B. Brierley, D.Sc.</i>], p. 374—The Physical Sciences, p. 382.</p>	
FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1944	387
LAW IN 1944	403
PUBLIC DOCUMENTS	408
I. Empire Prime Ministers' Statement	408
II. Summary of Agreements of Bretton Wood Conference	409
III. Proposals for the establishment of a General International Organisation (Dumbarton Oaks Conference)	411
IV. The Franco-Soviet Treaty	421
V. The Declaration of Philadelphia (The Philadelphia Labour Charter)	422
OBITUARY OF EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1944	425
INDEX	477

PREFATORY NOTE

THE Editor of THE ANNUAL REGISTER once again expresses his thanks to *The Times* for permission to make use of matter published in its columns.

MR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S WAR ADMINISTRATION

(TOOK OFFICE MAY 10, 1940)

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<i>Minister of War Transport</i>	Lord Leathers.
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<i>Minister of State</i>	Rt. Hon. Richard Law.
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<i>Minister Resident in West Africa</i>	{ Rt. Hon. Viscount Swinton (till Oct. 9).
	{ Captain Rt. Hon. H. H. Balfour (from Nov. 21).
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	{ Rt. Hon. Duncan Sandys (from Nov. 21).
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<i>Financial Secretary to the War Office</i>	Major A. Henderson.
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SCOTLAND

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<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Rt. Hon. J. S. C. Reid, K.C.
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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1944

PART I

ENGLISH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATION BILL

At the opening of 1944 preparations were being actively made in Great Britain for an invasion of the Continent. Four weeks before, the Teheran Conference had proclaimed that the time for this undertaking, so long and so ardently awaited by the nation at large, was at length approaching ; and before the end of 1943 the invasion chiefs, Generals Eisenhower and Montgomery and Air Chief Marshal Tedder, had already transferred their headquarters from North Africa to Great Britain. It was natural therefore for the public to expect that the event would not be long delayed, though the nature of the preparations on foot, as also the exact time and place of the projected invasion, remained of course the secret of the High Command. The public also assumed rather light-heartedly that once the invasion started it would bring the war against Germany to a close by the end of 1944 at latest, and probably long before. Official spokesmen, however, were careful not to commit themselves to this view, and even hinted that a prolongation far into 1945 was by no means to be ruled out. They also warned the public that the enemy would almost certainly deal vigorous counter-blows both against the invading armies and against the population of the British Isles, and that victory, though ultimately assured, might be costly.

Even without an invasion, however, the military situation in the early part of the year continued to develop steadily in favour of the Allies. The improvement was due principally to the brilliant successes of the Russians on the Eastern Front, but the air offensive launched from Great Britain again made a powerful

contribution. The assault on Berlin which had been commenced in November was continued in January and February. Heavy raids on the city were carried out by the Royal Air Force on the nights of January 2, January 3, January 20, January 27, January 30, and February 15. New records were repeatedly set up in the weight of bombs dropped in a single raid ; from about a thousand tons in the first two it rose to 2,300 tons on January 20, and to over 2,500 tons on February 15, while the average also consistently went up. Other heavy raids were carried out during the same period by the R.A.F. on Stettin (January 5), Magdeburg (January 21), Leipzig (February 19), and Stuttgart (February 20).

While the Royal Air Force was continually improving its performances, the American Eighth Army Air Force based in England, which confined itself to daylight operations, made even more rapid strides, and, from being merely ancillary to the British force, bade fair to rival and even surpass it in military importance. Hitherto the need of sending out fighter escort with its bombers had restricted its field of operations to France and the fringe of Western Germany. With the aid, however, of a new type of fighter it was now able to range farther afield ; and on January 11 it broke new ground by sending a force of 700 bombers with fighter escort as far as Brunswick, where by means of precision bombing three great aircraft factories were put out of action. The raiders also carried on a running fight with German fighter planes which tried to intercept them, and shot down over a hundred and fifty of them. The Americans it is true lost sixty bombers and five fighters, but the loss did not seem excessive in view of the numbers engaged and the results achieved. From this time daylight raids over Western Germany became a regular part of the work of the American Air Force, and they soon attained a scale comparable to that of the British night raids. Particularly heavy raids were carried out on Frankfurt (February 8) and Leipzig (February 20). These raids also had the advantage over the British in leading frequently to running fights with the German Air Force in which large numbers of German fighter planes were destroyed.

The devastation wrought by the Allied bombing in Germany was not witnessed without qualms by many people in England. On February 9 in the House of Lords a protest was made by the Bishop of Chichester against the method of area bombing, which had been begun in the spring of 1942, and in which it was no longer definite military and industrial objectives that were the aim of the bombers, but the whole town. While admitting that the killing of civilians as the result of *bona fide* military operations was inevitable, his Lordship held that the obliteration of towns was not a justifiable war objective, and he cautioned the Government against taking such a barbarian as Hitler as their pattern. His plea was reinforced by Lord Lang, the former Archbishop of

Canterbury, who thought that recent attacks on cities like Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Berlin went a long way beyond what had hitherto been the declared policy of the Government and the High Command. He also deplored the spread among the public of a certain spirit of exultation over the sufferings of their enemies which seemed to involve a lamentable lapse in their moral outlook.

Lord Cranborne in reply pointed out that the Royal Air Force had never indulged in purely terror raids like those perpetrated by the Luftwaffe. The air offensive was planned with the one end of bringing the war to an end at the earliest possible moment, and so saving the victims of Nazi persecution from further miseries. For that purpose they had to try to paralyse German war industries, and if this could not be done without bringing to a standstill the whole life of the cities in which they were situated, they had to accept the implication. He therefore could hold out no hope that they would abate the bombing policy; on the contrary they would continue it against suitable targets with increasing power and with more crushing effect until victory was secured.

Such news as was given of the defensive war at sea in the early part of the year was no less satisfactory than that of the offensive in the air. The usual monthly statement issued on January 10 announced that total merchant tonnage lost by U-boat action in December had again been low, despite an extension of operating areas. The merchant ship tonnage sunk by U-boats in 1943 had been only 40 per cent. of that sunk in 1942, and of this amount only a quarter had been lost in the second half of the year. The record for January was equally good; if fewer U-boats were sunk in the two months, it was because they were showing increased caution.

On land the record was not so good. There was no setback, but practically no progress either. In spite of all the talk about a second front, which kept the public on the tiptoe of expectation, nothing was undertaken in January and February in addition to the operations in progress in Italy. Here too the advance, which had been slow enough before, was brought almost to a standstill. The New Year found the Eighth Army a little beyond Ortona on the Adriatic advancing towards Pescara. Here, after capturing the height of San Tommasso, they were brought to a halt by the combined influence of enemy resistance and inclement weather; and patrol activities thenceforward formed the limit of their operations.

No sooner, however, had the Eighth Army ceased to advance than the Fifth Army on the western coast began to surge forward. On the night of January 4 an attack was launched from the Garigliano River along a 10 mile front with the road to Rome at its centre. American troops on the extreme right after severe fighting captured San Vittore on January 9, and commenced to advance on Cassino, which commanded the road to Rome. By

January 11 they had cleared the enemy from the heights overlooking Cervaro, 4 miles from Cassino, and Cervaro itself was captured on the next day. On January 15 they captured the important height of Monte Trocchio, and on the next day reached the Rapido River and the so-called "Gustav line" of the Germans, which barred the approach to Cassino. This marked the limit of their advance for the moment.

It was now the turn of the British on the left wing, at the mouth of the Garigliano River, to strike. On January 17 they crossed the river in boats and rafts and established a bridgehead on the northern side, in the face of determined enemy resistance. On the 20th they took Minturno, and on the next day they reached the outskirts of Castelforte, a little higher up the river. Here, however, they met with strong enemy resistance which brought them to a standstill.

At this point the Allies carried out a diversion which promised to transform in their favour the whole military situation. On January 22 before dawn British and American forces from the Fifth Army landed on the beaches round Nettuno, 32 miles south of Rome. Taken completely by surprise, the Germans offered practically no resistance, and the Allies were able without loss to establish a substantial bridgehead and land large quantities of troops and equipment. Not till five days had passed did the enemy seriously contest their advance, and by that time they had firmly entrenched themselves to a depth of at least 6 miles inland from Nettuno and Anzio on the coast.

The news of the Nettuno landings raised the most sanguine hopes among the public in England. They obviously constituted a threat at once to the city of Rome and to the German communications between that city and the forces facing the Fifth Army; and it was fully expected that if the Germans determined to guard Rome—as seemed most likely—they would have to withdraw forces from the south and would so give an opening to the Fifth Army to push forward. Alternatively, it seemed that Rome would fall an easy prey to the Allies advancing from Anzio.

Matters in fact turned out quite differently. So far was the enemy from weakening his southern front that on January 23 he made exceptionally fierce and violent counter-attacks against the Fifth Army along the lower reaches of the Garigliano River and inland along the Gustav line. These attacks, it is true, were decisively repulsed, but only after several days of heavy fighting during which, of course, the Allies made no progress whatever; for a time they even lost the important height of Monte Croce to the Germans.

Meanwhile the Allied forces on the Anzio beach had been consolidating their position and advancing steadily inland. Before the end of the month they had taken Carroceto, and

reached the outskirts of Cisterna some 10 miles inland. Beyond this, however, they were unable to advance. The Germans by this time had brought up divisions from the north, and with these they occupied the rising ground some distance inland from which, with their long-range artillery, they could shell the Allies on the beach. They also endangered the shipping off the coast with their aircraft. Not only were the Allies prevented from advancing further but they were subjected to vigorous counter-attacks, as a result of which, within a week, the initiative had definitely passed into the hands of the enemy.

On the southern sector also the diversion proved equally fruitless. Certainly the Allies resumed the offensive before the end of the month, and by February 2 American troops had crossed the River Rapido and American and French troops had broken through the Gustav line on a front of several miles and commenced to bear down on Cassino from the north-east. They actually reached the outskirts of Cassino on February 4, but the Germans, so far from withdrawing, resisted stubbornly, defending not only every street but every house, and Allied progress was once more brought to a standstill. Thus all that had been effected by the diversion so far was to pin down in Italy a few more divisions of the enemy, which in the absence of a new invasion he was well able to spare.

At home the first few weeks of the year were marked by three by-election surprises of unusual political significance. The first was on January 9 at Skipton, a constituency which, after returning a Conservative with a 5,000 majority at the last election, was now won by a Common Wealth candidate. Still more sensational was the result at Brighton on February 4, when a Conservative majority of over 40,000—the largest in the country—was reduced by an Independent candidate to under 2,000. This blow to the Government was thought to be in part due to the resentment of the electorate against a remark made by the Prime Minister, in a letter of support which he had sent to the Conservative candidate, that the claim of the Independent to be supporting him personally was “an attempted swindle.” To crown the discomfiture of the Government, on February 18 West Derbyshire, which had always been a kind of pocket borough of the Cavendish family, returned an Independent with a majority of 4,500 over a member of that family standing as a Conservative. As if to drive the lesson home, on the same day at Kirkcaldy the official Labour candidate was returned with a much smaller majority than his predecessor at the previous election. Except at Kirkcaldy the proportion of the electorate which went to the polls at these by-elections was considerably larger than had been usual during the war.

Coming after the close contest at Darwen in December (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 104), these results showed conclusively that the electorate was chafing at the electoral truce and longing

for a free hand in the choice of candidates. Suggestions were in fact put forward from various quarters that the truce should be suspended in the case of by-elections, and that in these the party struggle should be resumed, subject always to the overriding condition that every candidate should declare his unwavering support of the Coalition Government for the purposes of the war effort. This plan naturally did not find favour in the eyes of the Government. But it was obvious that the Coalition was losing its hold on the public, and that it was likely to go on faring badly at by-elections unless it could face the electorate both with stronger candidates and with a more attractive programme.

On January 12 the Labour Party issued as a statement of its own policy a memorandum on nutrition and food supplies submitted to it by Sir John Orr, the well-known expert, who was not himself a member of the party. The memorandum commenced by pointing out that food policy had undergone a revolutionary change during the war. Before the war the amount and kind of the food produced and imported had been determined by the profit which could be made, and distribution was determined by purchasing power. Now the Ministry of Food arranged the production and import of food according to its estimate of the nutritional needs of the whole population, and distribution also was according to need, foodstuffs being subsidised to keep the retail price within the purchasing power of the poorest. The fundamental principle of the war food policy was in fact production for consumption and distribution according to needs, which had brought about a levelling up of the diet of the poor and a levelling down of the diet of the well-to-do. The organisation for carrying out a national food plan was therefore already in existence, and it could be linked up with the recommendations of the Hot Springs Food Conference, which showed the way to securing economic freedom for the workers of the world.

The statement further said that in post-war reconstruction schemes the Labour Party gave absolute priority to this food policy. A permanent food commission should be appointed by the Ministry of Food, which would act as a food import board and as the national wholesale buyer and seller of the basic foods, taking over the main food depots and processing centres. Cost should be no deterrent. Shareholders would be compensated and the community would take over paying concerns, while the commission itself would be a non-profit-making body.

On January 13 the text was issued of a Reinstatement in Civil Employment Bill, the purpose of which was to amend in certain particulars the existing provisions for reinstatement contained in the National Service Acts and Defence Regulations. Under the existing law the pledge of reinstatement applied only to men and women called up under the National Service Acts. The new Bill extended the same protection to volunteers in the

armed forces and to the women's auxiliary services; also to women and men giving whole-time service in civil defence forces in consequence of an enrolment notice under the National Service Act. The Bill defined the procedure for reinstatement and laid down a scheme of priorities. Reinstatement under the Bill was to carry with it a qualified guarantee of employment for 26 weeks, and committees were to be set up to deal with disputes. The Bill was given a second reading by the House of Commons on February 3.

Parliament reassembled on January 18, and on the next day Mr. Butler, the President of the Board of Education, moved the second reading of the Education Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 100). He stated that the Bill had been widely welcomed by the many active partners in the world of education, who in fact had helped to fashion it over a period of two years or more. It also owed much to the help and advice of local administrators, and depended absolutely for its success on their continued zeal and devotion. Under the Bill the Consultative Committee which hitherto had assisted the Minister would be replaced by two councils, with power to advise him on matters connected with educational theory and practice. The broad purpose of the Bill was to offer every child an opportunity of passing through not only the primary but also the secondary and further stages, to enable all children over eleven to make the most of their natural aptitudes. If anyone should ask, "Who will do the work if everyone is educated," the reply was that education would oil the wheels of industry and would bring a new efficiency, the fruit of modern knowledge, to aid the ancient skill of farm and field.

With regard to the raising of the school-leaving age, Mr. Butler pointed out that the Government had to contend with two serious obstacles—lack of accommodation and shortage of teachers. Many new school buildings were needed, and it might be difficult for some time to obtain the requisite labour and material. As for teachers, a large proportion of the actual teaching staffs at present engaged were beyond the normal retiring age or married women, while the demands of the services had brought normal recruitment to a standstill. Special measures to meet this situation were in hand; but with the best will in the world the Government might find themselves compelled to postpone the date fixed in the Bill for raising the leaving age to 15, *viz.* April 1, 1945, to 1947.

While the State secondary schools would charge no fees, it was intended, in order to preserve tradition and variety, to keep in existence a number of grant-aided grammar schools. In order, however, to make these also accessible to all classes, they would be required to keep open a number of free places sufficient to supplement the provision in the schools maintained by the local authorities in any area. The question whether the public

boarding schools should be associated with the national system was still being considered by the Fleming Committee.

On the question of religious education, Mr. Butler said that the reason why a new adjustment had to be made so soon after the 1936 Act was because of the magnitude of the reforms proposed in the Bill and the new standards which were demanded in the interests of all children alike, whether in Council or existing Church schools. Under the new arrangement managers and governors of denominational schools would have their choice of making them either "controlled" or "aided," that is, they could allow the State to control the appointment of teachers and the curriculum on condition of accepting full financial responsibility, or they could retain these matters in their own hands and receive from the State only half the cost of bringing the school up to standard. An agreed syllabus had also been drawn up of undenominational religious instruction which would be given in every school, subject of course to the usual conscience clause.

With regard to the financial burden, the grant to be made from central funds to local authorities would rise to an over-all 55 per cent. varying according to the wealth or poverty of the area concerned. Of the total expenditure, 115,000,000*l.* would be met from taxes and 88,100,000*l.* from rates; the increase from taxes would be 51,200,000*l.* and from rates 28,600,000*l.*

In the debate which ensued the Bill was given a very favourable reception. No voice was raised in opposition, though some doubts were expressed as to whether all its provisions would work. In winding up the debate Mr. Ede, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, pointed out that the success or failure of the scheme in the long run depended on the way in which the wishes of Parliament could be implemented in the classroom. The response from the Forces to the recruitment of teachers had been as good as could be expected, and the Government were not without hopes that the requisite number of teachers would be obtained.

On January 19 a debate took place in the House of Lords on civil aviation, and Lord Beaverbrook, replying for the Government, stated that much had been done in that field since he had last spoken on it in October (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 85). They had designed a type of aeroplane called the "Brabazon" with a weight of 100 tons, a speed of over 250 miles per hour, carrying capacity of fifty passengers and 2 tons of mail, and able to cross the Atlantic in fifteen hours. Some years must pass, however, before it could be put into operation, and meanwhile they were at work on a simpler type, the "Tudor," which they thought might be ready before the end of the war; it would have a weight of 38 tons with a cruising speed of 220 miles per hour, and it would be able to carry twelve passengers across the North Atlantic in winter or summer. The Government, he said, were

ready at any time to enter into an international conference on civil aviation, but they were still waiting for the Americans to complete their survey. They joined with the President of the United States in subscribing to the principle of the right of innocent passage for all nations throughout the world, and the right to land anywhere for refuelling and other non-traffic purposes.

On January 25 the Chancellor of the Exchequer obtained from the House of Commons a new Vote of Credit of 1,750,000,000*l.*, of which 750,000,000*l.* was for the remainder of the current financial year, and the rest for the early part of the next one. He said that the daily expenditure was still much the same as when he had last given figures in November—a little over 13,250,000*l.* of which 11,000,000*l.* was for fighting and supply services and 2,250,000*l.* for miscellaneous war services. The estimates on this occasion contained a small addition for the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (Unrra). One of the principles laid down by this body was that countries which had not been overrun should be asked to make a contribution of 1 per cent. of their national income. In the case of Great Britain this worked out to close on 80,000,000*l.*, but the Chancellor warned the House that this figure was not absolutely definite, and that the country might be asked to make a further contribution.

On the same day (January 25) Mr. Noel-Baker, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport, outlined to the House the Government's plans for improving and developing the country's highway system after the war. He said that in the Government's opinion there was a clear case for extending the existing trunk road system, and they had in mind to frame legislation which would substantially increase the existing mileage of about 4,500 miles. The Government had also considered the proposals made in various quarters for the construction of a new system of motor-ways to relieve the pressure on the main roads. While they did not think that there was sufficient justification for embarking on the construction of entirely new roads reserved exclusively for motor traffic, they thought that in certain cases the construction of suitable lengths of road of that type was preferable to the extensive remodelling of existing roads. There was also a strong case for reserving exclusively for motor traffic some of the by-pass and other roads designed to enable motor traffic to avoid passing through built-up areas. Mr. Noel-Baker stated that the roads of the country had on the whole stood up well to the heavy demands of the war, but there would inevitably be large arrears of maintenance work, and this would probably be assigned priority in the transitional period.

On January 26 the House of Commons discussed the controversy which had arisen between the Minister of Agriculture

and the farmers over the new prices for agricultural produce in the coming year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 103). Mr. Hudson gave his version of the pledge which he was accused by the farmers of having broken. He adduced figures drawn up by the Central Statistical Office of the War Cabinet to show that the margin between farmers' gross income and gross expenditure had risen each year since 1940. While admitting that these figures were "global," he pointed out that in view of the great variety in the size of farms, the systems of farming, and the varying aptitudes and abilities of the farmers, it was impossible to devise a single national price system which should give the same proportional benefit to all. The conclusion he drew was that the price increases which he had sanctioned at the end of the last year, although they did not entirely cover increased costs—the chief of which was an increase of 15,000,000*l.* in agricultural wages—nevertheless carried out the pledge which he had given in 1940, that "prices would be subject to adjustment to the extent of any substantial changes in the cost of production." He also recalled a statement made in February, 1942, by the late and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the farmers' leaders, that the pledge was continuous, and that on the occasion of each review of prices it was permissible to consider the whole course of farmers' costs and receipts from the date of the pledge to the time of the review.

While firmly maintaining his own point of view the Minister was conciliatory in tone, and declared his readiness to discuss prices and policy with the farmers' representatives. He also announced that he was about to make certain concessions, equivalent in amount to 2,500,000*l.* a year, to small milk producers who he thought were securing a poor return for a very laborious job. His speech made a favourable impression both on the House and on the farmers themselves. A statement issued by the National Farmers' Union the next day paid tribute to the conciliatory tone of his remarks, and to the evident sympathy of subsequent speakers with the farmers' case. It still maintained that the Minister had brought forward no fresh considerations which the farmers' leaders did not already know, and that consequently the dispute remained unsettled, but added that the atmosphere had been sensibly improved.

On January 28 the Attorney-General moved the second reading of a Bill empowering the Government to appoint three additional Supreme Court judges above the existing legal maximum of 29. The purpose of the Bill was to enable the Courts to cope with the great arrears of divorce cases. Since the beginning of the war there had been a great increase in the number of petitions for divorce, due no doubt in part to hasty marriages contracted for the purpose of securing separation allowances. Even before the war the number of judges for hearing the petitions had been

insufficient, and further congestion was caused by the rule which required that all divorce trials should be held in London. The abrogation of this rule was favoured by the Lord Chancellor, but he stated that it could not come into operation at once.

On January 28 the Foreign Secretary for the second time unfolded to the House of Commons a grim tale of Japanese maltreatment of prisoners of war. His revelations on this occasion were if anything even more harrowing than those he had made after the fall of Hong Kong nearly two years before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 21) and covered a much wider area. From information reaching them, he said, the Government were satisfied that in Siam there were many thousands of prisoners from the British Commonwealth, including India, who were being compelled by the Japanese military to live in tropical jungle conditions without adequate shelter, clothing, food, or medical attention, being forced to work on building a railway and making roads. A high percentage were seriously ill, and there had been some thousands of deaths. There were also numerous cases of deliberate maltreatment or even torture. Similar conditions prevailed in the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies, Borneo, Malaya, Burma, and Indo-China. In the northern areas conditions were more tolerable, though here, too, food was insufficient for the maintenance of health. The Japanese enemy, said Mr. Eden, had violated not only the principles of international law, but also all canons of decent and civilised conduct. Strong representations had been made to them through the Swiss Government, but their replies had been evasive, cynical, or otherwise unsatisfactory. He warned the Japanese Government that the record of their military authorities in the war would not be forgotten.

On February 1 the House of Commons approved a proposal made by the Government to set up a conference on Electoral Reform and Redistribution of Seats to be presided over by the Speaker. The Home Secretary explained that the conference would be asked to examine and, if possible, submit agreed resolutions on redistribution of seats, reform of the franchise, both parliamentary and local government, conduct and costs of parliamentary elections, and methods of election. Consideration of franchise reform, he added, was meant to cover the business premises vote and the university vote, and "methods of election" would include proposals such as proportional representation and the alternative vote. It was the Government's desire, he said, that redistribution of seats should have prior consideration, and that this and the question of merging the parliamentary and local government votes should be the subject of early reports. A suggestion was made in the course of the debate that the question of expenses falling on parliamentary candidates and members of Parliament should be included in the terms of reference, and this was accepted by the Government. The composition of the

conference was left to the Speaker, who announced his selection of members on February 15.

On February 10 a second reading was given to a Bill making the "Pay-as-you-earn" Income Tax Bill (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 84) applicable also to income-tax payers under Schedule E, *i.e.* to all deriving an income from an office or employment under the Crown, save only members of the armed forces, collection from whom would present very great practical difficulties in war time. The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that the new Bill would cause a certain hardship to temporary Civil Servants, who during seven months would be called on to pay double tax, both on their private and their Crown employment. Even they, however, would ultimately be taxed on nothing which they had not earned and received.

A motion brought forward by the Attorney-General on February 10 to prolong for a year the House of Commons Disqualification Bill, which enabled members to accept offices of profit under the Crown outside of England, was not allowed to pass without considerable protest from all sides of the House. Speakers complained once more that some twenty-one constituencies were being practically disfranchised, and some charged the Government, and the Prime Minister in particular, with creating a new body of "placemen," reminiscent of those of the eighteenth century. Mr. Eden said that exaggerated views seemed to be held as to the emoluments of the certificated members who, at any rate, while abroad, could not be regarded as placemen, and he repudiated the suggestion that the Government had a hold on any considerable section of the members because of financial interests or the expectation of financial interest. The second reading of the Bill was eventually carried by 91 votes to 10. In the Committee stage a clause was added to the Bill, on Mr. Eden's suggestion, providing that early in each year the Treasury should lay before the House a list of all certificates issued under the Act which were in force at any time during the previous year, giving the person, office, and salary mentioned in each, and showing which had ceased to be in force before the beginning of the year.

On February 17 a White Paper was issued containing the Government's proposals for a National Health Service. The object of the proposals, it was stated, was to ensure that every man, woman, and child could rely on getting all the advice, treatment, and care which they needed for personal health, that what they got should be the best medical and other facilities available, and that their getting them should not depend on whether they could pay for them, or any other factor irrelevant to the real need. At present, it was pointed out, in spite of the substantial progress of many years and the many good services built up under public authority and by voluntary and private

effort, it was still not true to say that everyone could get all the kinds of medical and hospital service which he or she might require. Whether people could do so still depended too much on circumstance, on where they happened to live or work, to what group (*e.g.* of age or vocation) they happened to belong, or what happened to be the matter with them. Nor was the care of health as yet wholly divorced from the ability to pay for it.

To remedy these defects it was proposed that the State should set up a comprehensive medical service which should be free to all, and funds for which should be provided from taxation, both national and local, in addition to contributions under the health insurance scheme. On a rough estimate the total cost of such a service to public funds was put at 132,000,000*l.* a year, of which about 27 per cent. would come from social insurance contributions, 36·6 per cent. from the taxpayer, and 36·4 per cent. from the ratepayer. It was emphasised that this new service was not in any way intended to supplant the existing system of private practice, but rather to supplement it. Every doctor and every voluntary hospital would be at full liberty either to come into the scheme or remain out of it, and every patient would still be at full liberty to choose his own doctor, even from among those in the State service. The doctors in the service would also retain full liberty of action in the medical sphere. The object of the scheme, in fact, was not to destroy the existing relation between doctor and patient, but to secure a better distribution of medical attention.

On March 16 a motion was brought forward by Lord Addison in the House of Lords and by Mr. Willink in the House of Commons approving the Government's intention to establish a Comprehensive National Health Service. In the debates which ensued attention was called to weak spots in the scheme—notably the danger to the standards of the medical profession and to the continued existence of the voluntary hospitals—but on the whole the verdict on the White Paper was highly favourable, and the motion was carried in both Houses without dissent.

On February 7 the Germans launched a vigorous assault on the British and American forces on the Anzio beaches and forced them to give ground. For some days the Allies were hard pressed, and the situation became so serious that General Alexander himself visited the beach. Reports reaching England from Algiers hinted that the Allies might be compelled to evacuate their position, and spread considerable alarm among the public. General Alexander, however, in reply to an inquiry from Mr. Churchill, sent home a reassuring report, and the Government thereupon, on February 12, issued a statement pointing out that the Allies had in the bridgehead a very strong army and a superiority both in artillery and tanks, that great reserves had been built up, and that there was consequently no ground for pessimism.

By this time in fact the German thrust had been held and the danger for the moment was over.

The Germans, however, still retained the initiative, and on February 17 they commenced another major assault. After some four days of heavy fighting this was also repelled by the Allies without loss of ground. Yet a third assault was begun by the Germans on February 29—on a narrow sector between Cisterna and Carroceto. This was even more intense while it lasted than the preceding ones, but it proved to be of shorter duration; after gaining some ground the enemy was at the end of thirty-six hours driven back to his starting point, with heavier losses than he had himself inflicted. This was the last serious attempt made by the Germans to drive the Allies into the sea, and the position in this sector for some time after remained static.

In the southern sector meanwhile the Allies had been making desperate efforts to gain possession of Cassino. The German defence of the place proved unexpectedly stubborn, and the Americans were for long unable to extend the foothold which they had obtained in the town by the beginning of February. The occupation of the famous abbey on Monte Cassino gave the enemy a particular advantage, and after long deliberation the allied High Command reluctantly came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to destroy this building. It was accordingly laid in ruins by bombardment from the air on February 15, to the intense regret of all in England who were aware of its historical associations. The military results hardly justified this action. The Germans continued to make no less effective use of the ruins than they had of the building when it stood, and the Allied progress was not accelerated in the least.

Two days later (February 17), in the House of Lords, Archbishop Lang made a plea on behalf of art treasures and ancient monuments in war zones, similar to that which had been made by the Bishop of Chichester on behalf of German cities a few days before. He recognised that the Higher Command had given all proper instructions in the matter—as for instance in regard to the monastery of Monte Cassino—but he was afraid that much damage might be done through heedlessness or carelessness, and he suggested the appointment by the Government of a commission similar to that appointed by the President of the United States to deal with the matter. The Lord Chancellor in reply stated that the Government fully approved of the order of General Eisenhower which, while recognising that the safety of a single man came before any consideration of beautiful antiquities, yet said at the same time that it was the duty of civilized armies to do the best they could. Certainly it was inconceivable that any British soldier could be guilty of such acts of vandalism as the Germans had committed by burning the University of Naples library or the villa where the Italian authorities had deposited a quantity

of art treasures from Naples. They had made an agreement with the United States to provide as far as they could for the application to damaged buildings of such first-aid measures as might prevent their further deterioration, and the collection of evidence of the appropriation and destruction of works of art by the Germans.

The failure of the Allies to make any headway in Italy, coupled with the prolonged delay in opening a Second Front, inevitably raised doubts both at home and abroad whether Britain was contributing her full share to bringing the war against Germany to a successful conclusion. In a survey of the war which he gave to the House of Commons on February 22, the Prime Minister took note of these questionings, which he said if left unanswered might prejudice the interests of the alliance as a whole. Even the Dominions, he added, required to be told that the Mother Country was playing its part. He therefore went on to state a few facts which were not generally realised. One was that since the beginning of 1943 ships of the Royal Navy and aircraft of the Royal Air Force—that is, the forces of the Mother Country only—had sunk more than half the U-boats of which they had certain proof in the shape of living prisoners, and 40 per cent. of the very large number of other U-boats of which either corpses or fragments provided definite evidence of destruction. Again, by British action alone they had in the same time sunk 19 enemy warships and also a large number of E-boats, escort vessels, mine-sweepers, and other auxiliaries; while British action had been predominantly responsible for sinking 316 merchant ships, aggregating 835,000 tons. Britain herself in the same period had lost 7,677 officers and men of the Royal Navy, and about 4,200 merchant navy officers and men, and 95 ships of war destroyed or seriously disabled. In the air since the beginning of the war British islanders had lost 38,300 pilots and air crews killed and 10,400 missing, and over 10,000 aircraft, and they had made nearly 900,000 sorties into the North European theatre. As for the Army, which had been little more than a police force in 1939, it had fought in every part of the world, and history would record how much the contribution of their soldiers had been beyond all proportion to the available man-power of the British Isles.

Having shown that England had played her part in the past, Mr. Churchill went on to intimate that in the air at any rate she would continue to make her full contribution to an Allied victory. The Anglo-American air attack on Germany, he said, which had been their chief offensive effort up to that time, would continually grow in intensity as their own forces developed and as the American forces came into their full scope and scale. The spring and summer would see a vast increase in the force of the attacks directed upon all military targets in Germany and in German-occupied countries, long-range bombing from Italy would penetrate effectively the southern parts of Germany. The whole of this air

offensive constituted the foundation upon which stood their plans for oversea invasion. Scales and degrees of attack would be reached far beyond the dimensions of anything which had yet been employed or even imagined. They intended to make war production in its widest sense impossible in all German cities, towns, and factory centres, and also to take toll of the enemy fighters in the air, especially in the American daylight raids. What the experiences of Germany would be when her fighter defence had been almost completely eliminated and aircraft could go all over the country by day or night with nothing to fear but flak—the anti-aircraft—had yet to be seen. The same was true of the air power of Japan. Thus both these marauding states would be brought low by the very weapon which they had selected as their main tool of conquest and subjugation of other nations.

As to the campaign in Italy, Mr. Churchill attributed its disappointing progress partly to the weather, which had been exceptionally inclement during the current winter, and partly to the unexpected strength of the German resistance. The Allied High Command had not reckoned on the Germans transferring from other fronts as many divisions as they did to Southern Italy, still less to oppose the Anzio landing. However, he said, on broad grounds of strategy Hitler's decision to send into the south of Italy as many as 18 divisions, involving with their maintenance troops probably as many as something like half a million men, was not unwelcome to the Allies. They would have to fight the Germans somewhere, and the wearing battle in Italy drew no troops away from other greater operations to which it was an effective prelude.

Besides reviewing the Government's conduct of the war the Prime Minister dealt with certain aspects of its foreign policy which were also causing misgiving in many quarters. In answer to the demand that greater recognition should be accorded to the democratic elements in Italy, he pointed out that Italian forces were co-operating with the Allies to the best of their ability, that nearly a hundred Italian ships of war were discharging valuable services in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic, and Italian airmen were also fighting at their side, while larger numbers were engaged in indispensable services to the Allies behind the front. All this was being done under the authority of the existing Government of the King of Italy and Marshal Badoglio, and he was not convinced that any other Government could as yet be formed which would command the same obedience from the Italian armed forces. Should they succeed in the present battle and enter Rome, as he believed they would, they would be free to review the whole Italian political situation, and it was from Rome that a more broadly based Italian Government could be formed. He would be sorry, however, to see an unsettling change made when the battle was at its climax, swaying to and fro.

The policy therefore on which the Government had agreed with the United States Government was to win the battle for Rome and take a new view when they were there.

Turning to Yugoslavia, Mr. Churchill stated that two main forces were engaged in the field. First, there were the guerrilla bands under General Mihailovitch. These had been the first in the field, but had gradually drifted into the position of making accommodation with the enemy and doing little or nothing against him. Within the last couple of years this movement had been completely outstripped by that of the partisans under Marshal Tito, who now numbered over a quarter of a million and were the only people who were doing any effective fighting against the Germans, though General Mihailovitch still acted in the name of the royal Yugoslav Government. He himself had long taken a particular interest in Marshal Tito's movement, and had tried by every available means to bring him help. Nearly a year ago he had sent out to him a young friend of his, Captain Deakin, and in the autumn they had sent a larger mission, under Brigadier Maclean. He assured the House that every effort would be made by the Government to aid and sustain Marshal Tito and his gallant band. At the same time they could not dissociate themselves from King Peter and his Government in Cairo. The situation therefore was a somewhat complicated one, and the Government were striving to unravel it in concert with Russia and the United States, both of whom were sending missions to Marshal Tito. Their guiding principle was to keep good faith with those who had kept good faith with them.

Another problem of foreign policy which was greatly exercising the mind of the Government was that of the frontiers of Poland after the war. This was a matter which could not be left entirely till after the war, because the advance of the Russian armies into Polish regions made it indispensable that some working arrangement should be arrived at between the Russian and Polish Governments in order to enable all anti-Hitlerite forces in the country to work together to the greatest advantage. While he had an intense sympathy with the Poles, he could also understand the point of view of the Russians, who, after having been twice violently assaulted by Germany in a lifetime, had a right to re-assurance against further attack from the west. He could not therefore feel that the Russian demand about her western frontiers went beyond what was reasonable or just. The solution which he had reached with Marshal Stalin was that Poland should obtain compensation at the expense of Germany in the north and west. This, he maintained, did not conflict with the Atlantic Charter, which did not apply to Germany as a matter of right and as barring territorial transferences and adjustments in enemy countries.

Mr. Churchill's speech was well received by the House, and

secured for him renewed expressions of confidence in his leadership both from Labour and Liberal spokesmen. His account of the operations in Italy confirmed the general impression that mistakes had been made somewhere, without revealing exactly where ; Mr. Greenwood confessed himself to be still mystified, while Lord Hankey in the House of Lords ventured the suggestion that sufficient provision had not been made for amphibious operations. After hearing the Premier's statement, however, members were satisfied that the Italian campaign was being fitted into the larger scheme of operations for which preparations were being actively made. The agreement with Marshal Stalin regarding Polish frontiers came in for some criticism, some speakers considering it unfair to Poland, others to Germany. Fears were also expressed lest after the war Great Britain might isolate herself from the Continent, or at any rate agree to the partition of Europe into spheres of influence, but Mr. Eden gave an assurance that the Government had no intention of taking either course.

While Mr. Churchill was thus strengthening the confidence of Parliament in the Coalition Government, the attitude towards it of the nation at large was still somewhat uncertain. A by-election was at the time pending at Bury St. Edmunds, where a Conservative had been returned unopposed at the last two elections. On this occasion the Government candidate was being opposed by Mrs. Corbett-Ashby, one of the leading figures in the Liberal Party, who now stood as an Independent, in defiance of the Liberal Party Headquarters. The issue was by no means a foregone conclusion, and there was a general feeling that a further by-election reverse at this juncture would, to say the least, weaken the position of the Coalition Government very seriously. Special efforts were therefore made by the Government to retain the seat, with the result that its candidate won by a comfortable if not large majority, and it was again able to breathe freely for the time being.

Not only at by-elections did discontent with the Government manifest itself. Combined with a spirit of over-confidence, generated in part by the decisions of the Teheran Conference, it produced a certain slackening in the national war effort, just at a time when in the opinion of the Government that effort should have been keyed up to the highest pitch. As usual, the worst offenders in this respect were the mineworkers, whose behaviour at this juncture once more exposed them to the charge of placing their own sectional interests before the national welfare. On January 22 the National Reference Tribunal for the Coal-mining Industry, under the chairmanship of Lord Porter, had awarded a minimum wage of 5*l.* a week to underground miners and one of 4*l.* 10*s.* a week to surfacemen, with corresponding increases for boys and youths, and on January 27 the award was accepted by

the Mineworkers' Federation. Instead of bringing peace to the industry, however, as might naturally have been expected by the outsider, this settlement led to the greatest disturbance which it had experienced since the war began. The reason was that the tribunal while fixing the new minimum rates refused to make any increase in piece rates, considering that so great an alteration should await the general overhaul of the wage structure which was long overdue. As a consequence the most skilled men, who were paid by piece rates, found themselves for the time being earning no more than the less skilled. They at once protested against the award, declaring that the incentive for increased effort had been taken away from them, and though negotiations were opened between the miners and the owners in many coalfields for an increase in piece rates, many of them ceased work, and in the first two weeks after the award no less than 276,000 tons of coal was lost by strikes.

On February 11 the Ministry of Fuel and Power stated that while the Government would bear the cost of the increase in the minimum wage, it would not provide the cost of any increase in piece rates. The negotiations in the coalfields on the matter thereupon came to a stop. Immediately afterwards Major Lloyd George invited the Mineworkers' Federation and the Mining Association to discuss with him the general overhaul of the wage structure of the industry, at the same time making it quite clear that in the meanwhile the Government refused to bear the cost of any increase in piece rates. On February 17 the Mineworkers' Federation accepted the invitation under protest, at the same time appealing to its members to continue normal working, in view of the military situation. The miners themselves, however, were seething with indignation at what they regarded as another instance of the Government's bad faith in dealing with them, and it was not long before many of them allowed their feelings to get the better of their loyalty. The chief centre of unrest was as usual South Wales, where some 75,000 men were on strike by March 8; by March 10 it was estimated that 300,000 tons of output had been lost.

Meanwhile the negotiations between the Minister of Fuel and Power and representatives of the industry had been proceeding smoothly, and on March 8 Major Lloyd George laid before them definite proposals covering the consolidation and simplification of wages, the establishment of closer relations between wages and output, and the stabilisation of wage rates at the revised levels till December, 1947. On the strength of these proposals renewed appeals were made to the miners by their trade union leaders and members of Parliament, and at a ballot taken on March 12, 60,963 voted for resumption of work and 43,248 against. Nearly a week, however, elapsed before all the members of the minority had gone back to work. It was estimated that in the

four weeks ending on March 18 disputes in the coalfields had caused a loss of over 750,000 tons of output.

On March 16 the National Executive of the Mineworkers' Federation accepted in principle the Government's proposals for a new wage system in the industry, and on the 24th an agreement on these lines was definitely accepted by representatives of the mineworkers and mineowners. This proved to be the signal for a new outbreak of trouble—this time in the Yorkshire coalfield, where thousands of men, defying the instructions of their leaders, went on strike on the ground that their domestic allowance of coal was now to be reckoned as part of their wages.

It was now the turn of the Labour leaders to lose their patience. In a public speech on April 4 Mr. Bevin recalled that when he had become Minister of Labour he had had to decide whether for securing the smooth working of industry it would be necessary to introduce military control or whether the joint industrial relations machinery could be relied on to see them through. He had decided in favour of the latter course, and on the whole he thought the decision had been justified. There was, however, one black spot, namely, the miners, who were jeopardising the whole structure of industrial relations. What had happened in Yorkshire that week, he said, was worse than if Hitler had bombed Sheffield and cut their communications. Apart from the political issue of nationalisation, the miners had now achieved everything for which they had fought since 1912, and there was therefore no possible justification for their action.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, which issued a statement on the subject the next day, was equally severe. It pointed out that unauthorised stoppages of work had already gravely impeded the preparations for a concerted attack on Nazi-fortified Europe, and if continued might produce a national disaster and imperil the victory of the Allied cause. Such disturbances as had recently occurred on the Clyde, Tyneside, South Wales, and especially Yorkshire, threatened the entire policy that the trade union movement had pursued since the war began and through which important trade union advantages had been secured. The general council therefore appealed to the workers to resist every effort to divert their energies from the whole-hearted prosecution of the war, and to realise that participation in, or even tacit support of, unofficial strikes was not only disloyalty to the trade unions and to their fellow-workers, but also a blow struck in the back at their comrades in the armed forces, who were now steeling themselves for a life-and-death struggle on the European Continent.

By this time the outbreak of indiscipline was subsiding and the men were rapidly returning to work. In order, however, to obviate the possibility of further stoppages, the Executive of the Miners' Federation summoned on April 12 a conference of dele-

gates from all the coalfields from which it secured a mandate to accept the proposed four-year stabilisation of wages on the basis of the Porter award and the further adjustments proposed by the Ministry of Fuel.

On March 2 the names were announced of the members of a Royal Commission on Population which had been appointed by the Government in accordance with the promise given in July (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, pp. 61 and 361). The Chairman of the Commission was Lord Simon, and it was to be assisted by technical committees on the statistical, economic, and biological aspects of the question. The terms of reference of the commission were to examine the facts relating to the present population trends in Great Britain; to investigate their causes and probable consequences; and to consider what measures if any should be taken in the national interest to influence the future trend of population, and make recommendations.

The aerial bombing of Germany reached a new pitch of intensity in the week following the great Royal Air Force raid on Leipzig in the night of February 19. In successive night and day blows more than 18,000 tons of bombs were dropped on centres connected with the German aircraft industry. The cost to the Allies was 417 aircraft—148 R.A.F. bombers, 232 United States heavy bombers, and 37 United States fighters. On March 6 the Americans broke new ground by bombing Berlin in daylight, a feat which they repeated on March 8 and 9, and again on the 26th. As the month went on the American Air Force continued to come more and more into prominence, though the Royal Air Force also abated nothing of its activity. The net result of these operations, according to British reports, was considerably to weaken the striking power of the Luftwaffe.

As if to show, however, that it could still strike back, the Luftwaffe in January and February made several raids on London with forces of fifty machines or over, regardless of rather severe losses. This new offensive reached its peak in the week commencing February 19, when London went through an experience which on a smaller scale recalled the dark days of 1940. The chief difference, of great importance for the morale of the population, was that each attack was on this occasion concentrated into a single hour or so, instead of being spread over the whole night, and even so usually took place before midnight. No military damage was done, but civilians suffered rather severely, the total of February's casualties being higher than in any month since May, 1941—961 killed and 1712 injured, the great majority in the London area.

The Air Estimates were presented to the House of Commons on a token vote on February 29. Reviewing the work of his Ministry during the year, Sir A. Sinclair said that the programme of civil engineering and building which they had started four and

a half years before was nearing completion. It was the most gigantic ever undertaken in this country, and the Air Ministry Works organisation had nothing to fear by comparison with the Todt organisation in Germany. Working largely through building and civil engineering contractors it had, since the war began, erected 1,000,000 buildings and laid down concrete tracks equivalent to a 30-foot road running from London to Peking. They had been able to fit so many bases, for the American forces as well as their own, into so small an island only because much of the training had been carried on outside in the Dominions and the United States. Without that help the problem of providing training facilities to relieve the shortage of crews from which they suffered at the beginning of the war and to match their expanding Air Force would never have been solved.

At the beginning of their training expansion there had been an increase in the rate of accidents, which was intensified as aircraft became heavier, faster, and more complex in equipment. In the last two years, however, owing to improvements in the training organisation, this tendency had been reversed. The rate for the whole R.A.F. at home was 30 per cent. lower in 1943 than in 1942, and was now lower than at any time during the war. Wastage from sickness had also been reduced, and remarkable strides had been made in the rehabilitation of men suffering from burns, severe wounds, and accidents.

As in the previous year, the Minister insisted that the policy of a bombing offensive against Germany had fully justified itself by its results, though these had not been obtained without losses. From bombing operations from England in the past year over 2500 aircraft had not come back, which meant that nearly 18,000 men, drawn from the flower of their manhood, were killed or prisoners. This, however, should be compared with the loss of 21,000 men on one day on the Somme in 1916 to secure an advance $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide and 1 mile deep. Moreover, the ratio of casualties to the weight of bombs dropped was steadily decreasing, in spite of the fact that the range of their attacks had been steadily increasing; in the single month of January Berlin had received as great a weight of bombs as had fallen on London since the beginning of the war.

When the Air Estimates were considered on report on March 14 the discussion turned on the future of civil aviation, and especially on the question whether after the war it should be placed under international control. The Minister, in replying to the debate, stated that whatever happened they would retain sovereignty over their home territory and their own colonial Empire, and if there was a conference they would enter it as an Empire, the mother country with the colonial people. Meanwhile the Civil Aviation Department of the Air Ministry was making such plans as in present circumstances it could make for the future. Thus

the large airports needed for war purposes were constructed with an eye to the requirements of international air traffic after the war. Recommendations had also been accepted from expert committees for seven new types of civil aircraft, ranging from a transatlantic plane with an all-up weight of over 100,000 lb. to a small land plane of 8,000 lb. to seat eight passengers and suitable for taxi work.

On March 2 Sir J. Grigg, the Secretary of State for War, presented the Army Estimates to the House of Commons on a token vote. He said that the Army had now been reorganised at home to provide the greatest possible striking force with the necessary reserves and base organisation to support it. England had probably mobilised its man-power more highly than any other belligerent, and certainly more highly than in the last war. Nevertheless no one of the Services could get all the man-power it thought it needed to perform the tasks allotted to it. There was consequently a constant competition between them for man-power both for the actual fighting services and also to produce equipment and weapons. This competition had of course to be settled by the War Cabinet, and he personally had often thought that the Army had taken third place in these judgments, but no doubt the other Service Ministers would say the same about the Navy and Air Force. Certain it was that in the realm of equipment they were constantly reducing their demands on the Ministry of Supply, and in recent months had released many tens of thousands of their workpeople. The bulk of these had gone to increase the resources of the Ministry of Aircraft Production, whose programme was already employing more people than the Army equipment programme. One reason for the reduction was that they were always improving their standards of technical maintenance and seeking to avoid unnecessarily multiplying new types of weapons. A special mission had, however, visited the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and the Far East to study what would be particularly required for the war against Japan after they had finished with Germany.

On account of the stringency of man-power they had to do a great deal of converting or disbanding units and reposting and retraining the individual units, though every effort was made to preserve the traditional system of county regiments. The ratio of servicing to fighting troops was now more than one to two—heavier than in the last war, on account of the greater mechanisation of the Army. Perhaps the greatest change in the Army since the last war was the disappearance of the horse and the mule. This change had increased the mobility of the Army out of all knowledge. The fire-power of the division had also been greatly increased, and this meant not only more supplies but also more maintenance troops. With the share of man-power allotted to it the War Office was striving to produce the

heaviest weight of fighting troops it could without starving them of their proper maintenance, and to reduce to a minimum the numbers of able-bodied men employed in non-fighting capacities and on staffs, always of course profiting by the lessons learnt in the field.

In the debate which followed the Minister's statement an amendment was moved asking for an immediate increase in Army pay and allowances, on the ground that at present they were inadequate to enable the troops or their families to maintain a reasonable standard of living. Five shillings a day without any compulsory allotment was suggested as a soldier's minimum basic rate. The suggestion found much support in the House, but the Minister would have none of it. He calculated that the proposals made would cost for the three services 200,000,000*l.* a year. This, he maintained, would involve inflation on the wildest scale and would completely upset the whole basis of values. The Government, however, was, he said, prepared to discuss with representatives from all parts of the House questions of particular hardships and grievances, and the financial position of the soldier when he left the forces. The amendment was in the end negatived by 63 votes to 40.

In presenting to the House of Commons the token Navy Estimates on March 7, Mr. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty, gave some details of the dramatic change which had taken place in the war against the U-boats nearly twelve months before. Losses in U-boat sinkings, he said, had reached a peak in November, 1942. In the next three months there was a reduction, due chiefly to the exceptional inclemency of the weather. Then in the first twenty days of March the losses leapt up again, and among ships in convoy reached a new high level. But during this time their own maritime forces had been constantly expanding, and they were now able to make their new dispositions, including the formation of special reinforcement groups of ships which could be sent to the aid of threatened convoys. The result was that in the last ten days of March the merchant sinkings dropped headlong by two-thirds. Since then the losses had fluctuated about the lower rate, and at no time had they approached the previous level, though great actions, lasting as much as four days and nights, continued to be fought for some time after. In the end the U-boats received such a battering that they virtually abandoned the North Atlantic for several months. The total sinkings of merchant ships in 1943 had been below their most optimistic hopes, and in fact little more than half of the working estimate they had thought it prudent to adopt. The average for the last eight months had actually been below the level of 1918. Whereas in 1941 one ship had been lost out of every 181 which sailed in main North Atlantic and United Kingdom coastal convoys, in 1942 the proportion was one in 233, in 1943 one in

344, and in the second half of that year less than one in a thousand. The change in the situation was sometimes ascribed by the enemy almost entirely to the improvements which had taken place in their weapons and devices, but it was due in equal measure to the growth and efficiency of Coastal Command aircraft, and to the skill and leadership of the senior officers of the escort groups.

It might be asked, said Mr. Alexander, whether, since the net shipping gains of the United Nations in 1943 so much exceeded the estimates, there would not now be cargo space to spare for less essential imports, and whether economy in the use of ships themselves was as necessary as before. The reopening of the Mediterranean was worth about 1,000,000 gross tons, and the liberation of North Africa and Italy together had brought in half as much again in actual ships. The fact remained, however, that all these unforeseen profits had to be firmly and ruthlessly ploughed back into the business. It was the policy of the United Nations to use these extra resources to accelerate the pace of the war; the service demand for shipping space for the new operations preparing in Europe and the East rose without ceasing.

On March 3 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in accordance with a promise he had made in December, moved the second reading of a Bill for increasing the pensions of certain classes of civil servants and local government employees. The Bill was meant to meet an estimated rise in the cost of living of less than 30 per cent. over that of 1939, and provided for a maximum increase in the pensions of 25 per cent. It was estimated that the cost to the local rates would be about 1,300,000*l.* a year, and to the Exchequer about 4,000,000*l.* a year. The new scales were severely criticised by a number of speakers as the reverse of generous, but on a promise being given to revise them in the Committee stage a motion for the rejection of the Bill was negatived without a division. On March 31 the Chancellor tabled a number of amendments to the Bill increasing the pension rates considerably, and in its revised form the Bill passed through Committee and obtained its third reading on May 4.

The House of Lords on March 8 discussed the treatment of racial minorities after the war, and the suggestion was made that those which were likely to be a menace to the peace of Europe should be compulsorily transferred. Lord Cranborne, in reply, said that the minority treaties after the last war had been worth while as an experiment but had not been a success. The lessons to be learnt from them were being carefully studied by the Government and would be taken into account by those responsible for the final settlement. It might be that in certain cases no other solution than that of transfer would be possible, but it was involved in grave difficulties and should be resorted to only where all other methods were likely to fail. A better plan would be some broad general declaration by the United Nations deprecating

the ill-treatment by a State of its minorities and indicating that if it did not conform to a certain standard certain sanctions might be applied. The minorities also would have to play their part.

In the Committee stage of the Education Bill, which went on throughout March, the Government made one concession of importance by inserting a clause which laid down that marriage should not be a ground of dismissal in the case of women teachers. In the provisions dealing with religious education, however—which, as was to be expected, were the most controversial in the Bill—Mr. Butler refused to make any changes of substance, and he was upheld by the majority of the House. On March 10 a determined effort was made by a number of members to secure the insertion in the Bill of a definite date for raising the school-leaving age to 16. Mr. Butler pointed out that this would be inadvisable, as there was no telling as yet when the additional accommodation and the teachers required for such a step would be available. A number of speakers, however, insisted that the insertion of a fixed date was necessary in order to keep the Government up to the mark, and on a division being taken the Government majority fell to 35, 137 members voting for the amendment and 172 against.

When the clause dealing with the remuneration of teachers was reached on March 28, an insistent demand was made from many quarters of the House that women teachers should receive equal pay with men for the same work. Mr. Butler refused to accept the amendment on the ground that it would mean interference by the Minister with the Burnham machinery for fixing the salaries of teachers. Other speakers also pointed out that the application of such a rule to teachers would have wide repercussions in other spheres of employment, especially the civil service, and that this was not the most suitable occasion for affirming the principle of equal pay for equal work. The supporters of the amendment paid no heed to these arguments, and on a division being taken carried it in the teeth of the Government by 117 votes to 116.

Immediately on the result being announced, Mr. Greenwood rose and assured Mr. Butler that the adverse vote did not indicate any lack of confidence in him personally. The Prime Minister, however, regarded it as a challenge which had to be answered without delay. On the next day he stated in the House that at such a serious time in the progress of the war there must be no doubt or question about the support which the Government enjoyed in the House. They had decided, therefore, to resume the Committee stage of the Education Bill, and to delete Clause 82, as amended, entirely from the measure, such act of deletion to be regarded as a vote of confidence in the Government. Should the House agree to the deletion, the Government would move to reinstate the original clause, without its amendment, on the Report stage, and treat its passage throughout as a matter of confidence.

The resignation of the Government was the last thing desired by those members who had voted for the amendment; in fact the bulk of them were only too anxious to give proof of their confidence in the Prime Minister. They would fain, however, have chosen some less unpalatable way of doing so than by eating their own words, which was practically what the Premier was requiring of them, and various suggestions were made to him for enabling the Government to have its own way without subjecting them to such an ordeal. He refused, however, to accept any alternative, insisting that the Government must receive a vote of confidence from the House before it could make any promises. The response of the House left him no ground for complaint. When the Chairman of the Committee on the next day put the question, "that the clause as amended stand part of the Bill," Mr. Butler again explained at length the reasons why he could not accept the motion, and in the division only 23 members had the hardihood to vote for it, while 425 voted against.

Before the Education Bill passed through its Committee stage on April 5, two financial concessions of some importance were made by the Government. In the discussion on grants to local authorities fears were expressed that under the formula embodied in the Bill the poorer authorities would not obtain sufficient for their needs, and the Minister accordingly promised to increase their grants. In the debate on the Roman Catholic denominational schools an amendment was put forward on behalf of the Roman Catholic schools—chiefly in view of the increased cost of building operations—that the maintenance grant should be increased from 50 to 75 per cent. Mr. Butler was averse to this step, but he consented to the insertion of a provision that managers of such schools should be given approximately the same powers to borrow as were given to local education authorities, and would thus be able to substitute for a global capital cost a much smaller figure for annual charges for interest and redemption.

The Education Bill and the National Health Scheme gave earnest of the Government's sincere desire to create an improved social order in the country as soon as conditions would allow. But the most urgent task of post-war reconstruction was admittedly the provision of better housing accommodation for a large part of the population, both for those who were inadequately housed at present and for the numerous members of the armed forces who, unless some action were taken in the meanwhile, would be unable to find suitable homes on demobilisation. Next to the successful termination of the war, there was nothing for which the country was more anxiously waiting than a solution of the housing problem, and nothing by which the Government was more likely to stand or fall in the last resort.

The first indication of the Government's activities in the matter was given by Lord Portal, the Minister of Works, in a

statement in the House of Lords on February 8. He outlined a programme of which the first point was the repair of war-damaged houses ; most of this, he thought, would be completed by the end of the year, except for total losses. The next point was that in the spring and early summer arrangements would be made for the use by local authorities of plant and machinery as they became available from airfield construction for the preparation of housing sites, including all roads and sewers, and electricity, water, and gas services. A number of houses were being put up by his Ministry to demonstrate the use of different materials in permanent house construction and to ascertain the costs. During the first two years after the war it would probably be difficult to obtain labour for permanent houses, and the Government had therefore gone a considerable way in getting out plans for temporary pre-fabricated houses. To prevent these remaining too long in existence—as had happened after the last war—the Government had decided that, if approved, they should be publicly owned and licensed for a period. Steps had been and were being taken to ensure the supply of all materials that would be required for post-war building ; the only major material that had to be imported was timber, and the Government were making the necessary arrangements to deal with this problem.

While this programme was good as far as it went, it covered only a small part of the ground, and further information was awaited from the Minister of Health, as the Minister most directly responsible for housing policy. On March 8, in the House of Commons, after question time, Mr. Willink rose to make a statement on the subject. By the rules of the House such a statement would not be debatable, and many members at once saw in this proceeding an endeavour on the part of the Government to foist on it a housing policy which it would have had no opportunity of discussing. Angry protests were at once made, and for some time the Minister was unable to proceed. It was only with difficulty that Mr. Eden succeeded in calming the objectors by declaring that the object of the statement was merely to prepare the way for the full debate which would be held in due course.

Mr. Willink then read his statement, which dealt with the Government's housing policy for the first two years after the end of the war in Europe. During that period their urgent task would be to meet the needs of those who had no homes of their own. The Minister of Works had already outlined the preparations which were being made in the sphere of temporary housing. In addition, the Government would proceed simultaneously with the construction of new houses of a permanent type. To enable the local authorities to make an early start with the construction of such new houses, the Government had decided to introduce legislation extending the present scope of housing subsidies so as to

include dwellings built to meet general needs. Local authorities would be enabled to buy in advance land required for these building operations, using compulsory powers if necessary. Ministers would be empowered to confirm such compulsory purchase orders without holding an inquiry. The aim should be to have 100,000 permanent houses completed or under construction by the close of the first year after the end of hostilities in Europe, and an additional 200,000 by the end of the second year.

Some further details were given by the Minister in opening a debate on the subject on March 15. He said that for immediate requirements probably 1,000,000 houses were needed, but in view of conditions in the building industry the Government had come to the conclusion that a total of 300,000 in two years was as much as they would be able to accomplish. This would have to be supplemented by temporary houses and also by war hostel accommodation, which might provide for 24,000 families. As regards sites, the local authorities, he said, already possessed 16,000 acres, which was roughly enough for 200,000 houses, and there were proposals for a further 14,000 acres, which would suffice for 150,000 houses. Compensation in respect of the public acquisition of land was not to exceed sums based on the standard of pre-war values. Costs now were on the 1920 level, which meant that houses which before the war cost 400*l.* to 500*l.* would now cost 1,000*l.*

After hearing both the original statement of the Minister and his subsequent speech, the House was at no pains to hide its disappointment with the programme outlined. A number of speakers declared rather angrily that they had expected to be presented with a long-term programme, and that there was little use in debating the short-term programme which had been set before them. What they wanted to know was what was going to happen after the 300,000 houses had been completed—a matter on which the Government spokesmen were completely silent. The debate was closed by Lord Winterton with the pungent remark that the Government could not expect to survive for long if it had not a more adequate policy to set before the House.

The House of Lords was equally critical. Lord Latham, on March 22, asked Lord Woolton why the promised White Paper on planning (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 95) had not yet been issued, and both he and Lord Samuel bitterly reproached the Government for its continued delay in framing some policy for the acquisition of undeveloped land, without which a long-term housing policy was not possible. Lord Woolton, in reply, pleaded that when he had promised a White Paper soon after Christmas and legislation dealing with land during the current session of Parliament, he had not fully appreciated the amount of time required for working out the legislative details, and he now promised that the Government would make proposals to Parliament after Easter. Lord Reith thereupon commented on

the sad contrast between Lord Woolton as Minister of Food and Lord Woolton as Minister of Reconstruction, and suggested that the real source of the delay was in the War Cabinet. The final reply on behalf of the Government was made by Lord Beaverbrook in a speech remarkable for its irrelevancy.

A somewhat different complexion was placed on the Government's housing policy by the Prime Minister in the course of a broadcast address on March 26. He emphasised the important part which was to be played in it by the emergency or pre-fabricated temporary houses of which the Minister of Works had spoken. They were hoping, he said, to have half a million of them, and not only plans but actual preparations were being made for them during the war on a nation-wide scale. Factories were being assigned, the necessary set-up was being made ready, materials were being ear-marked as far as possible, and the most convenient sites would be chosen. The whole business was to be treated as a military evolution handled by the Government, with private industry harnessed to its service. He had, he said, seen the full-sized model, and in his opinion it was far superior to the ordinary cottage as they knew it. It contained 80l. worth of fitted furniture, and would be available at a very moderate rent. As much thought had been and would be put into that plan as into the invasion of Africa, and the swift production of such temporary houses was the only way in which the immediate needs of the people could be met in the four or five years after the war.

Mr. Churchill further stated that Mr. Bevin and Lord Portal had worked out a twelve-year plan for the building trade which would guarantee steady employment for long periods. As for the acquisition of land, this was provided for by the declaration of the Government that all land needed for public purposes could be taken at prices based on the standards of values of March, 1939. The Premier now stated categorically that no one should be deterred from planning for the future by the fear lest he should not be able to obtain the necessary land. Legislation to enable the local authorities to secure any land required for the reconstruction of towns had been promised and would be presented to Parliament in the coming session. It would be absurd to put off everything until they had planned the use of every acre to make sure the landscape was not spoiled.

On March 9 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that a Committee of Ministers which had been appointed to examine the utility of Basic English had strongly recommended it as an auxiliary international language, to be used not in substitution for established literary languages, but as a supplement to them. The Government therefore had decided on a number of steps for furthering its use and development. These were that the British Council would include in its activities the teaching of

Basic English wherever there was a demand for it as an auxiliary medium of international communication ; that diplomatic and commercial representatives in foreign countries should be asked to do all they could to encourage its spread as an auxiliary language ; that the range of translations into Basic English should be enlarged, and the supply of manuals of instruction increased ; and that handbooks on hygiene, agriculture, etc., for colonial peoples should be issued in Basic English, as also administrative instructions issued by the Government. The British Broadcasting Corporation had also been asked to use and teach Basic English in appropriate oversea programmes, parallel with the steps to be taken by the other agencies.

On March 14 a motion was brought forward in the House of Commons that, in order to promote a closer association between the British Parliament and the Congress of the United States, the Speaker should be requested on its behalf to invite Congress to send a delegation of its members to visit Parliament at as early a date as might be convenient. The mover, Major Braithwaite, said that the initiative had come from the British-American Parliamentary Association, on behalf of which he had visited Washington, and that the invitation was meant to come from Parliament itself on the initiative of its members, and would not in any way be connected with the Government. The motion was welcomed in all quarters of the House, and Mr. Eden, on behalf of the Government, said that as contacts between the countries had already been at so many levels—Ministerial, official, chiefs-of-staff, and fighting forces—it seemed proper that they should try to complete the circle of comradeship. A similar motion was at the same time passed by the House of Lords. The invitation was duly sent, but unfortunately Congress did not see its way to send a delegation in the current year.

On March 13 an Order was issued by the Government suspending till further notice all travel between Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the one hand, and Eire on the other. In the House of Commons on the next day the Prime Minister stated that this measure was directly due to the rejection by the Eire Government of the request made by the United States (which had been fully supported by Great Britain) that Axis Consular and Diplomatic representatives should be removed from Eire ; their retention in Dublin was described by Mr. Churchill as " a substantial disservice to the Allied cause." He said that this step was meant to be the first in a policy designed to isolate Great Britain from Southern Ireland, and also to isolate Southern Ireland from the outer world in the critical period which was now approaching. He added that the step was taken with great reluctance in view of the large numbers of Irishmen who were performing such excellent service in the British Army, but military reasons made it absolutely necessary.

While the stage was thus being still further set for an invasion of the Continent—an event which most people already regarded as long overdue—the actual military situation in the Western theatre remained unchanged. For several weeks after the destruction of the Abbey of Cassino fierce fighting took place in the mountains in the neighbourhood, but without producing any decisive result. On March 15 the town of Cassino—or what was left of it—was subjected by the Allied Air Force to a bombardment of unparalleled ferocity, some fourteen hundred tons being dropped on an area of a square mile, and the whole place being reduced to ruins. The debris, however, constituted a serious hindrance to the attackers, while the Germans continued to retain strong points from which all efforts to dislodge them proved fruitless; nor did greater success attend the Allied efforts to gain possession of the surrounding hills.

As if to compensate for the inactivity on land, March witnessed a further increase in the night bombing of Germany, on which some twenty thousand tons of bombs were dropped by 6,000 bombers of the Royal Air Force. The heaviest raids were on Stuttgart on March 15, on Frankfurt on March 18 and 22, Berlin on March 24, and Essen on March 26. Some 8,000 tons were also dropped on Occupied territory, mostly on factories in France. The American heavy bombers also carried out a record number of daylight raids during the month, including two heavy raids on Berlin. The Germans on their side failed to keep up to the level of February, and the number of air-raid casualties in England for March fell to 279 killed and 633 injured.

As in the previous year, a limited offensive was undertaken by the British at the beginning of 1944 in the Arakan province of Burma, with the port of Akyab as its immediate objective. It was under the general supervision of Lord Mountbatten, the Allied Commander-in-Chief in South-East Asia. Advancing from the Indian border, a British and Indian force of two divisions, under General Slim, had by the end of January occupied Maungdaw on the coast, and threatened Buthidaung, a few miles further east. On February 4 the Japanese launched a vigorous counter-attack. Getting behind the British line from Maungdaw to Buthidaung, they occupied parts of the Ngakyedauk Pass, and further north still got astride the line of communications through Bawli between the British and their base in India, cutting off the British seventh division. Fortunately the British retained command of the air, and were able to keep the intercepted division supplied through this medium. The British south of the Ngakyedauk Pass succeeded in holding their positions until reinforcements commenced to march into Arakan from India. They then took the offensive against the Japanese, who now found themselves surrounded in turn. By the end of February the Japanese had been completely defeated, with a loss of 6,000 men, and the

British remained in undisputed possession both of Maungdaw and of the whole of the Ngakyedauk Pass, save for a couple of tunnels.

Having secured their hold on Arakan, the British commenced operations in Upper Burma, where columns of the Fourteenth Army crossed the river Chindwin north of Tamanthi at the end of February. Their object was to link up with Chinese forces in the Hukawng Valley, and help to protect the new road which was being built from Assam into China through Ledo. At the same time a force of airborne troops, under the direction of General Wingate, who had made a daring raid into the interior a year before (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 39), landed between Myitkina and Mogaung, in order to cut the Japanese communications.

The accounts for the financial year 1943-44, issued on March 31, showed that expenditure for the year had been 5,799,000,000*l.*, or 43,000,000*l.* more than the estimate. Total revenue at 3,038,000,000*l.* had been 131,000,000*l.* more than the estimate, so that the excess of expenditure over revenue had been 2,760,000,000*l.* or 89,000,000*l.* less than the estimate. Income tax, with surtax, at 1,184,000,000*l.*, had been 9,000,000*l.* more than the estimate, while excess profits tax had realised precisely the estimate of 500,000,000*l.* The receipts from all the Inland Revenue duties together, at 1,878,000,000*l.*, had been only 5,000,000*l.* above the estimate, but in Customs and Excise there had been an excess of no less than 67,500,000*l.* over the estimate of 975,000,000*l.* The Votes of Credit granted had totalled 5,000,000,000*l.*, of which all but 50,000,000*l.* had been expended.

CHAPTER II

THE INVASION OF NORMANDY

In the plan of campaign drawn up at the Teheran Conference at the end of 1943, the invasion of the Continent by the Western Powers had been timed to take place at the beginning of June. This fact was by now well known to hundreds, if not thousands of persons in confidential positions, but the secret had been well kept, and the public were still completely in the dark on the matter. Having been told at the beginning of the year that the invasion would take place "soon," they found the continued delay not a little trying, and were unable to account for it. The simple reason was of course that the Government had laid to heart the lessons of Dieppe and other landings, and were determined not to be rushed into premature action, even at the cost of keeping the public on tenterhooks of suspense.

That the Government intended, as far as possible, to leave nothing to chance was shown by two steps which it took at this

time. Early in April an American delegation headed by Mr. Stettinius, the Under-Secretary of State, came to London and for three weeks discussed with British Ministers all aspects of Anglo-American co-operation, both during the war and after, with results satisfactory to both parties. On April 17 the Government, as an extreme precaution against any leakage of information, informed the heads of all diplomatic missions in England that until further notice it would not permit the transmission or receipt by them of any telegram which was not in plain language, the dispatch of any diplomatic bag which had not been submitted to censorship, or the receipt of such a bag dispatched after that date until it had been censored, and the departure from the country of official couriers or diplomatic and consular representatives or any members of their official or domestic staff.

At the same time a significant change was made in Allied bombing policy. In the first half of April the chief targets of the R.A.F. and the American Air Force had continued to be the *Luftwaffe* and its airfields and German aircraft factories. But during the second half of the month, particular attention was paid by them to rail and communication centres on the Continent, including the great railway marshalling yards at Hamm and Laon, obviously with the object of making it more difficult for the enemy to rush supplies and reserves to the coast. The month of April this year provided some exceptionally good flying weather, and the quantity of bombs dropped in raids over the Continent reached the new high level of 81,400 tons, at a cost to the R.A.F. of 259 bombers and to the United States Strategic Air Force, of 537 bombers and 191 fighters. Advantage was also taken of the good visibility to photograph from the air in minute detail the whole of the coastline of the "Fortress of Europe."

The principal object of the Air Force was still, of course, to put the *Luftwaffe* out of action as a military factor. In a joint statement issued on April 23 by the Air Ministry and the United States Strategic Air Forces in Europe it was pointed out that the major part of this work was now falling on the American Eighth Air Force which, however, was receiving valuable assistance from the Royal Air Force. There were now more than ten times the number of American bombers that made the first attack on Bremen; they could reach any point in Germany, and the friendly fighter cover, which had steadily extended its range, had already been to Berlin. The inability of the German fighter force to match the scale of their attack deep within its own territory was the truest measure of its present condition. On favourable occasions, no doubt, that force would still fight savagely, but it had to wait for such occasions. The *Luftwaffe* had reached its peak in July, 1943. Bad weather throughout the early winter of that year had given it an illusory respite. Since the beginning of

this year, however, the pressure on it had been steadily maintained and increased, with the result that the German fighter force had lost more planes than its plants could manufacture, and their production had fallen below the rate of August, 1942. It could be said, therefore, that the end was drawing steadily nearer, since the steps of the Allied plan were cumulative.

The campaign in Burma entered a new phase at the end of March with an incursion by the Japanese into the Indian State of Manipur, between the north-west of Burma and Assam. One section of their troops drove the British from Tiddim and commenced to advance northwards to Imphal, the capital of the province, while another section crossed the mountains from the east to the edge of the Imphal valley, between Imphal and the town of Kohima some sixty miles further north, the key to the communications between Imphal and India. The small British garrison in Kohima was in grave danger for some days, but it managed to hold out till it was relieved by reinforcements from India on April 24. The Japanese then turned southwards and began to threaten Imphal itself, while the British took the offensive round Kohima.

Parliament reassembled after the Easter recess on April 18, and on the same day a White Paper was laid before it outlining a new policy for dealing with Great Britain's water supply. One of the main proposals was that the Health Minister, whose powers were at present vague and undefined, should be given the express statutory duty of promoting the provision of adequate water supplies and the conservation of water resources, and for this purpose should be supplied with comprehensive information on the subject by the Inland Water Survey and similar bodies. Control would be exercised by means of Ministerial orders; but orders on certain important matters which at present were dealt with by private Bills would be subject to review by Parliament. The Government's Central Water Advisory Committee would be reconstructed as a statutory body and would advise not only on matters submitted to it by the Government but also on its own initiative; and a somewhat similar body would be set up for Scotland. The general framework of the existing local organisation would be retained, but the default and directing powers of the Minister of Health would be strengthened. While these changes were pending, it was proposed to authorise Exchequer grants totalling 15,000,000*l.* for England and Wales, and 6,375,000*l.* for Scotland for extension of piped water supplies and sewerage in rural areas.

In submitting the new plan to the House of Commons for its approval on May 3, the Minister of Health recommended it on the ground that it aimed at creating for the first time an organisation which would do for all the rivers of the country what the Thames Conservancy did for one. The country's present system of water

control was archaic, and as the needs for water would certainly increase, a system was necessary which would enable them to be met without avoidable waste of water, labour, money or materials. The principles underlying the present Bill were that there should be a greater degree of central control over development, that ultimate responsibility for the water supply administration and conservation of resources should rest with the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland, directly responsible to Parliament, and that sectional interests should be set aside if the national interest demanded it. While there was ample water in the country for all requirements, even allowing for greatly increased demands from agriculture and industry as well as homes, there was need for equitable and wise distribution; and for that the first and main necessity was better organisation of knowledge with regard to yield and quantity of water resources. The main instrument for this would be the Inland Water survey, which would certainly require additional finance.

In the debate which followed a number of speakers criticised the scheme as unduly timorous and as showing too much consideration for vested interests. Mr. Willink, in reply, admitted that the Government allocations were insufficient, but pointed out that where there was an Exchequer grant it would carry with it a contribution from the county council as well, which would normally be not less than the Exchequer grant.

The four-year agreement in the coal industry, based on the Porter award (*vide* p. 18), was duly signed by representatives of the mineowners and mineworkers on April 20. Both parties pledged themselves not to seek during the currency of the agreement any variation in the rates contained in the existing operative awards, and also to use their full authority to ensure observance of the agreement by their members, and to see that no support, financial or otherwise, was given by the parties or by any of their constituent associations to any member acting in breach of it. Commenting on the agreement the next day in the House of Commons, Major Lloyd-George said that it embodied with some few modifications—though with none of principle—the proposals which he had himself submitted, with two main objectives: to allay the fears of the miners about their post-war position, and to offer as great an incentive as possible to the productive workers. He admitted that in an industry where conditions were so diversified between district and district and subject to so many changes brought about by the forces of nature, a national agreement would not at first be easy to operate, and he warned both sides of the industry that all their resolution, co-operation and good will would be needed to make it effective and capable of providing a period of peace and stability for the industry.

As a further precaution against the outbreak of industrial trouble, the Minister of Labour, after consultation with the Trades

Union Congress and the British Employers' Confederation, issued, on April 18, a new Defence Regulation (IAA) conferring on him drastic powers for dealing with persons responsible for inciting strikes or lock-outs which interfered with essential services. Such persons if convicted were to be liable to penal servitude for a term not exceeding five years or a fine of 500*l.*, or both. To safeguard, however, the legitimate rights of the workers, it was laid down that the regulation was not to apply to workers actually on strike, or to any action taken at a properly constituted trade union meeting; in fact, it was aimed solely at the promoters of so-called "unofficial" strikes.

In spite of this concession, the new regulation was not allowed to go unchallenged. A "prayer" for its annulment was immediately tabled by nine Labour members of Parliament, led by Mr. Aneurin Bevan. Two other members also put down a motion blaming the Government for not having consulted the House of Commons before issuing the regulation.

The "prayer" was debated by the House of Commons on April 28. Mr. Bevan, in moving the annulment of the regulation, made a virulent attack on the trade union leaders, whom he charged with being out of touch with the mass of the workers and betraying their interests. He maintained that the effect of the regulation would be to place the workers still more at the mercy of the trade union leaders, and to muzzle the shop stewards, who were their real representatives. The debate was continued with great animation, mostly by Labour speakers, either for or against Mr. Bevan. Mr. Bevin defended himself with great spirit, maintaining that the regulation did not interfere with the legitimate rights of the workers, and that it was absolutely necessary in the interests of discipline and the war effort; and the "prayer" was rejected by 314 votes to 23.

The minority included seventeen Labour members. The vote cast by them against the Regulation was a clear defiance of an official decision of the executive, and raised once more in an acute form the question of party discipline. Mr. Greenwood insisted that the whip should be withheld from Mr. Bevan, as ringleader of the revolt. The administrative committee hesitated to take this step for fear that it would cause a split in the party. After much parleying it was decided on May 16 to call upon Mr. Bevan to give written assurances that he would in future loyally accept and abide by the standing orders of the Parliamentary Party—a request with which he immediately complied. Peace was thereupon restored for the time being—not, however, before it had become evident that there was a deep cleavage between the Trade Union and Socialist elements in the Labour Party, and that a clash between them had been not so much averted as postponed till the next annual conference.

The Budget for 1944-45 was introduced by the Chancellor of

the Exchequer in the House of Commons on April 25. Comparing the figures for the year just past with the estimates of the last Budget, he pointed out that the receipts from the Inland Revenue duties had differed by an excess of only 5,000,000*l.* from the estimate on a total of 1,878,000,000*l.* In Customs and Excise, however, the divergence had been much greater—an excess of no less than 67,500,000*l.* over the estimate of 975,000,000*l.* This was due in the first place to the unexpected resilience in the consumption of beer and tobacco—particularly beer—in spite of the additions made to the already heavy taxation on those commodities, and secondly, to the great consumption of oil by the armed forces, which of course was very difficult to estimate in advance, and which had brought in nearly 24,000,000*l.* more than the estimate. On the other hand, the purchase tax estimate of 90,000,000*l.* had been exceeded by less than 2 per cent.

The net sum they had had to borrow during the year, after allowing for certain capital receipts, was 2,750,000,000*l.*, or 54,000,000*l.* less than in the previous year. The proportion of borrowings represented by savings of national war bonds and savings bonds to non-official holders—that is, the longer-term securities—had increased as compared with the previous year from 31 to 34 per cent. Since it would be of advantage to the State after the war that as much as possible of their borrowings should be for medium and long-term loans with definite dates of maturity rather than repayable at short notice, this feature might be regarded as satisfactory. The proportion they had been able to borrow in small savings rose from 21 per cent. in 1942-43 to 25 per cent. in the last year, a fact which showed that once the habit had been started of putting something by, the old Victorian virtue of thrift came into its own again. Oversea disinvestment had been 55,000,000*l.* higher than the figure of 600,000,000*l.* assumed in last year's Budget, and slightly higher than in 1942. On the whole it could be said that their borrowings had been covered by the total of overseas disinvestment, of personal and impersonal savings, and of the sums available for investment in the hands of the public and of various official funds, which meant that their finances had remained on an even keel.

The policy of maintaining stability in the cost of living by means of subsidies had been continued in the past year with complete success but at increasing cost to the Exchequer. In 1941 they had spent 70,000,000*l.* on subsidies; in 1942 the cost had risen to 141,000,000*l.*; in 1943 it had been 190,000,000*l.*, and in the current year would be higher still. Without these subsidies the cost-of-living index, instead of being 28 per cent. over the pre-war level, would probably have reached about 45 per cent. above it on the average of 1943, and might reach 50 per cent. in the current year. It could not be denied that the benefits they had obtained hitherto from the stabilisation policy

far outweighed its costs. But the conditions laid down by his predecessor for maintaining the cost-of-living figure at from 25 to 30 per cent. above pre-war were no longer being fulfilled. In 1941 wage rates had been 21 to 22 per cent. above the level of September, 1939. In 1943 the increase had reached 35 to 36 per cent. on the average of the year. To-day the rise amounted to 40 per cent. This was the increase in wage rates, while actual earnings had increased considerably more. Thus during the period over which the cost-of-living index had been rigidly stabilised wage rates had risen by about 15 per cent. When the stabilisation policy was first introduced wage rates had risen 6 per cent. less than the cost of living, but now they showed a rise of 11 per cent. more. This tendency of wages to rise out of proportion with prices was dangerous and should be kept in check. The more incomes were out of line with prices, the more it was necessary to intensify the most inconvenient forms of control, and the more danger there was that removal of controls would be attended with violent price inflation. They had also to beware of using subsidies in such a way as to increase the gap between domestic prices and world prices, especially for food stuffs. For these reasons he could not bind himself to maintain the cost-of-living index within the limit laid down by Sir Kingsley Wood of 25 to 30 per cent. above pre-war figures, and he warned the nation that he might have to substitute for this a range of 30 to 35 per cent.

Turning to the field of external finance, the Chancellor said that they had again received from the United States under Lend-Lease an immense contribution both in munitions and in food, and a most munificent contribution to their revenue from Canada, which was to be continued in the coming year, while they had given mutual aid to the United States and Russia and their other Allies in proportion to their resources. To meet their external costs they had already parted with overseas assets to the extent of 1,000,000,000*l.* and had incurred on discharge overseas liabilities amounting to 2,000,000,000*l.*, and they were not yet at the end of the tale. It was already clear that when the war was over they would have ceased to be a large-scale creditor country. They would no longer be able to rely on financing any considerable part of their import needs from overseas investment income, and it would be indispensable for them to increase their exports and recapture some of the trade they had lost in the inter-war years. One condition for this was to maintain confidence in the value of sterling; and he had no doubt that in practice that end would be achieved as a consequence both of their performance in the war and of the steadiness of their policy both then and in the post-war years.

The Chancellor went on to admit that the 100 per cent. Excess Profits Tax was hampering industry, and that there was some justification for the insistent demand which had lately been made

in certain quarters for a reduction. Nevertheless, he found himself unable to accede to the demand, because there were reasons other than financial why the tax could not be reduced. In compensation he gave an assurance that trading concerns which had to face expenditure after the war on rehabilitation or reconstruction could look forward with certainty to receiving the 20 per cent. refund which was being credited to them and the fund for which was growing at the rate of 40,000,000*l.* to 50,000,000*l.* a year. Further, a number of reliefs designed to benefit small businesses would be introduced this year at a cost to the Exchequer in a full year of 12,500,000*l.* As from this year also, for the purposes of post-war taxation, in the assessment of profits a much larger allowance would be made for the wear and tear of plant and machinery and for the depreciation of buildings. Expenditure on research would also to a large extent be exempted from income tax.

With regard to the expenditure for the coming year, the Chancellor placed provision for the National Debt interest at 420,000,000*l.*, which was 55,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year, and the ordinary Civil Votes at 501,000,000*l.*, or an increase of 37,000,000*l.* over the Budget estimate of the previous year, due to increase on supplementary pensions, school meals, roads, and an expected deficit on the Post Office. To provide for all contingencies the Vote of Credit expenditure for military purposes was again placed at 5,000,000,000*l.*, making a total expenditure for the year of 5,937,000,000*l.* Towards that total Inland Revenue on the existing basis would provide 2,000,000,000*l.*, an increase of 122,000,000*l.* over the previous year, nearly all due to income tax. The yield from Customs and Excise was placed at 1,038,000*l.*, or 5,000,000*l.* less than the receipts of the last year, the diminution being due to the fact that the beer, tobacco, and oil supplied to the Expeditionary Force when it went oversea would be free of duty. The total revenue for the year would thus be 3,102,000,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 2,835,000,000*l.*, about the same as last year. As it appeared to be well within their power to finance the prospective deficit from savings and other non-inflationary sources, it was not necessary for him to propose any additional taxation, and the prescription would be "the mixture as before."

In the debate which followed the Chancellor's statement, a number of speakers praised it as a really constructive effort to deal with the country's economic problems. With two of its proposals, however, some dissatisfaction was expressed. The allowance made for the obsolescence of industrial plant was considered by some Conservative speakers as inadequate, while a number of Labour speakers expressed alarm at the prospect of the cost of living being allowed to rise faster than wages. Replying to these criticisms on the next day, Sir John Anderson em-

phasised the fact that the full obsolescence allowance would be granted also for plant which was not replaced, subject to anything which was realised on its disposal. His statement with regard to subsidies, he said, had been only a warning, not a threat; it was a question whether he should bring home now the lesson that if wages and prices got out of step there would be serious difficulties later, or defer it, and he had thought it best to bring home the lesson now.

On April 20 the Government published a White Paper containing a "Statement of Principles for an International Monetary Fund," designed to prevent violent monetary fluctuations after the war. The proposals contained in it were the fruit of a close study by English and American experts of the Keynes Plan and the Morgenthau Plan issued a year before, and represented more or less a compromise between them. The new plan started from the assumption that the most practical method of assuring international monetary co-operation was by the establishment of an International Monetary Fund to which all the members of the United and Associated Nations should subscribe. The total amount of the subscriptions was fixed at about 8 billion dollars, corresponding to 10 billions for the world as a whole. The obligatory gold subscription of a member country was fixed at 25 per cent. of its subscription, or 10 per cent. of its holding of gold and gold-convertible exchange, whichever was smaller. Conditions were laid down under which members were to be entitled to buy other members' currency from the Fund in exchange for their own, but no international unit of currency was suggested, like "bancor" or "unitas" in the previous plans. The par value of a member's currency was to be agreed with the Fund when it was admitted to membership and was to be expressed in terms of gold; all transactions between the Fund and members were to be at par, and all transactions in member currencies at rates within an agreed percentage of parity. When the demand for a member country's currency seemed likely soon to exhaust the Fund's holdings of that currency, the Fund was to inform member countries and propose an equitable method of apportioning the scarce currency. The Fund was to be governed by a Board on which each member was represented and by an executive committee consisting of at least nine members, including representatives of the five countries with the largest quotas. The distribution of voting power on the board of directors and the executive committee was to be closely related to the quotas. Member countries were to be under obligation not to buy or sell gold, and not to allow exchange transactions in their market, at rates differing markedly from the agreed parities, and not to impose restrictions on payments or engage in discriminatory currency arrangements or multiple currency practices without the approval of the Fund.

On May 10 the House of Commons formally recognised the scheme as providing a suitable foundation for further international consultation, after a debate which showed no great enthusiasm for it. A number of speakers expressed a fear that in some way it would involve a return to the gold standard, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer assured them that the Government would offer the most vehement opposition to any such suggestion. He also said that they would not view with favour any plan which would be likely to interfere in any way with the relationships between the different States in the so-called "sterling area," and that they had made that point of view perfectly clear to the United States Government. While well aware of the objections that could be brought against the scheme, he thought, nevertheless, that they would be worse off without it or something like it, and therefore the Government, while in no way committing itself, proposed to pursue the discussions with a view to arriving at an international monetary arrangement.

One of the criticisms brought against the scheme was that to frame an international monetary policy before an international economic policy was to put the cart before the horse. In answer to this objection Lord Keynes, who had played a major part in drafting the scheme, speaking in the House of Lords on May 16, pointed out that it was extraordinarily difficult to frame any proposals about tariffs if countries were absolutely free to alter the value of their currencies without agreement as to the comparative depreciation. Tariffs and currency alterations were in many countries alternatives, while plans for diminishing fluctuations of international prices had no domestic meaning to the countries concerned until they had got on some sort of firm ground on money. Therefore while other schemes were not essentials as prior proposals to the monetary scheme, the monetary scheme gave the firm foundations on which such schemes could be built.

In a further debate on the subject in the House of Lords on May 23, Lord Keynes maintained that the scheme was in some important respects a considerable improvement on either of its parents, and claimed on its behalf five specific advantages for Great Britain. First, it clearly recognised that during the post-war transitional period they were entitled to retain any of those war-time restrictions and special arrangements with the sterling area and others which were helpful to them without being open to the charge of acting contrary to any general engagements into which they had entered. With this assurance they could make their plans for the most difficult days which would follow the war, knowing where they stood and without giving ground for offence. This was one of the respects in which the new plan was greatly superior to either of its predecessors. Secondly, when the transitional period was over, they could look forward to trading in a world of national currencies which were inter-convertible. This

was an indispensable condition if London was to retain its position as an international financial centre. Thirdly, the wheels of trade were to be oiled by a great addition to the world's stock of monetary reserves, distributed, moreover, in a reasonable way. This would be a valuable supplementary aid in time of trouble; the quotas for drawing on the fund's resources could be regarded as a kind of iron ration to tide over temporary emergencies. Fourthly, a proper share of responsibility for maintaining equilibrium in the balance of international payments was squarely placed on the creditor countries. This was one of the major improvements in the new plan, and thanks were due to the Americans for voluntarily coming forward with a formula which would prevent their country, as after the last war, from draining the reserves out of the rest of the world. Lastly, the plan set up an international institution with substantial rights and duties to preserve orderly arrangements in matters such as exchange rates, and which could also serve as a place of regular discussion between responsible authorities.

After many unsuccessful attempts, a meeting of all the Dominion Premiers was at length arranged to take place in London early in May, for the first time since the beginning of the war. In anticipation of this event the House of Commons, on April 20 and 21, discussed the subject of Empire unity on a motion of Mr. Shinwell, calling upon the United Kingdom to preserve in time of peace the unity of purpose and sentiment which had held together the Nations of the Commonwealth in time of war. The motion found warm acceptance in all parts of the House, and the debate was described by the Prime Minister as having revealed all-party agreement on most fundamentals. One of the points most frequently canvassed was the possibility of closer economic co-operation between the different parts of the Empire. Mr. Churchill declared himself in full sympathy with this objective, and disclosed the fact that the words, "with due respect to existing obligations," in the clause of the Atlantic Charter dealing with international trade had been inserted at his request for the express purpose of retaining for the House of Commons and the Dominions the fullest possible rights and liberties over the question of Imperial Preference. Also in February, 1942, he had not agreed to Article 7 of the Mutual Aid Agreement with America without having previously obtained from the President a definite assurance that Britain was no more committed to the abolition of Imperial Preference than the American Government were committed to the abolition of their protective tariffs.

The Conference, which was primarily one between the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and the four Dominions of the British Commonwealth, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, commenced on May 1, and went on till May 16. Its purpose was, as Mr. Churchill said, to turn to still further account

the close co-operation which already existed between the members of the Commonwealth, and though its proceedings were private, it was known to have achieved this purpose admirably. Some idea of the spirit and the work of the Conference was given to the public in a statement issued over the signatures of all five Ministers on May 17. After offering thanks for deliverance from the worst perils which had menaced them in the course of the present struggle, they affirmed their inflexible and unwearied resolve to continue in the general war with the utmost of their strength until the defeat and downfall of the common foe had been accomplished. Having also examined together the principles which determined their foreign policies, they found themselves in complete agreement. They were unitedly resolved to continue all needful exertions to make sure of an enduring peace. They trusted and prayed that the victory which would certainly be won would carry with it a sense of hope and freedom for all the world. It was their aim that, when the storms and passions of war had passed away, all countries now overrun by the enemy should be free to decide for themselves their future form of democratic government. Mutual respect and honest conduct between nations was their chief desire, and they were determined to work with all peace-loving peoples in order that tyranny and aggression might be removed and, if need be, struck down wherever it raised its head. After the war, therefore, a world organisation to maintain peace and security should be set up and maintained, endowed with the necessary power and authority to prevent aggression and violence. Finally, they emphasised the fact that in a world torn by strife they had met in a unity which found its strength not in any formal bond but in the hidden springs from which human action flows, and proclaimed their belief that when victory was won the same free association and inherent unity of purpose would enable them to do further service to mankind.

Referring to the Conference in the House of Commons on May 25, Mr. Eden said that the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the Empire were probably the most significant of that kind which had ever been held, and had given the peoples of the Empire an increased sense of unity. Both the men and the moment had conspired to bring this about. One factor was the leadership given to the Conference by the Prime Minister, whose prestige abroad was perhaps even higher than at home. The success of the meetings was due also in part to the growing practice of sending the greatest possible amount of information to the Governments of all the Dominions, with the result that all the Ministers came equally prepared to deal with any questions that might arise.

On May 1, after three months of negotiation, an agreement was concluded with Spain for putting an end to a number of unneutral actions on the part of that country which had given the

Government cause for complaint, particularly the high level of its export of wolfram to Germany. Under the agreement this was to be reduced to 20 tons for May and June and 40 tons for each remaining month in the year—a level which the Government considered satisfactory. Shortly afterwards a similar arrangement with regard to wolfram was made with Portugal. Negotiations with Sweden for discontinuing the export of ball-bearings from that country to Germany—many of whose ball-bearing factories had been destroyed by British bombers—met with less success. The most potent instrument in the hands of the Government for stopping supplies from neutrals to Germany continued to be the black-list, which, as Lord Selborne, the Minister of Economic Warfare, stated on May 9, was applied without fear or favour even to the biggest firms. Lord Selborne also stated that the economic intelligence side of his Ministry would be of vital importance in planning the many operations which would follow the defeat of Germany, and it had therefore been arranged that an Economic Intelligence Department should be created in the Foreign Office, to which his staff would probably be transferred.

The report of the McNair Committee on the training and supply of teachers, published on May 3, estimated that the new educational reforms would call for an additional 50,000 to 90,000 teachers, and that the schools would ultimately require 15,000 new teachers a year as against an annual output before the war of only 6000 to 7000. It was therefore necessary to attract new recruits to the profession by improving both conditions of work and remuneration. This would involve the removal of certain things which at present acted as deterrents, among which the report mentioned particularly bad buildings, large classes, and the narrow life sometimes imposed on teachers. The Committee recommended that the Board of Education should recognise only one grade of teacher—the “qualified teacher”—both in primary and elementary schools. It should also at once assume the obligation of ensuring that adequate training institutions were available. The normal course in training colleges should be extended from two to three years, with one full term’s continuous practice in a selected school in addition to the existing form of school practice. One or more colleges or centres should devote special attention to training teachers of arts and crafts, music, physical education, and domestic subjects, who should not be distinguished from other teachers in the matter of recognition, salary, and promotion.

On May 9 the Education Bill entered its Report stage, and clause 82, which had been the cause of so much commotion in the Committee stage, was duly reinserted in its original form. For those who had tried to amend the clause the sting was taken out of this proceeding by an announcement made earlier in the day by the Prime Minister that a Royal Commission would be set up to consider the question of equal pay for equal work. In the

debate on the third reading on May 12 Mr. Butler took credit to himself for having found an acceptable solution of the religious problem, and singled out the controlled school as the great invention of the Bill. He informed the House that the Government had decided to take action at once on one of the recommendations of the McNair Report by enabling suitable pupils to be transferred at the age of 13 from senior to the present type of secondary schools. This step, besides giving a chance of higher education to young pupils who would otherwise miss it, increased the catchment area from which they could get their prospective teachers, and therefore might in course of time make it easier to raise the school-leaving age.

In the House of Lords on May 10 Lord Beaverbrook gave a report on the discussions which had been held in April by the Air Ministry with a delegation from the United States, headed by Mr. Adolph Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, regarding plans for an international conference on civil aviation. He said that the conference had been most satisfactory, and that the deliberations had taken them very far along the road towards agreement with the United States, though they had had to make concessions on certain points. Lord Beaverbrook also stated that the United States Government had promised to treat them most generously in the matter of the supply of transport aircraft in the period immediately following the end of the war, before British production on this type could get to work.

On May 10 the House of Commons agreed to a further Supplementary Vote of Credit of 1,000,000,000*l.* for war purposes—sufficient, it was thought, to carry them to some date in August. The Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that the average expenditure of the country in the financial year just ended had been 13,500,000*l.* a day, of which 11,250,000*l.* was for the fighting and supply services; for the last six weeks it had been slightly less, but that of course was nothing to go by.

On May 18 in the House of Commons an attempt was made for the first time to bring delegated legislation more directly under the control of Parliament. A motion was brought forward by a private member to set up a Select Committee whose duty it should be to carry on a continuous examination of all statutory rules and orders and other instruments of delegated legislation presented to Parliament, and to report upon them from week to week. In order to make the proposal more palatable to the Government, it was laid down that the Committee was to have no power of sending for persons, papers, or records. This proviso proved to be unnecessary. The Home Secretary gave the proposal a warm welcome, and found fault with it only because it restricted too much the powers of the proposed Committee, which he thought should have the services of officers of a Department who could give it technical or other information and answer

questions, though it should not have the power to send for Ministers. He offered, on behalf of the Government, to bring forward a motion for providing the Committee with these powers and also with the assistance of a legal adviser; and the motion before the House was thereupon withdrawn.

On May 19 the Minister of Agriculture moved in the House of Commons the second reading of a Bill transferring to his Ministry the functions of inspecting dairy cattle and premises, at present carried out by the local authorities. He said that in view of the increasing consumption of milk—which had gone up during the war from 860,000,000 gallons a year to 1,185,000,000—this step was essential if they were to have a really pure milk supply. The Bill was opposed by a number of speakers on the ground that it cast a slur on the local authorities and involved a further extension of bureaucracy, but the second reading was carried by 116 votes to 13. After some further opposition in Committee the Bill was allowed to pass after the Minister had conceded certain rights of appeal to farmers who might be disqualified.

On May 19 Mr. Eden stated in the House of Commons that according to information which had reached the Government the Germans had recently shot 47 prisoners—officers of the Royal Air Force, Dominion, and Allied Air Forces—and that he was demanding an explanation from the German Government. On June 23 he informed the House that the result of the Government's investigations had been to confirm their worst suspicions; there could be no doubt that the prisoners had not been shot while trying to escape, as alleged by the Germans, but that they had been murdered in cold blood, against all the laws and conventions of war. Amid the cheers of the House he declared that the criminals who had been responsible for such an act of butchery would be tracked down wherever they might seek refuge and be brought to exemplary justice when the war was over.

On May 26 the Minister of Reconstruction laid before Parliament a White Paper of thirty-two pages containing an outline of the Government's plans for maintaining full employment after the war. It commenced by stating that the Government accepted as one of their primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment, but it was also careful to point out that the Government's powers in the matter were severely limited by factors over which they had no control, and that employment could not be created by Acts of Parliament or by Government action alone. Government policy would be directed to bringing about conditions favourable to the maintenance of a high level of employment, and some legislation would be required to confer powers needed for that purpose. But the success of the policy outlined in the paper would depend ultimately on the understanding and support of the community as a whole, and especially on the efforts of employers and workers in

industry, since without a rising standard of industrial efficiency they could not achieve a high level of employment combined with a rising standard of living.

For some time after the war, it was stated, the demand for labour would probably exceed the supply. The danger in this period was that patches of unemployment might develop where the industrial system failed to adapt itself quickly enough to peace-time production. To meet this danger the Government were already working out plans to promote the orderly expansion of peace-time industries throughout the transition period.

More important was the long-term problem of cyclical unemployment which, as a result of some instability in their economic system, had been a feature of the period from 1858 to 1938, and, on account of special problems of the export trades, had been exceptionally high in the period after 1918. It was the resolve of the Government to banish this feature from their economic life in the future. For this purpose three conditions had to be fulfilled—first, that total expenditure of goods and services should be prevented from falling to a level where general unemployment appeared; secondly, that the level of prices and wages should be kept reasonably stable; and thirdly, that there should be sufficient mobility of workers between occupations and localities.

For maintaining total expenditure four guiding principles were laid down. First, that to avoid an unfavourable foreign balance Britain must export much more than before the war. Secondly, that everything possible must be done to limit dangerous swings in expenditure on private investment—though success in that field might be particularly difficult to achieve. Thirdly, that public investment, both in timing and in volume, must be carefully planned to offset unavoidable fluctuations in private investment. Fourthly, that they must be ready to check and reverse the decline in expenditure on consumers' goods which normally followed as a secondary reaction to a falling off in private investment.

For securing the first two of these objects the White Paper was content to rely upon familiar and well-tried methods of foreign and monetary policy. For the third and fourth, however, it suggested entirely novel expedients. Hitherto, it was pointed out, capital expenditure by local authorities and public utility undertakings—which constituted the great bulk of public capital expenditure—had generally followed the same trend as private capital expenditure, falling in times of slump and rising in times of boom, so that it had tended to accentuate the peaks and depressions of the trade cycle. In the future it would be the Government's policy to try to correct this sympathetic movement by encouraging local authorities and utility undertakings, through its use of loans and grants, to press on with their programmes in times of depression and to slow them down when employment

was brisk. Similarly, for regulating consumption expenditure, the Government had a scheme for varying, in sympathy with the state of employment, the weekly contribution to be paid by employers and employed under the social insurance system, so that it would exceed the standard rate at times when unemployment fell below the estimated average level, and be less when unemployment exceeded the average. The result would be to increase substantially the purchasing power in the hands of employed workers, and so maintain the demand for consumers' goods. The same object might also be promoted by incorporating some system of deferred credits in the national taxation.

With regard to keeping stable the level of prices and wages, this condition could be realised only by the joint efforts of the Government, employers and organised labour. It was incumbent on workers to examine their trade practices and customs to ensure that they did not hinder an expansionist economy; on employers to seek in larger output rather than in higher prices the reward of enterprise and good management. Combines and agreements between manufacturers for controlling prices and output, dividing markets, and fixing conditions of sale, placed in their hands a power which might be operated against the public interest, and the Government therefore would seek powers to inform themselves of the extent and effect of restrictive agreements and to take action for checking practices which might be detrimental to the country as a whole.

Finally, in order to provide a basis on which to put the Government's theories into practice, its statistical service would be extended so as to include detailed figures of employment and unemployment; regular information regarding savings, and projected capital expenditure by public authorities, and, as far as possible, by private industry; an annual census of production, with some monthly figures also; and annual and quarterly estimates of foreign capital movements and balance of foreign payments. In addition there should be at every stage parallel surveys of the man-power position prepared by the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

In the House of Commons on June 7 Mr. Dalton, the President of the Board of Trade, compared the proposals of the White Paper with those of the Barlow Report on the location of industry (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1940, p. 11). The main ideas of that Report, he said, had been accepted by the Government, but they would be applied rather differently from the manner suggested in the Report, which was by the "decongestion" of congested areas and the encouragement of reasonable balance between different regions, with diversification of industry in each region. The reason was that conditions had changed in the meanwhile. The Government now possessed far more powerful weapons than had been contemplated by the Barlow Commission, a large number

of Government factories had been built, and the balance of industry had been changed in some areas. There was no need to impose a ban on further development in certain areas because in this matter the Government already had the required powers through their permit system, which would have to be continued for some time to come. The Barlow Report recommended a ban on further factory development in London, but the Government preferred to treat each case on its merits, though it recognised that London was not one of the areas where there was most urgent need for factory development. Between 1932 and 1936 five-sixths of the new factories were situated in the Greater London area. Now the Government were committed to a new and far-reaching policy designed to secure full employment in the country as a whole, and particularly in the so-called "development" (*i.e.* distressed) areas. The new factories now were being located predominantly in the development areas, and that trend would continue. While the building of new standard factories was part of the war effort, their location was part of the peace effort as well and would have great importance in years to come.

On June 21 the Minister of Labour moved a resolution in the House of Commons welcoming the declaration by the Government that it accepted as one of its primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war. He said that this resolution embodied the most important principle which had come before the House for many years. It meant that they were turning their back finally on past doctrines and conceptions and entering on a new epoch. All previous measures dealing with unemployment had been merely attempts to minimise its effects, not a recognition that it was a social disease which had to be eradicated. They had tried relief in all its forms, but they were now diagnosing and proposing a cure. He could say from personal experience that this problem was uppermost in the minds of the men who were defending the country at home and overseas. There was therefore an obligation on all members of the House to bend their abilities and energies to find the right solution.

With regard to the actual policy outlined in the White Paper, Mr. Bevin pointed out that its basic proposition, that "total expenditure on goods and services must be maintained at a level necessary to prevent general unemployment," involved a complete reversal of the policy followed between the wars, when it was held that the onset of industrial depression must be met by cuts in public expenditure and economies in all directions. In future the Government's policy would be to expand, not contract expenditure in such circumstances. There would be a deliberate ironing out of slump and boom, which would involve more economic control by the State than had hitherto been experienced. Mr. Bevin admitted that private investment at present covered

the greater part of the field with which they would have to deal, and this was most subject to fluctuation and most difficult to control. Nevertheless he was confident that slumps could be avoided more or less by a combination of various activities, and so the main cause of unemployment removed.

In a debate spread over three days almost all the speakers cordially welcomed the resolution before the House, but many were sceptical as to whether the actual proposals of the White Paper would secure the end in view. Most of the Labour speakers were frankly of opinion that the problem of unemployment could not be solved under a regime of private enterprise. On the other hand, whole-hearted support for the Government's proposals was forthcoming from the Tory Reform Committee, which claimed that the White Paper had drawn largely on the manifesto published by it in the previous year (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 94), and all were willing to give them a trial. On the whole, therefore, the Government could consider that it had received from the debate sufficient warrant for putting into legislative shape the policy outlined in the White Paper.

On June 2 the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform (*vide* p. 11) issued an interim report. It rejected by decisive majorities proposals to change the existing method of electing members of Parliament by introducing either some system of Proportional Representation or the alternative vote. With regard to redistribution, it recommended that there should be an immediate sub-division of certain "abnormally large" constituencies, with an electorate of one to two hundred thousand, raising the number of members for the time being from 615 to 640. When the population had been resettled after the war there should be a further redistribution which should keep the number of members as at present, *viz.* 591, without University members. It was not proposed to reduce the representation of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, though these were over-represented in proportion to England. The abolition of double-member constituencies, with the exception of the City of London, was recommended. The Conference favoured the retention of the business premises vote, with the qualification that it should not be conferred on wives in virtue of premises occupied by their husbands or *vice versa*; this would have the effect of reducing such votes by about a third. The most far-reaching change recommended by the Conference was that the local government should be assimilated to the Parliamentary franchise, so that, subject to a residence qualification, every one over 21 would be able to vote both in Parliamentary and local government elections, and there should be one register for both. On the existing registers, while there were about 32,000,000 Parliamentary electors, only some 24,000,000 persons were qualified to vote in local government elections.

On June 9 Colonel Llewellyn, the Minister of Food, reported in the House of Commons that things were still going well on the food front. Stocks of food were good, and the existing ration scales could probably be maintained for the rest of the year. Further progress had been made with dehydration, fourteen factories having been put into use for this purpose in the past twelve months. Canteens in factories had increased by 300 a month in the same period, and the rural pie scheme was selling no less than 1,300,000 pies a week. National health had been well maintained, and there was no sign of general loss of weight or impaired resistance to disease. The infant mortality rate had been maintained at the 1942 level, which was the lowest known.

On June 16 some Conservative members made their annual attempt to deprive the Home Secretary of his powers under Regulation 18B to detain persons suspected of aiding the enemy without right of appeal, and in particular to procure the release of the one member of Parliament who had been detained under the Regulation. Mr. Morrison once more declined politely but firmly to consider the suggestion, and the House again upheld him by 135 votes to 31. In the course of his speech Mr. Morrison stated that between July, 1943, and the end of May the number of persons detained under Regulation 18B had been reduced from 429 to 226. Of these 174 were of hostile origin and/or associations; only 22 were members of the British Union and they were not detained solely on account of that membership. The total number that had been detained was 1829, and the largest number at any one time—August 1940—was 1,426.

By this time military operations of the first importance had taken place in the Western theatre of the war, and immense strides forward had been made by the Allied nations. The lull which had befallen the Italian campaign after the capture of Monte Cassino had been broken on May 12 with a general assault on the so-called Gustav line of the Germans, running roughly from Cassino to the Tyrrhenian Sea, along the Rapido and Garigliano Rivers, where they had now been entrenched for several months. In the interval General Alexander had regrouped his forces so as to bring the Eighth Army on the east into closer touch with the Fifth Army on the west. Excellent progress was made almost from the start, especially by the French in the Liri valley, and within a week the Via Casilina had been cut behind Cassino and the Germans had been forced to evacuate that stronghold. From the Gustav line they fell back on another strongly prepared position, not far behind, called the Adolf Hitler line. It was not long before the British had made a breach in this line at Aquino, and meanwhile the Americans advanced along the Appian Way near the coast into the Gaeta peninsula, occupying Fondi on May 21.

At this point the British and American troops on the beaches

at Anzio struck out against the Germans who were enclosing them, in the neighbourhood of Cisterna. On this occasion they were fully successful in bursting their bonds. Supported by a powerful force of bombers, they soon took Cisterna, and while their patrols linked up with the Americans advancing up the coast, the bulk of them turned northwards in the direction of Rome. The main bodies of the Eighth and Fifth Armies had by this time broken through the Hitler line and were advancing towards Rome along the Via Casilina. Before long they had formed a continuous line with the Anzio forces from coast to coast. For some days the enemy made a stubborn resistance at Velletri and Valmontone in the Alban Hills, some 20 miles from Rome, but both these places fell to Fifth Army troops on June 2, and two days later they entered Rome.

While General Alexander's armies were driving the Germans before them in Italy, Government spokesmen at home were at pains to point out to the public that this was not the real Second Front which was to exercise a decisive influence on the issue of the war, and that the capture of Rome itself would have a far greater psychological than military value. The actual invasion of the Continent, however, continued to hang fire; and the strain on the public's patience was producing a sense of frustration which was already commencing to find vent in cynical jests. This, too, in spite of the fact that the Government gave new indications that the hour was rapidly approaching. Thus on May 12 Great Britain joined with the United States and Russia in calling on Germany's satellites to contribute while there was yet time to the inevitable victory of the Allies. On May 15 the Government issued a notice that in view of the increasing pressure on the railways it would be necessary to withdraw without notice many more passenger trains during the summer, and that the public should therefore avoid travelling, and that, in particular, conferences involving long-distance travel should not be held. One immediate result of this notice was the cancelling or postponement of a number of annual conferences, including that of the Labour Party usually held in Whit-week.

A few days later, on May 24, the Prime Minister in the House of Commons gave a kind of eve-of-invasion review of foreign affairs, in which he devoted himself chiefly to the attitude of the smaller countries, both German-occupied and neutral. Commencing with Turkey, he lamented the fact that that country had since the previous autumn adopted an attitude of exaggerated caution, overrating its own dangers and increasing its demands for supplies. They had therefore with great regret discontinued the process of arming Turkey, because it looked probable that they would be able to win the war in the Balkans without involving her at all, though of course the aid of Turkey might greatly accelerate their victory in that quarter.

In Italy the situation which he had forecast three months before had been realised. The King had promised to abdicate as soon as the Allies took Rome, and a new Government had been formed on a basis far broader than he had dared to hope. They were therefore doing their best to equip the Italian forces, which had played their part in the line on more than one occasion. Since he last spoke they had also made a satisfactory arrangement with Spain, a country which he thought could be relied on not to give much assistance to the Germans in the future. He reminded the House that Spain had not interfered with their preparations at Gibraltar for the invasion of North Africa, when she could have made it very awkward for the Allies, and in fact he seemed to intimate that General Franco was a very good friend of England, and deserved much better treatment than he was accorded in the British Press. At any rate he disclaimed any intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Spain, and looked forward to a great increase in trade between Spain and England after the war.

The situation in Greece, about which he had spoken so dependently three months before, had taken a distinct turn for the better; the warring sections were trying to make up their differences, and there was some prospect that a united Greece would place its forces at the disposal of the Allies. In Yugoslavia also the cause of national unity was making progress. The tension between Poland and Russia was unfortunately still acute, but he was under the impression that things were not so bad as they appeared on the surface. Finally, the French Committee of National Liberation was playing such a part in the struggle against Hitler in Europe as entitled it to the fourth place in the Grand Alliance. Nevertheless, the United States and Great Britain had not seen their way to recognise it yet as the Government of France or even as the Provisional Government of France. The reason was that they were not sure that it represented the French nation in the same way as the Governments of Great Britain, the United States, and Soviet Russia represented the whole body of their people. They did not wish to commit themselves at that stage to imposing the Government of the French Committee upon all of France which might fall under their control without more knowledge than they as yet possessed of the situation in the interior of France.

With regard to the future, Mr. Churchill said that the Atlantic Charter remained a guiding signpost expressing a vast body of opinion among all the Powers now fighting together. It did not, however, bind them in any way with regard to Germany, and it would be impossible for the Germans to use it as they had used President Wilson's Fourteen Points, as a basis for a claim for consideration. For the rest, they intended to set up a world order and organisation equipped with all the necessary attributes of power in order to prevent the breaking out of future wars or

the long planning of them in advance by restless and ambitious nations. For this purpose there would have to be a World Controlling Council comprised of the greatest States which emerged victorious from the war who would be obliged to keep in being a certain minimum standard of armaments for the purpose of preserving peace. There would also have to be a World Assembly of Powers, but it was too early yet to define its relation to the World Executive or Controlling Power.

In the debate which followed some concern was shown over the Premier's statement that Britain was still refusing full recognition to the French National Committee. Members could not see why this body should be regarded as less representative than the exiled Governments of Norway, Holland, and Belgium, not to mention those of Greece and Yugoslavia; and their discontent was only partially removed by an announcement made by Mr. Eden the next day that General de Gaulle had been invited to come from Algiers to London with a view to clearing away misunderstandings. The warmth of Mr. Churchill's reference to General Franco's regime in Spain also caused resentment in many quarters; it was made the subject of acid comment in numerous influential journals both in England and the United States, and was repudiated soon after by the Labour Party and some of the Trade Unions.

Before launching the actual invasion the Government took the further precaution, on May 16, of making agreements with the Norwegian, Belgian, and Dutch Governments in England concerning the arrangements for civil administration and jurisdiction in their territories when they should be liberated by Allied forces. These arrangements, it was stated, were intended to be essentially temporary and practical in character, and were primarily designed to facilitate the task of the Allied commanders in gaining final victory over Germany. They recognised that the Allied commanders must enjoy *de facto* during the first or military phase of the liberation such measure of supreme responsibility and authority over the civil administration as might be required by the military situation. It was laid down, however, that as soon as the military situation permitted the respective Governments should resume their full constitutional responsibility for the civil administration, on the understanding that such special facilities as the Allies might continue to require should be made available for the prosecution of the war to its successful conclusion.

The weather during May had been exceptionally good for flying, and the British and American Air Forces had taken advantage of it to drop a record tonnage of bombs on the Continent, chiefly for the purpose of dislocating the enemy's communications. Persistent attacks were also made on the whole of the French coast-line from Dunkirk to Cherbourg, and coastal batteries were put out of action, w



guess which part of the coast would be selected for the invasion. It was clear by now that the Allied Air Forces had established complete supremacy in the air, and that an invading force would have nothing to fear from the *Luftwaffe*. The submarine menace also had been reduced to a minimum, the number of U-boats sunk having for several months, and especially in May, exceeded the number of merchant vessels sunk by them.

Thus by the end of May it could be said that the obstacles to a landing on the Continent had been removed as far as possible. By this time, too, the preparations for an invasion had been practically completed. The general scheme, as subsequently revealed by Mr. Churchill, had been drawn up more than a year before, and had been approved by Mr. Roosevelt and himself at their meeting in Quebec. Since that time, there had been a constant flow of men, stores, and equipment to England from the United States. The men had undergone intensive training along with British and Canadian troops selected for the expedition. The equipment had included vast numbers of landing craft and escort vessels, many of new and wonderful designs, conspicuous among them the so-called "Ducks," amphibious lorries which were equally at home on land and in the water. The crowning marvel was provided by two huge artificial harbours, each about as large as that of Dover, which were capable of being towed across the Channel and moored close to the landing ground. The place selected for the landing—chiefly on account of its suitability for naval purposes—was a stretch of the Normandy coast midway between Le Havre and Cherbourg; and for some time the natural features of this coast-line and the enemy dispositions there had been made the subject of an intensive study.

One factor remained a source of particular anxiety—the weather. The month of June had been chosen as a time when the weather was usually favourable, and the day of the invasion—or D-day as it was commonly called—had been provisionally fixed for Monday, June 5, as a day when conditions of moon and tide would be suitable. On the evening of June 3, however, the meteorological experts announced with confidence that that would be a day of high wind and low cloud unsuitable either for beach landings or for air operations. General Eisenhower therefore postponed the operation on a day-to-day basis. On the next day the forecast was that there would be an improvement on Tuesday which might last a day or so. If that day were missed, it was feared that the expedition might have to be postponed for a fortnight on account of the tides. General Eisenhower therefore decided to take the risk, and at 4 A.M. on Monday gave the final order for the invasion to start on the next day.

On the morning of June 6 accordingly an armada of some 4000 vessels which had set out from Southampton and other southern ports began to converge on the beaches on both sides of

the River Orne, midway between Le Havre and Cherbourg. Between this place and Southampton the Navy had already swept a broad passage clear of mines, and it had also destroyed the obstacles which the Germans had built out to sea, and which did not prove so formidable as had been expected. The crossing was made practically without loss. The weather justified General Eisenhower's prognostics, and his boldness succeeded better than he could have dared to hope. For the Germans on their side from their study of the weather had convinced themselves that an invasion could not possibly take place in the early days of June. Consequently, as in Sicily and at Anzio, the invaders reaped all the benefit of surprise; the beaches were held only by light coastal forces which were soon overwhelmed by fire from the naval guns and by heavy bombardment from the air. Only one party of Americans came across a strong enemy force which happened to be on the coast more or less by accident, and found itself in a dangerous position for some hours until it could be relieved. Within a few hours a sufficient number of troops with equipment had been disembarked to form the nucleus of a bridge-head. By this time, too, large numbers of airborne troops had been successfully landed with comparatively little loss behind the enemy's lines, and were seriously interfering with his communications. Within twenty-four hours about a quarter of a million men had been landed, about half being Americans, the rest British and Canadians. The assemblage of the floating harbours was commenced immediately after.

In reporting the operation to the House of Commons on the next day, the Prime Minister described it as "undoubtedly the most complicated and difficult that had ever occurred, involving as it did tides, winds, waves, visibility, both from the air and the sea standpoint, and the combined employment of land, air, and sea forces in the highest degree of intimacy and in contact with conditions which could not be fully foreseen." He dwelt with great satisfaction on the perfect unity which prevailed throughout the Allied Armies, the complete confidence felt in General Eisenhower and General Montgomery, and the ardour and spirit of the troops which he had himself seen. Later in the day he announced that many of the dangers and difficulties which on the previous night had appeared extremely formidable were already behind them.

It was not till the third day after the initial landing that the Germans brought up reserves and commenced fighting in earnest. By that time, thanks to better weather, large reinforcements had been disembarked, and the position of the Allies had been rendered practically impregnable. They had also occupied the small town of Bayeux, some 10 miles inland. Within a few days they had secured a firm lodgment some 50 miles wide and 13 deep.

The eastern end of the Allied line, on the side of Caen, was

held by the British and Canadians, the western end, on the side of the Cherbourg peninsula, by the Americans. On both sides the initiative lay with the Allies and they began to press forward. The British and Canadians advanced south from Bayeux towards Tilly, and, crossing the River Orne, took Troarn, some 7 miles east of Caen, their object being to capture that city by means of a pincer movement from east and west. The Germans, however, had by this time entrenched themselves strongly in Caen, and they not only held up the British progress, but managed to recapture Troarn. The weather also began to favour the enemy; low cloud interfered greatly with the work of the British Air Force, and north-east winds of unusual violence for the time of year put one of the floating harbours out of action and rendered the landing of reinforcements exceedingly difficult.

The Americans on their side found much feebler opposition, and pressed forward into the Cherbourg peninsula with great rapidity. On June 9 they captured St. Mère Eglise, on the railway between Carentan and Cherbourg, and began to advance on the latter city. On June 13 they were held up for some time at Montebourg, but on the 16th they finally took this place also. At the same time they cut off the Cherbourg peninsula by reaching the port of Barneville-sur-Mer on the west coast. Continuing their march on Cherbourg they reached its outer defences on June 20, and in the next few days carried it by assault, obtaining complete mastery of it after fierce street fighting on June 27. The possession of this port, though the Germans had rendered it for the time being unusable, meant of course that the Allied hold on the French coast was absolutely secure.

While the Americans were advancing on Cherbourg, the British and Canadians at the eastern end of the sector had, apart from taking Tilly on June 20, been doing little more than hold their own against fierce German counter-attacks. On June 26, however, they struck out towards the River Odon, south-west of Caen, and succeeded in crossing it and forming a two-mile bridgehead on the other side. At the same time they threatened Caen from the north-west. After fierce German attacks on the Odon bridgehead had been repulsed, General Montgomery, on July 4, launched a new attack west of Caen. This proved completely successful; after some days of hard fighting, on July 9 Caen fell to a massive combined assault from air, sea, and land. Thus in less than five weeks after the commencement of the invasion the Allies found themselves in possession of the two chief ports in Normandy, along with a stretch of country which allowed them ample room for deployment.

In Italy during this time the northern advance of the Allied armies, which had already carried them from Cassino to Rome, was continued without interruption. Passing through Rome without pause, the Fifth Army on June 6 crossed the Tiber, and

advanced towards Civitavecchia, 40 miles away on the coast, which they occupied on June 8. Other detachments, keeping further inland, captured Civita Castellana on June 9 and Viterbo on the next day. On the coast Orbetello was occupied on June 14 and Grosseto on the 16th, while further inland, after some stiff fighting round Lake Bolsena, Orvieto was captured on the 15th. Meanwhile the Eighth Army had also commenced to move. One section advanced up the Tiber valley in the direction of Terni, which it took on June 16, another section took Avezzano, due east of Rome, on the 12th, and on the Adriatic coast the Army at length crossed the River Pescara, which had long barred its progress, and commenced to advance.

From Terni Eighth Army troops marched towards Lake Trasimeno, and after some stiff fighting occupied Perugia to the west of it on June 20, and Chiusi to the south-west on the 27th. From this point, owing to increased enemy resistance, progress was slowed down for a time, but on July 3 French troops of the Fifth Army occupied Siena, while the Americans on the coast captured Cecina, not far south of Leghorn.

Meanwhile, other troops of the Eighth Army were closing in on Arezzo, not far south-west of Florence, while on the Adriatic coast they had reached the neighbourhood of Ancona. On July 10 the Americans also began to threaten Leghorn. Enemy resistance was stubborn at all three points, but was at length overcome. The Germans withdrew from Arezzo on July 16; and on the 19th both Leghorn and Ancona fell to allied assault—the former to the Americans and the latter to the Poles.

During this period of success in Normandy and Italy, the position of the British in Burma also improved considerably. This was due chiefly to the American and Chinese successes round Myitkina (*vide* China), but in no small part also to the liquidation by the British of the Japanese threat to Manipur. After some weeks of indecisive fighting round Kohima and Imphal (*vide* p. 35), British troops coming from Dimapur on June 9, just before the commencement of the monsoon, attacked the Japanese on the Naga Hills to the north-east of Kohima, and drove them out. They then turned southwards along the road from Kohima to Imphal, which was still under the control of the Japanese, and on June 22 linked up with a force advancing northwards from Imphal, thus completely clearing the road. The threat to Imphal was finally removed by the capture, two weeks later, of Ukhrul, a Japanese base 35 miles west of Imphal.

In a review of the Burma campaign which he gave to a Press conference on August 25, in the course of a brief visit to London, Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Commander-in-Chief of the South-East Asia Command, said that it had been originally intended that when he first went out to India, after the Quebec Conference, large-scale amphibious operations should at once be

started in South-East Asia. Subsequently, however, all the landing ships and craft originally allotted had to be withdrawn for more urgent operations in the west, and they were left to carry on in Burma with what they had. Their plans, therefore, had to be recast on a less ambitious scale, and the only thing they could aim at doing was to drive the Japanese out of the north-east corner of Burma so as to improve their communications with China and keep open the supply routes to that country. There were two ways in which the Fourteenth Army, of which about a third were troops from the United Kingdom, sought to help the Ledo forces under General Stilwell. One was by cutting the communications of the Japanese opposing General Stilwell by means of the long-range penetration forces organised by General Wingate, whose death at the moment of triumph had been a great disaster. The other was by engaging the greatest number of other Japanese divisions in Burma. This was a most formidable task, because the Japanese were fighting on interior lines and living off the land, whereas their own communications through Assam were about the most difficult in the world. Fortunately the Japanese played into their hands by their rash attempt to invade India, which had cost them dear. While Allied forces in 1944 had suffered 10,000 killed and 3,000 missing and 27,000 wounded, they had amply avenged this by killing no fewer than 50,000 Japanese. Lord Mountbatten added that since the beginning of the war a quarter of a million casualties had been suffered in Burma from sickness, mostly malaria and dysentery, but this year the zeal and skill of American and British medical services had succeeded in reducing the ravages of malaria by no less than 40 per cent. In addition to their land victories they had practically swept the Japanese air force from the Burma skies, while at sea, owing to their successful actions against Sabang, Sourabaya and the Andaman Islands, the Japanese Navy seemed now as much afraid to accept action in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal as it was in the Pacific.

While for some time the war news had been almost all that could be desired, at home there had been a recrudescence of the air menace which was all the more unwelcome for being largely unexpected. After the middle of March German air activity over England had again become very slight; total air-raid casualties in April had been only 146 killed and 226 injured, and in May the figures had sunk to the record low level of 68 and 75, respectively. Yet just now when the *Luftwaffe* had been reduced to impotence and its menace seemed to have been finally disposed of, the population of London and of the whole south-east of England was subjected to an ordeal as severe as that of February and much more prolonged.

The people of England had long been hearing of a "secret weapon" which Hitler had in store for them, but the reports of

which, from their knowledge of German propaganda, they treated with a good deal of scepticism. They were now to find that it was after all a reality. On June 13 there dropped in London for the first time an explosive bomb in the shape of an aeroplane without a pilot and weighing about a ton, which had obviously come from the other side of the Straits of Dover. Two days later the Germans began to launch a more or less continuous stream of these bombs from installations on the French coast, and though the majority of them were shot down over the Channel or the countryside by British planes and anti-aircraft guns, a certain number of them managed to reach the London area, doing damage proportionate to their weight.

The strangeness of the new weapon added to its terror and gave rise to exaggerated rumours of the devastation wrought by it—rumours based in part on fantastic statements in the German Press. In order not to give information to the enemy the official reports, both on the damage caused and on the measures taken to meet the danger, were couched in vague terms; and though the Home Secretary on June 23 reported that in the first five days of these raids fewer persons had been killed than in the five night raids of February, the public after a short time were reduced to a state of bewilderment, not knowing whether to expect an improvement or the reverse, whether it was better to stick it out or seek safety in evacuation. A demand was raised in Parliament for more light on the subject, and in response the Prime Minister made a full statement on July 6.

Mr. Churchill said that the serious character of this weapon had never been underrated in the secret circles of the Government. On the contrary, their anticipations of the force and extent of the danger had so far been considerably in excess of the reality. The probability of such an attack had been under continuously intense study and examination for a long time. During the early months of 1943 they received through their intelligence sources vague reports that the Germans were developing a new long-range weapon with which they proposed to bombard London, and even before this the Home Secretary had begun to strengthen the street shelters. In spite of all precautions taken by the enemy to conceal his designs they had by July, 1943, succeeded in locating at Peenemünde on the Baltic the main experimental stations both for the flying bomb and the long-range rocket. In August the full strength of Bomber Command was sent out to attack those installations, and though the raids were costly on account of the long distances into Germany which had to be flown, they inflicted damage which delayed by many months the bringing into action of both these weapons.

About this time they had also located at Watten, in the Pas de Calais, the first of the large structures which appeared to be

connected with the firing of the long-range rocket. This site had been very heavily attacked in September, and had been under continual treatment since by the heaviest weapons carried by the British and American Air Forces. A most thorough air reconnaissance was also carried out of the whole of north-west France and Belgium, as a result of which they found that in addition to the large structures of the Watten type other structures in greater numbers were being erected all along the French coast between Havre and Calais. About 100 of them were discovered altogether, and from December onwards all of them were continuously bombed by the Royal Air Force, and every one of them was destroyed. But for this the bombardment of London would have started perhaps six months earlier and on a much larger scale.

The enemy thereupon developed a new series of prefabricated structures which could be rapidly assembled and well camouflaged, especially during periods of cloudy weather, and it was from these comparatively light and rapidly erected structures that the present attack was being made, in spite of their having been heavily and continuously bombed for several months past. The total weight of bombs so far dropped on flying bomb and rocket targets in France and Germany, including Peenemünde, was about 50,000 tons, and the number of reconnaissance flights now totalled many thousands. The scrutiny and interpretation of the many thousands of the air photographs obtained had alone been a stupendous task. Quite a considerable proportion of their flying power had been diverted for months past to these efforts from other forms of offensive activity, and the losses had been heavy, while the Germans on their side had sacrificed to these weapons a great deal of manufacturing strength which might have increased the fighting and bomber strength supporting their armies. There had thus been in progress for years past an unseen battle into which great resources had been poured by both sides.

With regard to the actual scale of the attack, Mr. Churchill said that between 100 and 150 flying bombs, each weighing about one ton, were being discharged daily. A very large proportion of these had either failed to cross the Channel or had been shot down and destroyed by various methods—batteries, aircraft, and balloons—which had been very rapidly placed in position. The weather had been unfavourable to them in this operation also; nevertheless their success had been considerable. They had brought so many down that so far it had taken on the average one bomb to kill one person. The figures in two weeks had been 2754 bombs launched and 2572 fatal casualties sustained. In addition some 8000 people had had to be removed to hospital. The casualty and first-aid services had worked excellently, and had by no means been strained beyond their capacity; and, since the casualties in Normandy had been far less than they had prepared for, there was ample hospital accommodation.

The Prime Minister scorned the idea that Parliament should transfer its location to some safer city, and he called on all who had duties in London to remain at their posts. At the same time he recommended those who had no essential work in the metropolis to leave at their own expense if they could do so, and intimated that arrangements were being made for the evacuation of children and their mothers on a large scale, though at present at any rate there would be no compulsion. The advice of the Prime Minister was taken to heart, and women and children commenced to leave London in large numbers, while on the other hand there was no slackening in the work of the metropolis, and especially in war work. There was much anxiety but no panic or even complaining, and the idea of interfering with the military operations in order to provide better protection for London was never mentioned.

The long-awaited policy of the Government for controlling or assisting building development in post-war Britain was at last announced on June 23. It fell into three distinct divisions, one dealing with towns like Plymouth or Coventry or sections of London which had been devastated by air raids; a second with obsolescent or slum areas in British towns; and a third with normal urban development. The first two were the subject of a Bill which was called the Town and Country Planning Bill, though it dealt exclusively with towns. The third was for the present dealt with only in a White Paper giving the Government's views on the matter.

The main object of the Town and Country Planning Bill was to enable the so-called "blitzed" areas of various towns to be rebuilt, not as they were before, but on an improved plan which should conform to modern standards. For this purpose local planning authorities were to be invited to submit to the Minister of Town and Country Planning schemes for redevelopment, and if after a public local inquiry he approved, he was authorised to confer on them compulsory powers of purchase in the specified area. A similar procedure was to be applied to the obsolescent or so-called "blighted" areas, which were to be found in all large towns, only in their case the area would not be designated as a whole but compulsory purchase would be applied to it piecemeal as and when the local planning authority was ready. Since after redevelopment the areas dealt with would probably be less congested than they had been before, compulsory powers were also contained in the Bill for the purchase of so-called "overspill" areas where those who were crowded out could be accommodated.

The White Paper on urban development contained the long-heralded alternative of the Government to the Uthwatt plan for compensation and betterment. Briefly it was that development rights should continue to be vested in the owners of land, but that they should be so restricted by statute that they could not

be exercised till a proposed development or redevelopment had been approved by the planning authority. When permission had been granted to develop or redevelop for a different use, the owners would be subject to a betterment charge at the rate of 80 per cent. of the increase of value due to the granting of the permission, the remaining 20 per cent. being an incentive to the owners to develop the land themselves or to sell to developers. Any refusal of permission to develop or redevelop would entitle owners to fair compensation for the loss of development value as it existed at date March 31, 1939, except where under the present law no compensation or only restricted compensation would have been payable. They would not be entitled to compensation for any further development accruing after that date. The Government accepted the principle that compensation should not be swollen by the inclusion of any excess due to the element of "floating value." The formula for determining fair compensation was not to be settled till after five years experience of the new system. Responsibility for payment of compensation and collection of betterment charges would be transferred from local authorities to a central Land Commission which was expected so to manage matters that over a reasonable period and over the country as a whole the receipts from betterment would broadly balance the payment of fair compensation. A power of compulsory purchase was provided for cases where an owner was unwilling to make land available for development which was needed in the interests of good planning. It was maintained by the Government that these proposals were more practicable than those of the Uthwatt Committee, and that "they provided the basis for a practical system whereby individual rights of land tenure in the national interest might be reconciled with the best use of the land."

The second reading of the Town and Country Planning Bill was moved by Mr. W. S. Morrison on July 11. He represented the Bill as an extension of the planning code already in existence, for the purpose of dealing with a novel problem of limited extent. Hitherto the planning code had provided for restriction on the use to which owners might put their land. Something more, however, was required for dealing with the problem of the bombed cities. They did not want to rebuild things merely as they had been, but on a new and improved pattern, with better buildings, safer streets, less crowding, and better conditions generally. For this purpose it was necessary that the land which had suffered from extensive war damage should be acquired by the local planning authority, together perhaps with some adjacent land, in order that it might be developed as a whole. It was necessary at the same time for the authority to acquire land needed to accommodate those whom the reconstruction might remove from the area.

The object of the present Bill was to assist local authorities in carrying out this work of reconstruction, in four ways. In the first place, it greatly strengthened the powers of the local authorities for acquiring land by compulsion if necessary—and this not only in the war-damaged areas, but also in the obsolescent and “overspill” areas. Secondly, it greatly simplified and expedited the process of acquiring the land needed; for instance, it relieved the local authority of the necessity of compiling a book of reference showing the owner of each interest in the land affected—a very laborious process which had in certain cases taken over two years to complete. Thirdly, to prevent overcharging it was proposed that, as in the case of valuations under the War Damage Act, the values prevailing on March 31, 1939, should be taken as the standard. Finally, to provide the local authorities with capital for carrying out redevelopment, the Government would advance them loans under conditions which would make the payment of interest and repayment go hand in hand with the profit derived from the redevelopment. This financial assistance would, however, apply only to land in war-damaged, not in obsolescent areas, as the former would have prior claims on labour and materials in the early years after the war.

The reception of the Bill in the House was very similar to that accorded to the White Paper on unemployment a few weeks earlier. The Tory Reform Committee supported it warmly. The bulk of the Conservatives and the Liberals were highly critical, and consented to give it a second reading only on condition that it would be drastically amended in Committee. The Labour Party could not bring themselves to allow it even this grace. In the interval since its publication they had considered at more than one meeting the question of voting for or against it, without being able to come to a decision. After hearing the Minister's speech, Mr. Greenwood now stated that their chief objection was that it dealt with the problem of the “blitzed” areas independently, instead of as part of a general national development, and would therefore be an obstacle in the way of the nationalisation of the land, which they regarded as a necessary condition of such development. Nevertheless he recognised that in existing conditions a Bill of that kind was necessary, and he announced therefore that the Labour Party would abstain from voting. In consequence of this decision only fourteen members voted against the second reading, to 227 in favour.

Having thus obtained from the House this qualified approval of his Bill, Mr. Morrison began to discuss with the local authorities ways and means of putting it into effect. While he was thus engaged, two measures were brought forward by the Minister of Health for facilitating the provision of new houses in the immediate future. The first, of which the second reading was moved on July 19, was for the benefit of local authorities; it provided that

the Exchequer subsidy of 5*l.* 10*s.* which under the Act of 1938 was limited to houses built by local authorities for slum clearance, for the abatement of overcrowding, and for agricultural workers, should be available in respect of any new house built by them between the date when the Bill became law and October 1, 1947. It also empowered the Minister for two years to confirm a compulsory purchase order submitted by a housing authority without the delay of a local public inquiry. These proposals met with no opposition, though it was pointed out that they went a very little way towards solving the housing problem.

The Minister came closer to grips with the problem in a second Bill, of which the text was published on July 21, empowering the Government to spend 150,000,000*l.* on the temporary bungalows which it was recommending the local authorities to put up with all speed. In moving the second reading on August 1, Mr. Willink explained that there were various types of such prefabricated houses which could be put up with great rapidity, but the Government had chosen the so-called Portal house of steel, because the steel industry was capable of very large-scale production at the earliest date and was able to rely on an adequate supply of materials. He also informed the House that the model Portal house in London had been seen by about 30,000 persons, and the suggestions made by them had led to numerous improvements being introduced in the original design, which would raise the cost from 550*l.* to 600*l.* The average life of the houses would be about ten years. Mr. Willink pointed out that the need for the Bill was urgent, in order that work on the new houses might start at once. The House, however, showed itself far from enamoured of the prospect of dotting these somewhat unattractive structures all over the country, perhaps to stay there for years, and was by no means convinced that a better way could not be found of dealing with the immediate housing problem. It refused to give the Bill a second reading at once, and after some discussion the debate was adjourned till after the recess.

On July 25 the report was published of the Committee which had been appointed in 1942 under the chairmanship of Lord Fleming to consider means for bringing the so-called "public schools" into closer association with the general educational system of the country. The Committee recognised that "the trend of social development was leaving the public schools out of alignment with the world in which they existed." It felt, nevertheless, that they had valuable educational qualities which it would be disastrous to lose; for a hundred years "they had preserved for English education a belief in the value of humane studies, in the need for a training in responsibility, and in the essential part to be played by religion in education." This was especially true of the great boarding schools, which were particularly the preserve of a single social class.

The ultimate objective of the Committee was to give all children, irrespective of their parents' means, the opportunity of education at whatever type of school was best suited to their needs and aptitudes. For this purpose it was necessary that the public schools should open their gates to classes to which they were at present inaccessible; and to enable them to do this the Committee suggested two schemes, one for day schools and the other for boarding schools. The main provision of the former scheme—called Scheme A—was that tuition fees should either be abolished or graded according to an approved income scale which would provide for total remission if necessary. The criterion for admission for all pupils should be capacity to profit by the education given at the school, and no pupil should be precluded from entering any Scheme A school by reason of inability to pay fees. Payments to the school would be made by the Board of Education in respect of all pupils save a limited number for whom the local authorities would be responsible. In respect of staffing and salaries these schools would not be allowed to fall below the level of secondary schools, while at least one-third of the governing body should be nominated by the local education authorities sending pupils to the school.

For democratising the boarding schools—or Scheme B schools, as they were called—it was proposed that they should offer a minimum of 25 per cent. of their annual admissions to pupils from grant-aided primary schools who would receive bursaries from the Board of Education. These bursaries would be available to boys and girls at the ages of 11 and 13. Pupils awarded the bursary at 13 would enter the boarding school at once; 11-year-old boys would enter either the preparatory department of a boarding school or a preparatory school approved for the purpose. Applications for bursaries would be made by parents through the local education authorities to the Board of Education. Candidates for bursaries would be interviewed by Regional Interviewing Boards to be set up by the Board of Education. There should be no competitive examination for these bursaries, but the interviewing boards would consider the wishes of the parents, the circumstances and character of the candidate, his school record, the report of the head teacher and the observations of the local education authority. Scheme B schools would be required to include in their governing bodies persons nominated by the Board of Education, who would normally not constitute more than one-third of the whole, and it should also be a condition of their entrance into the scheme that the system of private profits on the management of boarding houses should be abolished.

On July 14 the House of Commons renewed for another year the Emergency Powers Act of 1939 as from August 24. In answer to the question what would happen to the regulations when hostilities ceased, the Home Secretary said that there would

certainly be a general review of the emergency powers as soon as hostilities ceased in Europe. It was to be expected that as soon as the war was concentrated in the East many of the restrictions required in war time would be abandoned or modified; such were, for instance, those which affected personal liberty and the freedom of the Press, while some, like the black-out, might be got rid of even before the European War was finished. It would be the duty of the Government to sweep away all restrictions which could safely be dispensed with without social disadvantage, and the Government had every intention of doing so to the utmost possible extent.

On July 26 the Corporation of the City of London published a plan drawn up under its auspices for the reconstruction of the City after the damage it had sustained during the war. The plan was severely practical in its outlook, and aimed primarily at promoting "the return to the City at the earliest possible date of those businesses which had been displaced by enemy action, and the rehabilitation of commerce within their walls." Broadly speaking this meant the restoration of the City on its existing lines, not, however, without numerous improvements in detail, the chief of which was that the views of St. Paul's opened up by the "blitz" should be retained unimpaired. The plan was one which, it was thought, "might reasonably be carried out over, say, twenty to twenty-five years by existing statutory powers at a cost not incommensurate with the benefits, direct and indirect, which would accrue." It was, however, roundly condemned in many quarters as showing a sad lack both of social and artistic sense.

On July 27 the House of Commons accepted a number of amendments which the House of Lords, after an exhaustive examination, had inserted in the Education Bill, none of which, however, affected the structure of the Bill. Among them was one which substituted for "Young People's Colleges" the title "Country Colleges." Another removed the ban which prohibited ministers of religion in all circumstances from inspecting religious teaching under the agreed syllabus in schools. The Bill became law at the end of the session, and soon after Mr. Butler was appointed under its provisions the first Minister of Education.

On July 25 a White Paper was published containing the Government's plans for disposing of the surplus stocks in its hands after the war. In the House of Commons on July 25 Mr. Dalton said that the Government were anxious to avoid the mistakes made in this matter after the last war, when grave profiteering took place in regard to these stocks, with very evil results for the economy of the country. It was not yet possible, he said, to give exact estimates of the quantities of surplus goods and material which would be available at the end of hostilities, but a close statistical study of the subject was being made, so

that when the war came to an end everything would be tabulated and ready to be acted on at once. In releasing supplies it would be necessary to balance carefully the interests of consumers and producers, and while it would be a great mistake to flood the market it would be wrong to scrap anything that might be of use to themselves, their Allies, or other people at the end of the war. He therefore warned producers that they must not expect the Government to agree to the scrapping or destruction of valuable goods, though at first sight this might be to the producers' advantage. The Government, he said, did not intend to set up, except where absolutely necessary, special *ad hoc* machinery for the distribution of these goods, but wished to do so as far as possible through the normal channels, cutting out interloping jobbers and speculators who were not normally engaged in handling them. It would be essential for the Government during the transition period to exercise a firm grip over prices and profit margins. With regard to the disposal of Government factories, it had been decided that competitive bidding would not give the best results, and in allocating them the Government would take into account a number of criteria, such as the establishment of a balanced distribution of industry, the needs of the export trade and of maintaining a suitable war potential in times of peace, the requirements of town and country planning, and the ability of applicants for factories to make efficient use of the premises with the minimum of reconstruction. As between leasing and selling factories it had been decided not to lay down any hard and fast rule, but the normal procedure would be one of leasing for suitable terms.

On July 27 the Home Secretary moved the second reading of a Bill amending in certain respects the Act of the previous November dealing with war-time elections. He said it had been discovered since that time that the clerical staffs available were not adequate to compile registers satisfactorily on the lines laid down in that Act. The Bill provided that the requirement of two months continuous residence laid down in the Act should be suspended, and that any person should be entitled to be included in the electoral register if he was registered under the national register and had resided in the constituency on the qualifying date. As a precaution against fraud, however, the qualifying date itself would be put back a month, so that if a by-election was initiated in June, for instance, the qualifying date would be not May 31, as under the Act, but April 30. The Minister further stated that it was the intention of the Government to use the Bill only for by-elections and not for a General Election, and that in any case it was purely a temporary measure and would be brought to an end as soon as possible.

On July 28 the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform submitted to Parliament its final report, dealing with candidates' expenses at Parliamentary elections. It favoured a drastic

reduction in the permissible maxima of legal expenses laid down as in the Acts of 1918 and 1928, *viz.*, 6*d.* for each elector in counties and 5*d.* and 3½*d.* in single and joint boroughs, respectively. Instead it recommended that there should be a basic allowance of 450*l.* in both borough and county constituencies, with a supplementary allowance at the rate of one penny per elector in boroughs and three-halfpence for each in county constituencies. The effect of this change would be to reduce the maximum expenditure in a borough constituency of 54,000 from 1,125*l.* to 675*l.*, and in a county constituency of 54,000 from 1,350*l.* to 787*l.* The Conference also put on record its view that a candidate should not seek to sway opinion in his constituency by the magnitude of his charitable donations, or to influence selection committees by promising lavish contributions to party funds. It recognised, however, that these abuses could not be dealt with effectively by legislation. A proposal to regulate further the use of motor-cars to convey electors to the poll was rejected by one vote.

The Indian situation was discussed in the House of Lords on July 25 and in the House of Commons on July 28, and in both Houses the Government was urged to try to turn to account certain declarations recently made by Mr. Gandhi which indicated a more conciliatory attitude on his part. The Government reply was that Mr. Gandhi's statements were as yet too vague to provide a basis for any fresh approach, and that the offers made by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942 still held good in their entirety. In the House of Commons the Secretary of State for India stated that without prejudice to future political developments, and in fact in preparation for them, the Government were forming plans on a vast scale for economic development in India; the Government of India were now submitting to the Provinces a plan designed to double India's agricultural production in the next fifteen years at a cost of 750,000,000*l.* He also drew attention to the fact that on demobilisation some 500,000 men would return from the war to civil life well trained in technical service, and this might have an important influence on the future of India.

On July 26 the House of Commons heard with no small surprise an admission from the Home Secretary that he had repeatedly broken the law by failing to lay before it a number of regulations made under the Fire Services Act of 1941, as required by the statute. The regulations included the reorganisation of the Fire Service carried out in 1941. He explained the neglect as a pure oversight, due to extreme pressure of work, and promised that it would not be repeated. To remedy the omission, the regulations in question, of which there were nineteen in all, were at once laid before Parliament for the statutory twenty-eight days, while the Minister himself was safeguarded by an Indemnity Bill which was carried through all its stages before the recess.

By the time the session ended on August 3 events of decisive

importance had taken place on the Normandy battlefield, though the campaign had not taken the course which at one time seemed likely. The capture of Caen on July 9 did not bring to the British the benefits which had been anticipated ; it did not open a way for them into the interior. The Germans had established themselves in great strength east, south, and south-west of the town, and the next few weeks saw some of the stiffest fighting of the campaign—and of the war—in this neighbourhood. Slowly and with great effort the British had to fight their way from the River Odon, which flowed into the town from the south-west, to the River Orne, which flowed into it from the south. On July 18, after an assault supported by more than 2000 bombers, a bridge-head was established on the east side of the Orne at Fleury, a few miles south of Caen. The enemy, however, continued to resist stubbornly, and progress from this point was still very slow, though by July 26 British and Canadian troops were astride the Caen to Falaise road. It was not till the end of the month that a material change began to take place in the situation. On July 30 the British Second Army, under General Dempsey, launched an attack from the western end of the line in the direction of Caumont, which was captured after some hard fighting. From this point progress was more rapid, and advancing southwards the British on August 1 gained 10 miles in 24 hours. On the next day they reached Vire, and General Dempsey was able to declare that a major success had been obtained.

If the British had not been able to make much progress themselves since taking Caen, yet by keeping the bulk of the German forces engaged they had greatly facilitated the task of the Americans on their right in pressing southwards from the Cherbourg peninsula. At first it is true they also found the going heavy. Having taken La Haye du Puits on July 9—the day on which the British took Caen—they turned their attention to St. Lo, 40 miles to the south-east, but it was not till July 18 that they captured this place. From the line thus formed an attack supported by 3000 bombers was launched on the opposing Germans on July 25. A break-through was soon effected, and the Americans commenced to push forward with great rapidity. Lessay, south of La Haye du Puits, was captured almost immediately, and Coutances, due west of St. Lo, on July 29. By the end of the month they were at Avranches, at the entrance of the Brest peninsula, and on August 3 they reached the key town of Rennes, which fell to them without opposition.

A statement issued by Supreme Headquarters on August 6 gave the total casualties suffered by the Allied Expeditionary Force from June 6 to July 20 in killed, wounded, and missing, as 116,139, made up of 39,564 British, 6545 Canadian, and 70,009 United States. It was stated by Mr. Churchill that the losses of the Air Force in the preliminary operations had been particularly

severe, no fewer than 7000 men of the Home Command from the R.A.F. having been killed or become missing from April 1 to June 30, while United States losses also had been most severe. At sea, on the other hand, the losses were comparatively light, in spite of desperate efforts made by the Germans to interfere with the cross-Channel traffic; up to July 13, by which time the bulk of the Expeditionary Force had been conveyed across to France, the British had lost three destroyers and three frigates, along with one trawler and one auxiliary, and the United States about the same.

In Italy further progress had again been made in spite of great difficulties. The acquisition of Leghorn did not bring immediately the advantages which might have been expected, as the port had been rendered completely unusable by the Germans, and supplies had still to be drawn from distant bases. Immediately after taking Arrezzo on July 16 troops of the Eighth Army pushed northward so rapidly that they were able to take by surprise the enemy guarding the approach to the River Arno 4 miles away and to capture a bridge intact. From this point they began to follow the river valley northwards towards Florence. At the same time French troops of the Fifth Army approached the city by a road further west—the ancient Via Cassia—running through S. Casciano, 9 miles from Florence, being replaced by New Zealanders of the Eighth Army when they reached that place. On July 28 a bridgehead was formed by the latter across the River Pesa, while South Africans further east also drew nearer to Florence. German resistance from this point became very stubborn, and the enemy made several counter-attacks. Step by step, however, the Eighth Army fought its way forward, until on August 3 the South Africans were in the outskirts of Florence. On the next day they penetrated into its southern portion up to the River Arno, only to find that five of the six bridges over the river had been blown up by the Germans, who were thus enabled to retain possession of the northern half of the city. After a few days the Germans withdrew, but they still covered the main thoroughfares with their artillery, so that it was not till August 19 that the Eighth Army was able to take definite possession of the whole of the city.

In a review of the war situation which he gave to the House of Commons on August 2—just before it rose for the summer recess—Mr. Churchill characterised the latest news from Normandy as “extremely good,” and was optimistic enough “not to deny” that victory might come soon. As far as the battle had already gone, he said that it was a glorious story, not only liberating the fields of France from enslavement but also uniting in bonds of true comradeship the great democracies of the West and the English-speaking peoples of the world. It was their wish, and also the desire of General Eisenhower, that the battle for Normandy

should be viewed as a single set of operations conducted by Allied forces linked in brotherhood and intermingled in every manner that might seem convenient. The Prime Minister, in the course of his speech, revealed for the first time some of the background of the campaign in the matter of planning and preparation, and gave it as his considered opinion that they had had neither the experience nor the tackle to execute so vast an enterprise any earlier than they actually did. If things had gone so smoothly, much of the credit was due to that much-abused institution, the War Office, which had won the warm gratitude of General Montgomery. He believed that not only in the War Office but throughout the Service Departments the whole method and execution of war policy stood at that moment at a higher level than they had ever reached before, and one which compared not unfavourably with similar organisations in any other country, whether friend or foe.

In a review of foreign affairs which he included in his speech, Mr. Churchill pointed to the salutary political effects which in the Balkans and elsewhere had followed the military successes of the Allies. He dwelt with special satisfaction on the improvement which had recently taken place in the relations of the French National Committee with the Government of the United States, and which he attributed partly to the success of General de Gaulle's visit to that country, but also to the careful spadework done in England by the Foreign Secretary. He thanked the House for the self-restraint it had shown a few weeks before in forgoing a debate on British, French, and American relations at a time when they were in a somewhat critical state and feeling on them was running rather high. It was, he said, one of the main interests of Great Britain that France should regain and hold her place among the major Powers of Europe. They would soon have to deal again with the problem of France and Germany along the Rhine, and from that discussion France could by no means be excluded.

CHAPTER III

THE LIBERATION OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM.

THE break-through of the American forces at Avranches at the beginning of August proved to be a turning-point in the battle of Normandy. In the absence of any German opposition to the south and east it gave them complete freedom of movement in those directions, and so opened up possibilities which the American commander, General Bradley, lost no time in exploiting. From Rennes one part of his forces turned westwards to clear the Brest peninsula and reduce the garrisons in the seaports there, while

the rest proceeded eastwards in the direction of the Loire valley. On reaching Le Mans on August 9 this section again split into two. One part under General Patton proceeded north-eastwards toward Paris, while the other turned north in order to take in flank the German Seventh Army locked in bitter conflict with the British and Canadians between Falaise and Caen.

These meanwhile had kept up their pressure along the River Orne, steadily forcing the enemy back towards Falaise. At the same time Allied air forces attacked enemy communications in the rear to cut off his line of retreat towards the Seine. Instead, however, of retiring, as ordinary prudence would have dictated, the enemy made a vicious thrust westwards in the direction of Avranches, with the object of driving a wedge between the British and the Americans. He actually took Mortain on August 7, and for a time pressed the Allies hard in that area. However, the Americans in Avranches held firm, and the enemy counter-stroke was finally broken up on August 12 with the aid of British attacks from the air. Meanwhile a great offensive was launched by the Canadians on August 8 in the direction of Falaise; and after the failure of their attempt to break through to Avranches the Germans at length began to retire in earnest in a north-easterly direction.

It was obvious by now that the battle of Normandy had turned definitely in favour of the Allies. But this was to prove only the prelude to a much greater triumph. While the Canadians were approaching Falaise, the Americans advancing from the south had reached Argentan, only a few miles away. Between these two forces the German Seventh Army found itself caught as in a vice, and in imminent danger of destruction. On August 13 General Eisenhower issued an order of the day to the Allied soldiers, sailors, and airmen in which he told them that "by their combined skill, valour, and fortitude they had created in France a fleeting but definite opportunity for a major Allied victory, one whose realisation would mean notable progress towards the final downfall of their enemy"; and he called on them for a supreme effort to turn the opportunity to account. The response left nothing to be desired, and the result fully answered expectations. Within a week the greater part of the German Seventh Army had been exterminated inside the Falaise Gap. Those who succeeded in extricating themselves lacked all cohesion, and were unable to call a halt before they had put the Seine between themselves and their pursuers. In a message to his troops on August 21 General Montgomery was able to assert that the powerful German force that had been causing them so much trouble had been "written off"; that victory had been "definite, complete, and decisive."

While the battle of Normandy was being won, British troops had taken part in a landing on the French Riviera, on August 15,

which was also supported by R.A.F. night bombers. This expedition was under the supreme direction of General Sir Henry Maitland-Wilson, British Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean area, but it was actually conducted by General Patch as commander of the United States Seventh Army. The landing was watched from a distance by Mr. Churchill, who was on a visit to the Italian war front at the time.

Shortly afterwards a change was made in the command of the Allied forces in France, corresponding to the change in the military situation. Now that the British and American armies under General Montgomery were commencing to spread out over the whole of France, it was no longer possible for them to act as a single strategical unit. The American armies were therefore withdrawn from the British command, and their commander, General Bradley, was made directly responsible to General Eisenhower. At the same time General Montgomery, to whom was assigned the chief credit for the Normandy victory, was created a Field-Marshal.

The victory of Normandy was followed at no long interval by the liberation of nearly the whole of France, without any further major battle. The chief part in this work was played by the American armies in the country, both in the north and the south, but the British forces also contributed materially. To them, along with the Canadians, was assigned the clearing of the north-western section of the country, following the line of the coast up to Belgium. Pursuing the fleeing remnants of the German Seventh Army, General Dempsey's Second Army advanced in a north-easterly direction through Lisieux and Evreux towards the Seine, keeping the Canadians on their left between themselves and the sea and the American First Army on their right. Although they were delayed for forty-eight hours at Falaise while waiting for the Americans to disengage themselves, they made such rapid progress that they reached the Seine on August 26 and crossed the river at two places above Rouen on that day and the next. After strengthening their bridgeheads they resumed the advance on August 29 and captured Beauvais on the next day and Amiens on the 31st. Overcoming the barrier of the Somme they took Arras on September 1 and two days later were already at the frontiers of Belgium, having covered over 150 miles in six and a half days.

If in the liberation of France the share of the British had been confined to a somewhat small section, in the liberation of Belgium they played the major part. From their positions on the Belgian frontier detachments of the Second Army dashed forward with a speed which threw into the shade all previous advances of the campaign, rapid as some of them had been, and captured Antwerp on September 4, and Brussels on the next day. The main body of the Army followed immediately, and after taking Louvain

established itself on the Albert Canal on September 8 with a bridgehead across the canal. From here it pushed on to the Escaut Canal, and by the 15th was ready for an advance into Holland. The Canadians meanwhile had kept pace with them on their left, taking Ostend on September 8 and Ghent and Zeebrugge immediately after. The Germans, however, continued to hold Dunkirk and both sides of the Scheldt estuary.

It was not only France and Belgium that the Second Army was helping to liberate in its triumphal progress. Along with the Canadians it brought deliverance to London and South-East England from the terror of the flying bomb. While their Seventh Army was being annihilated in Normandy, the Germans had kept up uninterruptedly their aerial assault on England from the Pas de Calais. During the whole of July and August no day passed on which at least a hundred flying bombs were not launched from the installations there. If the damage wrought by them was considerably lessened towards the end of this period, this was due to the gradual improvement in the defences. In an account which he gave to a Press Conference on September 7, Mr. Duncan Sandys, the chairman of the Flying Bomb Counter-Measures Committee, stated that while at the beginning of the period one person was killed on the average for every bomb launched, at the end it took three bombs to kill one person. The record "bag" was on August 28 when out of 101 bombs which approached the English coast 97 were brought down and only 4 reached the London area.

On September 4 the installations in the Pas de Calais were at length put out of action by the victorious British and Canadians and London's second—or third—ordeal was at an end. During the eighty days which it had lasted the population of the metropolis had been kept in a constant state of alarm both by day and night, and had suffered some 30,000 casualties, of which about 8,000 were fatal. In two or three of the southern suburbs the devastation wrought could compare with anything experienced in the heavy raid period of 1940–41. The inhabitants of the so-called "bomb alley" had also suffered considerably, mostly from pilotless planes brought down *en route*. Over a million persons left the capital, children and their mothers being evacuated at the public expense. There were again some complaints of inhospitable treatment, but the arrangements for the reception of the evacuees worked on the whole much better than in the earlier period. As soon as the Pas de Calais was recovered, it was assumed by the great majority—not without official encouragement—that the danger was past, and thousands returned to London with all speed, causing immense congestion on the railways. The Government, on second thoughts, issued warnings that the danger was not yet over and that the Germans might still have some other secret weapon at their disposal—as indeed soon proved to be the case. The rush

thereupon ceased, but not before the population of London had been swollen considerably.

Even without this influx London was faced with a serious shortage of house accommodation over the coming winter. In a statement which he issued on October 15 Lord Woolton made public for the first time the full extent of the damage. In the "blitz" period of 1940-41 and in subsequent raids up to June 1944, 84,000 houses had been destroyed, while of those damaged 142,000 were still to be repaired, and of these 42,000 were not fit for occupation. The flying bombs since June had destroyed 23,000 houses and damaged 1,104,000—most of them, it is true, only slightly. Usually some 400 houses were affected by a single bomb, but in some cases the number rose to 1,000, and even 1,500. Altogether there were 107,000 houses destroyed, 170,000 seriously damaged and in need of repair, and 700,000 which had received first-aid repairs but needed further work to make them reasonably comfortable.

To cope with this problem there were now some 83,000 men at work, comprising 57,000 from London, 21,000 from the provinces, and 5,000 members of the Services. To supplement their efforts Lord Woolton announced that Lord Portal, the Minister of Works, would obtain 10,000 huts of various designs which could be speedily erected and would be placed where the need was greatest; these would provide at least temporary shelter if not proper housing. In addition it was hoped to find accommodation for 10,000 people by requisitioning bombed houses in the centre of London, some of which were capable of quick repair, for families unable to find room in their own district. He also announced the appointment of Sir Malcolm Trustram Eve, the chairman of the War Damage Commission, as his "chief of staff" to speed up matters and devise fresh plans.

The crossing of the Escaut Canal (*vide* p. 76) brought the British Second Army not only to the frontier of Holland but also within measurable distance of the North German plain, not much more than fifty miles away. To reach it, however, they had yet to cross the two formidable barriers of the Rivers Waal and Lek (or lower Rhine), the two arms into which the Rhine divides on flowing through Holland. Here, too, the Germans were massing troops with the obvious intention of making a stand. To help in overcoming these obstacles General Eisenhower now brought into play a new weapon in the shape of the First Anglo-American Airborne Army, which about a month before had been constituted as a self-contained unit, complete with transports, tow-planes, gliders, tanks and motor transport and supply services, under the command of Lieutenant-General Brereton, former commander of the United States Ninth Air Force.

On September 17, after an intensive bombardment by R.A.F. and American bombers of German airfields, gun positions, and

barracks in Holland, more than a thousand planes of the Airborne Army landed troops in the neighbourhood of Eindhoven, some 15 miles north of the Escaut Canal, of Nijmegen on the River Waal, some 50 miles on, and of Arnhem on the Lek, 10 miles further north still. All the landings were made without loss. Concurrently the Second Army pushed forward at full speed northwards, in the direction of Eindhoven, covering 15 miles in twenty-four hours. While the main body occupied Eindhoven two armoured columns pushed on east and west of it to Nijmegen, which they had reached by the 20th. Linking up with the airborne troops there, they attacked the main bridge across the Waal at Nijmegen, and were fortunate enough to gain possession of it intact. Their further progress towards the Lek was, however, barred by strong German forces.

The stoppage of the British advance at Nijmegen placed the troops which had landed near Arnhem, to the number of about 8,000, in a difficult position. They were in the midst of a German concentration far superior to themselves in numbers and equipment, and were in danger of being annihilated if reinforcements did not soon arrive. Intense efforts were in fact made to reinforce them, but with little success. The weather became very unfavourable for flying, and the only reinforcements which reached them were a small body of Polish troops which landed from the air on September 22. None the less they held their ground with extraordinary tenacity. In the first onrush they had penetrated into Arnhem and nearly taken the bridge over the river there. Gradually, however, they were forced back from one vantage point to another, suffering heavy casualties, but inflicting more. At length on September 25 orders came from headquarters that they were to make their way back across the Lek as best they could. By a feat of great daring some 2,000 managed to creep through the enemy's lines by night to the river bank and make their way across, leaving behind some 1,500 wounded to be made prisoners.

The heroic attempt of the attackers of Arnhem to maintain their ground against overwhelming odds evoked the greatest admiration both in England and America. Nor was it wasted from a military point of view, although it had failed to achieve its immediate object. By keeping large numbers of Germans occupied on the other side of the Lek, these troops had made matters easier for the British at Nijmegen, and had given them time to strengthen their precarious position. The Germans had in fact during this period made furious assaults from both sides on the "corridor" from Eindhoven to Nijmegen and had succeeded in cutting it more than once for short periods. Gradually, however, it had been strengthened and broadened so that the Nijmegen salient was now practically secure. Thus if the landing near Arnhem had not opened the way for an invasion of North Germany, as at

one time seemed likely, it had at any rate enabled the ground forces to advance so far that they now had only one river barrier to cross instead of two.

By this time the Canadians in the coastal sector had taken most of the ports on their route, many of them only after prolonged and bitter struggle. Dieppe had fallen to them on September 1, but Le Havre was not taken till the 12th, Boulogne till the 22nd, and Calais till the 28th. The capture of Calais brought welcome relief to the town of Dover which during the last week of the siege had been shelled from Cap Gris Nez with greater intensity than at any previous period of the war. On the 25th the Canadians took Turnhout, east of Antwerp, and advancing north-eastwards along the Antwerp-Turnhout Canal linked up with the British Second Army south of Tilburg.

Further progress was made in Italy during this period, though much less than had been confidently anticipated. The reason was that all the French troops and some of the Americans in Italy had been withdrawn in order to take part in the invasion of Southern France. General Alexander was thus left with practically no numerical superiority over his opponent, while still faced with extremely strong defensive positions. On this account he had been forced to remain stationary after the British occupation of Florence in the middle of August, until he could regroup his forces. Towards the end of the month the Eighth Army commenced to move again along the Adriatic coast towards the so-called "Gothic line" of the enemy, stretching from south of Rimini along the northernmost spurs of the Apennines. On August 27 the Metauro River was crossed, and the enemy withdrew slowly in face of the British advance. By August 31 he had been forced back into the Gothic line, and Polish troops had entered Pesaro on the coast. By September 4 the line itself had been broken through in this sector, and Allied troops were within 6 miles of Rimini. The Germans, however, continued to contest their advance stubbornly, and further progress, though steady, was slow. However, after stiff fighting the British at length on September 19 entered the Republic of San Marino, the neutrality of which had already been violated by the Germans, and three days later they captured Rimini itself, thus opening a way to the Po valley from the east.

Meanwhile on September 6 troops of the Fifth Army commenced to advance northwards from Florence in the direction of Bologna. Their route took them through another section of the Gothic line, with which they first came in contact on September 12. After heavy fighting they captured on September 18 the dominating height of Monte Pratone, about 20 miles north-east of Florence, in the centre of the Gothic line. They soon after breached the line and took Firenzuola, while by capturing the Ceriano ridge on the 22nd they outflanked the barrier of the

Apennines and gained a footing on a good road to Bologna. Two days later they captured the Futa Pass and were able to look down on to the Po valley.

On September 5 the text was published of a Redistribution of Seats Bill, giving effect to the recommendations recently made by the Speaker's Conference on the matter (*vide* p. 51). The Bill proposed to establish four permanent Boundary Commissions to arrange the redistribution of seats, one each for England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, with the Speaker as chairman of all of them. The Commission for England was at once to undertake the division of constituencies which had an electorate of more than 100,000 in 1939, so as to give them one member for every 50,000 electors. There were 20 such constituencies enumerated, and they were to be divided into 45, two of them being given four members and one of them three. The general redistribution of Parliamentary seats was to begin as soon as possible after the Home Secretary had made regulations under the Parliamentary Electors Act of 1943 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 85) for the publication of new elector's lists for every constituency. Double-member constituencies were to be reduced to one member where the electorate was less than about one-and-a-quarter times the electoral quota. The boundaries of new constituencies were as far as possible to coincide with the boundaries of local government administrative areas.

On September 21 the Government announced in a White Paper its first plans for demobilisation, to take effect at the end of the war with Germany. Release was to take place normally according to age and length of service in combination, two months of war service being reckoned the equivalent of one additional year of age. Thus a man of 22 with four years' service would be in the same release group as a man of 40 with one year's service. No distinction was to be made between married and unmarried, or between service at home and abroad. Men over 50, however, were to have priority, whatever their length of service. All these were to be known as Class A, and were to be given eight weeks leave with full pay and allowances. They were to be placed in a special class of Reserve, from which they could be recalled only in an extreme emergency. In addition to Class A there was to be a Class B, consisting of men who were needed for urgent reconstruction work—mostly house-building. These were to be transferred to civil life only on the application of the Ministry of Labour, and would be liable to recall if they discontinued the work to which they were directed. They would be given three weeks leave with full pay and allowances. In addition to Service leave payments on release or transfer, all those returning to civil life would receive war gratuities as a reward for their service, and those who had had six months' service would receive a civilian clothing outfit. The arrangements for release and transfer would

apply equally to women in the Auxiliary Services, except that married women were to be treated as a priority class.

While men who had served were being released, recruitment would still go on of youths of eighteen and men of military age released from munitions work. As from September 3 there were to be increases of Service pay for all who had served more than three years, of a shilling a day and upwards for men and three shillings a day and upwards for officers. Those serving in the Far East were to receive a special addition from November 1 to be known as Japanese campaign pay. The cost of the increases was estimated at not less than 100,000,000*l.* a year.

On September 25 the Government's long-awaited White Paper on social insurance at last appeared. The proposals contained in it followed the Beveridge plan on the whole more closely than had been expected, though there were important differences. There was to be a compulsory scheme of national insurance, unified in administration, to include everybody. Those below working age would be provided for by family allowances; those of working age by insurance benefits, which would cover sickness, invalidity, and unemployment; and those beyond working age by retirement pensions, while provision was also made for maternity, death, widows and orphans, and industrial training. In this way it was claimed, when the plan had become law, "provision would have been made against every one of the attacks which economic ill-fortune could launch against individual well-being and peace of mind."

Insurance contributions and benefit rates were on the whole the same as those suggested in the Beveridge report. But whereas Sir William Beveridge had correlated his figures with a rise in the cost of living of only 25 points over the 1939 level, the Government definitely declined to adopt a subsistence basis for benefits or to make the rates variable with the cost of living. On the administrative side the Beveridge proposals were adopted; there was to be a single weekly contribution for all benefits from each insured person, in the form of one stamp on a single document, and all branches were to be in charge of a Minister of Social Insurance whose staff would render the approved societies unnecessary.

In the matter of retirement pensions the Government rejected the Beveridge plan of starting with a pension of 14*s.* a week for a single person and 20*s.* for a couple, rising by stages to 24*s.* and 40*s.* respectively, after twenty years, while charging throughout the whole period a contribution sufficient to meet the needs of 1965. Instead it proposed to raise pensions immediately to 20*s.* for a single person and 35*s.* for a couple, and to keep them at that level, while charging a somewhat lower contribution than that of the Beveridge plan. This meant that the Treasury would be called upon to provide rather more in 1945 and rather less in 1965.

Another important variation was in the rate of children's allowances. Instead of 8s. a week for each child, the Government proposed to allow only 5s. a week for each one after the first, while making a more generous provision of free milk and meals in grant-aided schools. This would mean a saving to the Treasury of about 41,000,000*l.* a year; and this sum represented nearly the whole of the difference in the estimated costs of the two schemes in 1965.

In the matter of workmen's compensation the Government found reason for differing more widely from the proposals of the Beveridge Report, and it therefore dealt with this subject in a separate White Paper issued on September 27. The disagreement, however, was only on points of detail, not on the basic principle that compensation of workmen for industrial injury should be made a public social service, instead of being a liability on the employer, as it had been for nearly half a century. Like the other social services it was under the Government scheme to be placed under the Minister of Social Insurance, but on account of its special features was to be administered as a separate scheme. Compensation would be paid out of a fund which would be maintained by contributions of 6*d.* a week for adult men and 4*d.* for women, to be shared equally between the employer and the workmen, and to which the Exchequer would also contribute. Benefits would not be related to the estimated loss of earning capacity, but would be at flat rates, with supplements for family responsibilities. An incapacitated workman would be paid an industrial injury allowance of 35s. a week for up to thirteen weeks, with 8s. 9*d.* for a wife and 5s. for the first child. Where the disablement was likely to be permanent or prolonged it would be replaced by an industrial pension assessed according to the degree of disablement. The pension for 100 per cent. disablement would be 40s. a week, along with which 10s. a week would be paid for a wife and 7s. 6*d.* for a first child. If the pensioner was virtually unemployable his pension would be supplemented by a personal allowance of 10s. a week, and if he needed constant attendance with a special allowance of 20s. a week. For lesser disablement benefits were to be in proportion. Once a pension was awarded no account would be taken of subsequent earnings. For those who died as a result of industrial injury pensions of up to 30s. a week would be awarded to the widows, parents, orphans or other dependents. Benefits under the new scheme were estimated to cost 20,000,000*l.* a year with a further 3,000,000*l.* for administration, and one-sixth of the cost was to be borne by the Exchequer.

On September 10 Mr. Churchill went once more to Quebec to confer with President Roosevelt. He was accompanied by the British Chiefs-of-Staff, and was joined on September 14 by Mr. Eden. In a joint statement issued on September 17 Mr. Churchill and the President announced that decisions had been quickly

reached on all points with regard both to the completion of the war in Europe and the destruction of the "barbarians of the Pacific." Mr. Churchill made it clear that Britain and the Dominions would shirk no responsibility in the Pacific zone, in spite of the great difficulties of bringing men and materials together for the assault. Mr. Eden returned to England on September 18 and the Prime Minister on the 26th.

Parliament reassembled after the summer recess, on September 26, and two days later heard from the Prime Minister a war survey in which he expatiated on the wonderful change that had taken place in the situation since his last survey only seven weeks before. Then the Germans in the West had still been hopeful of preventing the Allies from striking out into the fields of France. Now not only Paris but practically the whole of France had been liberated "as if by enchantment," and not only France but also Belgium and part of Holland. The foul enemy who for four years had inflicted his cruelties and oppressions on those countries had fled, losing perhaps 400,000 in killed and wounded and leaving in their hands nearly half a million prisoners. Besides these there might be 200,000 cut off in the coastal fortresses or in Holland whose destruction or capture was at least highly probable. Brest, Havre, Dieppe, Boulogne, and Antwerp were already in their hands, and they would soon be in possession of all the Atlantic ports from the Spanish frontier to the Hook of Holland. The success of the Army which had landed on the Riviera coast had exceeded all expectations, and steady progress had been made in Italy in face of very great difficulties.

Mr. Churchill informed the House that the Allies had now between two and three million men in France. The proportion of British and Canadian troops to American was still 2 to 3 in personnel and 4 to 5½ in fighting divisions in France. Casualties were closely in proportion; they themselves had lost 90,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing, and the United States, including General Patch's army, over 145,000. Concurrently Britain had been carrying on a campaign in Burma the magnitude and importance of which were not generally realised, especially in America. Admiral Mountbatten's 14th Imperial Army consisted of between 250,000 and 300,000 men, apart from rearward services. This force had by its aggressive operation guarded the pass of the American air line to China and protected India against the horrors of a Japanese invasion. The ten Japanese divisions launched against them had been repulsed and largely shattered as the result of a bloody and very costly campaign which was still being continued in spite of the monsoon.

Mr. Churchill pointed out that the change in the military situation had been accompanied by a corresponding change in the political. One by one Germany's satellites were not only leaving her but turning against her. Rumania, Bulgaria, and

Finland were already fighting against her, and Hungary would probably soon follow suit. Britain, he said, could not easily forget the many acts of cruelty and wickedness for which the Bulgarians had been responsible, both to Greece and to Yugoslavia. For this conduct full atonement would have to be made, and as far as Britain was concerned they would have to work their passage for a long time and in no uncertain fashion before they could be accorded the status of co-belligerents. In the Polish situation there was unfortunately no improvement, and it was idle to pretend that the attitude of the British Government towards Poland was identical with that of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, there had been a definite improvement in their relations with the Italian Government, as evidenced by the joint statement on the matter recently issued by President Roosevelt and himself. During his recent visit to Italy he had had conversations with the Prime Minister, with Marshal Badoglio, and with the Lieutenant of the Realm, and he had convinced himself of their sincerity in the Allied cause. He had also been touched by the spontaneous friendliness and even enthusiasm with which he had been greeted by the peasants and indeed all classes as he drove through the small towns and villages behind the line of the Army, and he confessed that he could not feel any sentiments of hostility towards the mass of the misled or coerced Italian people.

The first business of the House of Commons on its reassembling was to resume consideration of the Temporary Housing Bill which it had commenced before the recess (*vide* p. 66). Mr. T. Johnston assured the House that the Government had made all plans for beginning the erection of the temporary bungalows in a very short time. To allay the fears expressed by some members that the bungalows might be left as a permanent eyesore, Mr. Willink on the next day moved an amendment placing on the Ministers concerned an obligation to remove them if the local authorities at the end of ten years asked the Government to do so, unless housing conditions at that time still made it necessary to retain them. He also informed the House that, where the question of expensive land did not arise, the average cost of site and development would be about 75*l.* a house, and of providing, transporting, and erecting it 600*l.*, while the rent charge would be 10*s.* a week.

The House gave this Bill a third reading with very little discussion and then resumed consideration of the Town and Country Planning Bill to which it had accorded so unfavourable a reception before the recess (*vide* p. 65). Mr. W. S. Morrison stated that in the interval he had had further consultations with associations of local authorities which had been very helpful, and that as a result he would propose certain amendments with regard to the powers of local authorities, the procedure to be followed for the acquisition of land, and finance. The chief of these was

an alteration in the definition of the so-called "overspill," which would make it clear that when the overspill areas were developed they should be developed on the basis of a neighbourhood unit, not only of houses but of all the things, such as open spaces, which a community required for its daily life.

The concessions made by the Minister as a result of his discussions with the local authorities were welcomed by his Labour critics, but did not go far enough to satisfy them. On October 3 an amendment was moved by them to extend the powers of compulsory purchase conferred on the local authorities to land needed for dealing with bad layout and obsolete development as well as war damage, that is to say, to "blighted" as well as "blitzed" areas. This was opposed by the Government and was ultimately rejected by 179 votes to 87. On the other hand, a Conservative proposal that the period during which an application could be made for a compulsory purchase order should be shortened from five to two years was also resisted by the Minister and was ultimately withdrawn.

On October 6 the House prepared to discuss Clauses 45 and 46 of the Bill, which laid down that compensation in connexion with land to be acquired for public purposes should be made by reference to the prices ruling in 1939, specially favourable terms being allowed to owner-occupiers. This was the most controversial part of the Bill, and represented a compromise which had only been arrived at in the Cabinet itself after prolonged argument between the "Left" section which thought the terms too favourable to property owners and the "Right" section which thought the reverse. The decision of the Cabinet was loyally accepted by the Labour Party, but from the Conservative side much pressure had been brought to bear on the Government to make still further concessions to owners of property. A number of Conservative amendments had been put down with this end in view, and feeling on the matter was running high in the House.

Before the debate could commence, the Prime Minister, who had not been present at any of the previous debates on the Bill, unexpectedly intervened, in order, as he said, to prevent party strife from becoming so acute as to constitute a menace to national unity before the war was finally won. Sooner than allow this he declared himself ready to drop the Bill, though he was well aware of its urgency and of the eagerness of the local authorities to commence replanning. He proposed therefore that the Bill should be passed into law without the compensation clauses, but with a proviso that it should not become effective until a separate law dealing with compensation had been passed and attached to it. In the meanwhile the local authorities could take a number of preparatory steps under the Bill even in its truncated form before the question of compensation arose.

The Prime Minister's suggestion did not greatly commend

itself to the House, though his motives were appreciated. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence compared it to a rendering of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark, but with a promise instead to insert his part later. He himself proposed that the clauses should be dropped, and that the Government should devise new clauses to take their place before the end of the Committee stage, which would not be for six days yet. This suggestion was ultimately adopted without a division.

The task which had thus been set to the Government did not prove to be beyond its powers. On October 13 Mr. Attlee informed the House that after some private discussions with members interested, the Government had agreed on the changes which should be made in the compensation clauses. They intended, he said, to maintain the general principle that compensation in respect of lands and buildings should be assessed by reference to prices current at March 31, 1939, and they were not prepared to allow any increase to be added automatically to the compensation so assessed. Certain variations, however, would be allowed. The chief was that an owner-occupier of buildings or of agricultural property would be entitled to claim from the purchasing authority such an addition to the compensation as might be reasonable having regard to all the circumstances, favourable and unfavourable, such addition not to exceed in any case a sum representing a 30 per cent. proportion of the value at 1939 prices. A claimant would be treated as an owner-occupier on the ground either of actual occupation or of proved right and intention to occupy within a limited period. Another case in which an addition might be made was where expenses had been incurred by the claimant at enhanced prices on improvements to the property concerned between March 31, 1939, and the date of the notice to treat.

While the Government were considering the compensation proposals, an amendment was moved on October 9 to enable the Minister of Planning to set up a boundary commission with power to extend the boundaries of a borough which had made a plan involving the transplanting of part of its population beyond its present boundaries, with a consequent loss of rates. Such a plan had actually been made by Plymouth, and there were six other badly bombed cities which wished to do the same. Mr. W. S. Morrison refused to accept the proposal on the ground that it might cause friction between urban and rural authorities. He admitted that there was a case for alteration of boundaries, but not in this way; and he announced that the subject would be dealt with in a White Paper which the Government was preparing on the reform of local government. The amendment was thereupon withdrawn.

The revised clauses of the Town and Country Planning Bill were formally given a second reading in the House of Commons

on October 20, after a debate which showed that they completely failed to satisfy the Conservative "Old Guard," though strangely enough the opposition to them was led by Mr. Hore-Belisha, who spoke as a National Liberal. In the Committee stage, on October 25, Mr. Hore-Belisha moved an amendment providing that compensation in all cases should exceed the 1939 price by the amount by which the value of the property had increased. The new clauses were, however, supported both by the "Young Conservatives" and the Liberals, and the amendment was negatived by 324 votes to 58. On the next day the Bill was given its third reading without further change.

On October 8 the appointment was announced of Sir William Jowitt, at present Minister without Portfolio, as Minister Designate of Social Insurance, and of Lord Swinton, at present Minister Resident in West Africa, as Minister for Civil Aviation with Cabinet rank. As Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister, Lord Swinton had been Air Minister in Mr. Baldwin's Government from 1935 to 1938. In the House of Lords, on October 12, Lord Beaverbrook stated that in due course and when Parliament decided, the new Minister would have sole responsibility for civil aviation with an independent Ministry to assist him in his task. He would have the right of direct access to the Ministry of Aircraft Production and be on the same footing as the Secretary for Air and the First Lord of the Admiralty, and differences between them would be determined by the Minister of Defence or by the War Cabinet. He thought therefore that those who had demanded that civil aviation should not be entirely subordinated to the military view should now be satisfied.

On October 10 the Home Secretary moved the second reading of the Redistribution of Seats Bill (*vide* p. 80). He stated that the Speaker's Conference had decided by 15 votes to 13 in favour of the retention of two members for the City of London, although its total electorate in 1939 was only 38,022, and the Government also, in view of the great place of the City in municipal and Parliamentary history, was of opinion that its separate representation should be preserved. Whether, however, it should return one or two members was a question which they would leave Parliament to decide when the Bill for giving effect to the general scheme of redistribution came up for debate. An amendment was moved in favour of proportional representation, but was negatived by 202 votes to 18. In the Committee stage on October 12, a motion to deprive the City of London of special treatment was defeated by 163 votes to 38, and one to abolish separate representation of Universities by 152 votes to 16, and the Bill was read a third time.

The failure of the British to take Arnhem (*vide* p. 78) coincided with a general hold-up of the Allied forces along the whole length of the German frontier as far as the Swiss border. The chief weakness of the Allies lay in the great length which their lines of

communication had now attained. They were still very largely dependent for their supplies on Cherbourg, which was now hundreds of miles behind the front. With the exception of Antwerp all the ports which they had taken had been rendered more or less useless by the Germans. Antwerp itself was ideally situated for supplying all their needs, but they were still debarred from using it by the fact that the Germans commanded the estuary of the Scheldt through which it was approached. It was now therefore a matter of prime importance to gain command of the Scheldt estuary and make Antwerp accessible to British shipping.

This task was assigned by Field-Marshal Montgomery to the First Canadian Army under General Crerar, which already held a line from Antwerp to Zeebrugge, through Terneuzen and Bruges. The area between this line and the coast of the estuary was still in possession of the Germans, as were also the islands of Walcheren and South Beveland on the northern shore of the estuary. The attack commenced with the bombing on October 3 of the sea-dyke at Westkapelle, on the extreme west of the island of Walcheren, by a strong force of R.A.F. Lancasters. A breach of 120 yards was made in the dyke, and before long the low-lying parts of the island were flooded and a large number of German batteries put out of action.

This was followed on October 6 by a general assault of the Canadian First Army towards the south bank of the Scheldt. Crossing the Leopold Canal, it established a bridgehead on a front of 6,000 yards. The Germans offered stubborn resistance, making full use of the numerous waterways with which the country was intersected. Nevertheless by dint of hard fighting the Canadians, with whom were associated British and Polish contingents, made steady progress, gradually pushing the Germans back to the little port of Breskens, opposite to Flushing, which they took on October 22.

Concurrently an advance had been made northwards from Antwerp towards the causeway linking South Beveland with the mainland, a little south of Bergen-op-Zoom. The causeway was reached on October 24, and the Canadians began to advance along it towards the islands. On October 27 a landing was made on the south shore of Beveland by British troops from the other side of the Scheldt. These united with the Canadians on October 29, and advancing westwards reached the causeway leading from Beveland to Walcheren. On November 1 British assault troops made a landing—not without considerable loss—on the south and west coasts of Walcheren Island. By the 3rd they had captured Flushing and commenced to march on Middelburg in the centre of the island. They were soon joined by the Canadians who had come across from South Beveland, and Middelburg was taken on the 7th. By this time, too, the whole of the enemy

pocket on the south side of the Scheldt had been liquidated, so that now it remained only to clear the estuary of mines in order to render Antwerp accessible to British shipping.

Without waiting for the opening of Antwerp General Dempsey's Second British Army had meanwhile been trying to push out in various directions. On September it advanced north-westwards from Nijmegen to the Rhine-Waal Canal, and after repulsing German counter-attacks established a bridgehead on the Lower Rhine south of Wageningen on October 6, but this it was forced to abandon some days later, and advance in that direction came to a standstill.

On October 12 the Second Army launched a new attack from the centre of its eastern flank in the direction of the Maas, and after hot fighting took the small town of Overloon. By October 18 the British were in possession of Venraij, only 5 miles west of the Maas. Again, however, German resistance stiffened, and little further progress was made in this direction.

On October 22 the Second Army struck out in a third direction—westwards towards the important centre of Hertogenbosch. A couple of days later the southern section of the British line commenced to advance northwards towards Tilburg, and the easternmost section of the Canadians towards Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom. All these movements were completely successful. Both Hertogenbosch and Tilburg were in British hands by the 28th, and on the 29th Polish troops of the Canadian First Army captured Breda. The Maas was reached on the 3rd, and within a few days the whole of the south side of this river was cleared of the enemy and the liberation of the southern portion of Holland was completed.

The annual Congress of the Trade Union Congress opened at Blackpool on October 16, under the presidency of Mr. Ebenezer Edwards, Secretary of the Mineworkers' Federation. In accordance with a resolution passed at the preceding Congress, facilities for reporting the proceedings were confined to members of the National Union of Journalists, a body affiliated to the T.U.C. A number of leading journals took umbrage at this restriction, as showing unfair discrimination, and refused to send any reporters, though they had members of the Union on their staffs. In a statement to the Congress Sir Walter Citrine, the secretary of the T.U.C., maintained that the Executive was perfectly within its rights in imposing the restriction, and its action was endorsed by the delegates with acclamation.

In his opening address the President dealt with the question of governmental control of labour, which he said should be accepted by the trade unions so far as it promoted an orderly and fundamentally fair transfer of members of the armed forces to civilian life and employment. But with control of labour there should also be control of trade and industry, and it should be a

cardinal principle that neither the control of labour nor the control of industry could be entrusted to any authority without the active participation of the representatives of labour and industry. For the general good and in the interests of the work-people basic industries and essential services should be held by the nation, and responsibility rested largely with the trade unions to determine through Congress the action to be taken in order to bring them under public ownership.

On the next day a resolution declaring opposition to Regulation 1AA, which prohibited the fomentation and incitement of illegal strikes (*vide* p. 36) and asking for its immediate withdrawal at the end of the war in Europe, was defeated by 3,680,000 votes to 2,802,000. The case of the Civil Service Trade Unions was discussed at a private sitting, and a resolution was passed declaring that the continued refusal of the Government to amend the Trades Disputes Act in the sense desired was a complete denial of the stated aims and objects for which the war was being fought. The General Council was instructed to renew its efforts to persuade the Government to remove clauses 5 and 6 of the Act, and to prepare forthwith, in collaboration with the Labour Party, the lines of joint political action for the forthcoming General Election should the Government maintain its obstructive attitude. A report of the General Council recommending unions whose work was closely related to get together in amalgamations or federations was also adopted.

On the third day the Congress discussed the report of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, which declared that the German people could not be absolved from all responsibility for the crimes committed by the Nazi regime, and condemned the appeasement policy of those who were endeavouring to mitigate the punishment of the Hitlerite criminals. The report had been adopted by the General Council, and a resolution to refer it back was now defeated by 5,056,000 votes to 1,350,000. Further proof of the hardening of Congress opinion against the German people since last year was provided the next day, when an overwhelming majority was given to a resolution declaring that the German people would have to bear the burden at whatever cost to their own economy of renewing and repairing the life of the countries which had been ravaged and despoiled, including the re-establishment of British trade and industry and the rebuilding of cities and villages destroyed by air attack.

On October 17 the Government, in preparation for the international conference on civil aviation which was shortly to be held at Chicago, issued a White Paper setting forth its policy for the regulation of air transport after the war. Referring to a statement made on behalf of the Government in Parliament on March 11, 1943, that "some form of international collaboration would be essential if the air was to be developed in the interests of mankind

as a whole," it said that the main objects of such collaboration would be to meet the needs of the peoples of the world for plentiful, efficient, and cheap air services, to maintain broad equilibrium between the world's air transport capacity and the traffic offering, to ensure equitable participation by the various countries engaged in international air transport, to eliminate wasteful competition and in particular to control subsidies, to standardise practice on technical matters, and in general to contribute to world security. For these purposes it proposed that a new convention should be drawn up to take the place both of the Paris Convention of 1919 and of the Havana Convention of 1928, the two agreements under which international air transport was for the most part at present regulated. The new convention would reaffirm the principle of national sovereignty of the air and define what should, for this purpose, constitute the territory of a State, and should define the degree of freedom of the air to be enjoyed by the ratifying States. For the administration of the Convention it was proposed that there should be an international air authority consisting of representatives of the ratifying States with voting powers to be determined on an equitable basis, working through an operational Executive with subsidiary regional panels, and also with sub-commissions to deal with technical matters.

CHAPTER IV

THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME

THE opening of the port of Antwerp to British shipping was considered by most people in England to herald final victory over Germany in the near future. All accounts coming from that country represented her position as desperate, and it seemed impossible that she could continue much longer a struggle against overwhelming odds. That the Allies would soon be in Berlin was regarded as certain, and the only doubt was whether the Russians or the Americans would be there first. The military situation ceased to occupy a dominating place in men's thoughts, and attention was directed increasingly to the problems which would urgently demand solution as soon as victory had been achieved.

It was taken for granted on all hands that victory over Germany would be followed at no long interval by a General Election, now several years overdue, and voters belonging to the Labour and Liberal Parties were already asking their leaders for guidance in that eventuality. In response the Liberal Party headquarters on October 5 issued a statement declaring that "it was the intention of the party at the next General Election to put forward, without any commitments to any other party, the

largest possible number of its own candidates, in complete independence, presenting the party's independent programme." On the next day the executive of the Labour Party issued a statement in which it rejected uncompromisingly the idea of a "coupon" election after the 1918 model, and declared that, "when the time came for the House of Commons to be renewed, the party would go before the country with a practical policy based upon the Socialist principles in which it believed and would invite the electors to return a majority pledged to support a Labour Government to implement that policy." At the same time it declared that the Labour Ministers would remain in the Coalition Government until the purposes for which that Government had been formed had been fulfilled. It also expressed a desire that "when the time came to dissolve what had been a great partnership, the dissolution should be accomplished with the dignity and good feeling that was fitting for those who had encountered together such mortal dangers, and that so great an adventure should not end in squalid bickerings."

Less than three weeks after his return from Quebec Mr. Churchill left England again, this time for Moscow, where he arrived on October 9, accompanied by Mr. Eden and members of the General Staff. He was in frequent conference with Marshal Stalin and Mr. Molotof till October 18, and returned home on October 22. Mr. Eden stayed a little longer in Moscow, and on his way home visited Athens and Paris and had conversations with the political leaders there.

On October 27 the Prime Minister gave the House of Commons a full account of the Moscow conversations. They were, he said, a sequel to those of Quebec, where the absence of Mr. Stalin had been keenly felt. The discussions were concerned chiefly with the problems which affected Great Britain in common with Russia in Eastern Europe. He was satisfied that the results had been highly pleasing, though no final results could be obtained until the heads of the three Governments had met again, as he trusted they would do before the year was out. Over a wide area they found themselves in full agreement, in spite of the different angles from which they approached the various topics. It went, of course, without saying that they were united in a determination to prosecute the war against Hitlerite Germany to absolute victory, and to use all their strength and energy in combination for that purpose. But they had also been able to reach complete agreement on the tangled question of the Balkans, where there were Black Sea interests and Mediterranean interests to be considered. They had reached a good working agreement about Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary with the object of concentrating all the efforts of these countries and combining them with their own against the common foe, and of providing for a peaceful settlement when the war was over. In particular

they had jointly invited the two parties in Yugoslavia to come together and form a united Government for the purpose of carrying on the war. They had also had meetings with the heads of the two Polish parties, but unfortunately had not been able to reconcile their differences, or to reach a solution which should be acceptable to all concerned.

Mr. Churchill in the same speech informed the House that the Government, in conjunction with the United States and Soviet Governments, had at length on October 23 consented to recognise the administration of General de Gaulle as the Provisional Government of France. The reason why this step had not been taken earlier was that the British and United States Governments, being engaged in the liberation of France, had a responsibility at that particular moment for making sure that the French Government, emerging in part from their military action, would be acceptable to France as a whole and would not seem to be imposed on the country from without. He had himself been for some weeks satisfied that General de Gaulle's Government commanded the full assent of the French people and that it was the only Government which could possibly govern France efficiently in the interval before constitutional and parliamentary processes could be resumed. This act of recognition could be regarded as a symbol of France's re-emergence as a free people and as heralding a period in which she would resume her rightful and historic role upon the world's stage.

On October 31 the House of Commons gave its assent to a Bill prolonging its existence for a tenth year. The second reading was moved by the Prime Minister in person, for the purpose of making clear his own position in regard to the resumption of party strife—a question on which the Labour and Liberal Parties had already declared their policies (*vide* p. 91). He now announced that he would ask for a dissolution as soon as the war with Hitlerite Germany was ended, an event which was not likely to be deferred beyond the early summer of next year at latest. He also stated that the Government would on no account issue "coupons" to selected candidates, as had been done after the last war, but that it would allow a fair contest between the various parties. How long the Coalition Government lasted, he said, would depend on the attitude of the Labour and Liberal Parties, but he strongly deprecated the over-emphasising of party differences until final victory should have been attained.

On October 20 the Board of Trade published for the first time since 1940 returns of British export trade, covering the years 1941 to 1943. The figures given showed that there had been a severe fall in the value, and still more in the volume of British exports in 1942 and 1943. In the former year the value was only 57 per cent. of the 1938 figure, and in the latter year only 49 per cent. Allowing for the rise in prices which had taken

place in this period, this meant in terms of volume only 36 per cent. and 29 per cent. respectively. The chief cause of the fall was of course the loss of the Far Eastern and European markets, but even in the markets still open trade had been reduced in 1943 to 40 per cent. of its pre-war level. It was estimated by the Board of Trade that total exports as a percentage of national income had fallen from 10.2 per cent. in 1938 to 8.9, 6.9 and 5.3 per cent. in 1939, 1940, and 1941 respectively, and 3.5 per cent. in 1942 and 2.8 per cent. in 1943.

On November 1 the future of British shipping was discussed in the House of Commons, and members connected with the industry expressed grave apprehensions as to its prospects. The First Lord of the Admiralty sought to reassure them by pointing out that a considerably larger tonnage both of naval and mercantile shipping had been built during this war than during the last, in spite of the fact that they had had fewer workers and had been hindered by the black-out and air raids. He admitted that the problem of maintaining full employment, once the losses caused by the war to particular classes of ships had been made good, would be a difficult one, but intimated that the Government, in order to reduce to a minimum fluctuations in demands on the industry, would aim at the greatest possible flexibility in fitting in the naval with the mercantile programme.

On November 2 the Government's White Paper on Social Security was submitted to the House of Commons for its approval by Sir W. Jowitt, the new Minister Designate. He described the scheme which it contained as representing one of the greatest single advances that had ever been made in any country in the development of social insurance, and as testifying to the Government's faith in the country's future. While paying tribute to Sir William Beveridge, he explained why the Government had departed from him on certain points. Though making the scheme universal they had adhered to the contributory principle because it was well known to the people, who were used to distinguishing between benefits which they received as a right and those which they got only if they could establish need. But they regarded the scheme as one of social insurance only and not of social security in the full sense, which could only be achieved by many and diverse methods, and therefore they had not adopted what was called the subsistence level of benefits. In regard to family allowances they did not think it right to remove from parents the responsibility for maintaining their own children, but they did think it right that the State should help them to discharge it. So, too, pensions were made payable not on reaching a particular age, but on retirement, in order to encourage those who had reached pensionable age to continue at work. The Minister warned the House that the financial burden imposed by the scheme would be severe; the amount to be met from rates and

taxes, which in 1945 would be 350,000,000*l.*, would in 1975 rise to 550,000,000*l.* or more. Seeing that more than one-third of the total income tax and surtax yield came from those with incomes of under 500*l.* a year, the Government could not lightly impose still further burdens, and equal regard had to be paid to the rate of weekly contributions.

The reception accorded by the House to the new scheme was on the whole highly favourable, though one or two Conservative speakers declared that it would prove financially unworkable. Sir William Beveridge himself, who had lately entered Parliament as a Liberal, gave it his blessing, though he thought that it could be improved in the matters of family allowances, the ultimate rate of retiring pension, and the method by which sickness benefit should be paid. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in winding up the debate, admitted that the charge entailed by the scheme on the public finances would be heavy, but he thought that the additional expenditure was well justified in the benefits that would accrue. At the same time he uttered a warning that unless the scheme operated so as to give equivalent increases in national productive efficiency, its preparation would have been a waste of time. If the community did its duty by the individual, the individual must do his duty by the community. If more easy money was to mean indifference and idleness, they would not be justified in going ahead on these lines.

On November 8 the Home Secretary brought forward a similar motion with regard to the White Paper on workmen's compensation. He said that the proposals embodied in it constituted a revolutionary advance in the whole structure of workmen's compensation administration, which, as at present constituted, was fundamentally Victorian in its conception and was out of keeping with modern ideas. The old state of affairs in which there was constant litigation between workmen and employers would now go, as claims would be paid by officers of a Government department. In the debate which followed Sir W. Beveridge again put in a plea for his own suggestions, but the strongest criticism of the scheme came from one of the younger Conservatives, Mr. Quintin Hogg, who took exception to the payment of compensation on the basis of disability, and not of loss of earning capacity. In view, however, of the acceptance of this feature by the trade unions and the employers, he did not feel justified in opposing it.

On November 10 the House of Commons, after some discussion, gave a second reading to a Bill providing for the definitive appointment of a Minister to take charge of all the social services. This meant the transference to Sir W. Jowitt, the Minister-Designate, of the functions of the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland with respect to national health insurance, old-age pensions, widows', orphans' and old-age contributory pensions and supplementary pensions; the functions of

the Minister of Labour and National Service with respect to unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance; and the functions of the Home Secretary with respect to workmen's compensation. The title given to the new Minister in the Bill was Minister of Social Insurance. In the Committee stage on November 14, an amendment was moved to change this to "Minister of National Insurance," while Sir W. Beveridge favoured "Minister of Social Security." In the end the amendment was carried by 170 votes to 89.

On November 15 the House of Commons debated the Government White Paper on demobilisation (*vide* p. 80). The debate was opened by Lieut.-Colonel Profumo, who had come specially from the front in Italy to lay before the House the views on the subject of the men and women serving oversea. He said that their attitude, so far as he had been able to ascertain it, was favourable, but there were a number of points on which they desired enlightenment and one or two to which they took exception, notably the refusal of the Government to give any preferment for oversea service. Mr. Bevin, in reply, said that the great virtue of the scheme was its simplicity and flexibility, and to have tried to provide for every contingency would have entailed innumerable regulations and definitions, with disastrous results. For that reason it had been deemed inadvisable to give definite preferment to oversea service, though of course it would be taken into account as far as possible. The Government's intention was to go on calling up young men under the National Service Act and as they became trained for their duties to go on increasing the numbers in Class A. The Government would also firmly resist any undue pressure to get men out of the Services, which was the chief ground of the break-down of the demobilisation scheme after 1918.

On November 7 the Select Committee appointed a year before to consider plans for rebuilding the House of Commons presented its report recommending a plan drawn up, on broad lines laid down by itself, by the architect Sir Giles Gilbert Scott. The Report proposed no change in the size or seating of the House and no structural alteration beyond the omission of the posts under the galleries. On the other hand, the new public galleries were to contain 137 more seats than the old, almost equally divided between "strangers" and reporters. The roof-line also was to be altered so as to allow of better illumination, and the atmosphere of the House was to be greatly improved by air-conditioning. Outside the Chamber also changes were to be made adding greatly to the convenience of members and the public. The decision not to extend the seating accommodation was arrived at only after prolonged discussion, and was due largely to the experience of members during their enforced sojourn in the House of Lords, where it was felt that additional accommo-

dation had not made up for loss of intimacy and concentration. The decorative scheme was to be much simpler than the old, and in much better taste.

On November 16 the Prime Minister stated in the House of Commons that, while the war would have the first claim on their efforts until Japan had been defeated, after the defeat of Germany it would be both possible and necessary to turn over an increasing part of their resources to civilian production. It was desirable, however, that the change should be made in such a way as to avoid violent disturbances and to ensure that the nation's resources were devoted to its essential needs and fairly distributed in a period during which demand would still be without economic relation to supplies. It would therefore be necessary to continue the controls over labour, though their rigidity would be mitigated as far as possible.

The Government's intentions in the matter were set forth in a White Paper issued on the same day, dealing with the redistribution of man-power within civilian employments during the interim period between the defeat of Germany and that of Japan. Certain classes of persons—to be known as the K class—whose retention in industry would be a considerable personal hardship, would be allowed to retire immediately the war in Europe ended. This class included women, married or single, with household responsibilities and women wishing to join their husbands on release from the forces ; other women over 60 ; and men over 65. Women over 50 who wished to retire would be allowed to do so unless there were strong production reasons to the contrary. All in Class K who did not wish to retire but desired other work or work nearer home would have the first priority of release for transfer to work of importance ; and the same applied to those who had worked away from home for three years or more and wanted work nearer home. If after the releases on personal grounds and transfers there were still redundant workers in any establishment, transfer to other employment would be in three categories—first, those needed for priority vacancies, including skilled and experienced workers needed for the re-establishment of important civilian industries and services ; secondly, those who had worked for more than one year away from home and wanted to return ; and thirdly, others in accordance with current practice. The claims of the armed forces would of course come first ; but while compulsory enlistment would still apply to all men in the 10-year age-group range from 18 to 27, those over 25 would be called up only if the eight younger age-groups did not yield enough men to meet requirements.

The actual distribution of the country's man-power about the middle of 1944 was shown in a White Paper issued on November 28, which contained a record of the British mobilisation effort since the beginning of the war. From this it appeared that at

the middle of 1944 there were $4\frac{1}{2}$ million men serving in the armed forces—compared with less than half a million at the beginning of the war—and some 225,000 in whole-time civil defence. In the engineering, metals and chemicals industries, which since 1939 had been engaged almost entirely on the output of munitions and warlike stores, the labour force engaged had increased from 3 to 5 millions in the five years. The total number employed in the principal basic industries and services—agriculture, mining, national and local government service, transport, shipping (including the Merchant Navy), and the manufacture of food, drink, and tobacco—had remained fairly constant at about 5·7 millions, but there had been a substitution of women for men wherever possible, so that the number of men in these industries had fallen by 600,000 and the number of women had risen by 800,000. The other principal branches of employment—building and civil engineering, textiles, clothing, distribution and professional services—now employed only 6 million, a reduction of one-third in their labour force; these had provided more than half the men recruited to the armed forces, as well as large numbers of men and women for transfer to the munitions industries. Altogether of men between 14 and 64 and of women from 14 to 59 there were in the Services or in industrial employment in Great Britain a total of 22 million—an increase of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions over the number in June 1939, due to a reduction in the number of unemployed by $1\frac{1}{4}$ million and a net addition of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions not previously in industrial employment.

It was admitted in the White Paper that without Lend-Lease supplies from the United States and Mutual Aid from Canada it would not have been possible to devote the resources of the United Kingdom to such an extent to direct war purposes. But the reciprocal aid furnished by Britain under these heads continued to be immense, as was shown by a White Paper issued on November 24, covering the period from July 1943 to June 1944. From this it appeared that the total of Mutual Aid furnished by Britain to her Allies up to the latter date had exceeded 1,000,000,000*l.* The largest recipient was the United States, especially in the preparations for the invasion of Europe. During the year ended July 31, 1944, British ships brought to the United Kingdom some 865,000 uniformed Americans, 320,500 of them in the former luxury liners *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*. By the spring of 1944 a vast army had been accommodated in villages and towns throughout the country. In the quarter preceding D day goods and services were being provided to the United States forces in the United Kingdom at the rate of 330,000,000*l.* per annum, compared with 182,000,000*l.* per annum in the same period in 1943. Some 133 airfields were provided for the U.S.A.A.F., together with depots, headquarters and ancillary accommodation. Practically the whole of Southern Command

and a large part of Western Command and Northern Ireland were evacuated to enable United States forces to be accommodated, and in other parts of the country large numbers of houses were requisitioned for billets and camps and other new construction undertaken. The movement of U.S. troops also imposed a heavy additional burden on the railway system. Training given to United States troops also caused extensive dislocation in certain areas; in one district about 3,000 civilians were removed and eight villages evacuated to give space for training with live ammunition.

On November 17 a White Paper was issued containing the recommendations of the committee of the Civil Service National Whitley Council for recruitment to established posts in the Civil Service after the war. The object of the Committee was to show due regard to the claims of ex-Service men and others whom the war had prevented from entering the Civil Service, while avoiding the mistake made after the last war of giving high preference to ex-Service men without regard to their qualifications, to the great detriment of the service. For this purpose it divided vacancies into two classes—"normal" vacancies due to age-retirement and similar causes, and "accrued" vacancies, created by the suspension of competitive examination and the permanent expansion of the Civil Service during the war. For filling the "normal" vacancies it recommended the resumption as soon as possible of the ordinary Civil Service competitive examinations. For filling the "accrued" vacancies—which were likely to be much more numerous for some years—it recommended a number of types of "reconstruction competitions" open to ex-Service men and women, and also to most temporary civil servants and to permanent officers who but for the war would have been able to compete for higher posts. Of these vacancies not less than three-quarters in the administrative class, two-thirds in the executive class, and a half in the clerical class should be filled by ex-Service men who reached a certain minimum qualifying standard, a number of additional vacancies being reserved for ex-Service women. The report was prefaced by a Government statement which announced that this recommendation had been accepted by the Government, and that it had been decided to retain after the war a central body of economists and statisticians such as had been set up in the Cabinet offices during the war. The White Paper was approved by the House of Commons on December 14.

On November 22 Mr. Eden laid before Parliament a White Paper, entitled "A Commentary," containing the Government's comments on the proposals recently drawn up by the Conference at Dumbarton Oaks for establishing an international organisation for the maintenance of peace. A large part of the Commentary was devoted to a comparison between the "Charter" drawn up

by the Conference and the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was pointed out that an Assembly and a Council with permanent and non-permanent members, an international Court of Justice and a Secretariat were the main organs of both, as indeed they were bound to be of any international body of a similar nature. But whereas under the Covenant both the Assembly and the Council could take action with regard to the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security, under the Charter such action would rest solely with the Security Council which for this purpose would be armed with far greater powers than the League Council. While under the Covenant, when an occasion for the imposition of sanctions was judged to have arisen, each member of the League of Nations had to decide for itself whether it would put them into force, under the Charter each member of the United Nations would undertake to put such sanctions into force at the demand of the Security Council and also to place at that body's disposal such quotas of military force as it had agreed upon. Again, while the Covenant carefully defined the occasions on which sanctions were to be employed, under the Charter it would be left to the Security Council to decide this in the light of the principles and purposes of the organisation. Lastly, while under the Covenant there was no provision for the preparation and co-ordination of the military forces to be placed at the Council's disposal, under the Charter it was intended to set up a Military Staffs Committee, composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the States with permanent seats, or their representatives, which would be responsible for the strategic direction of the armed forces placed at the disposal of the Council, while provision would also be made for quotas of national forces to be immediately available to act on the orders of the Security Council. But while the Charter made the Security Council supreme on the military side, the task of securing international co-operation on economic and social matters was left almost exclusively to the Assembly, working through an Economic and Social Council elected by itself.

On November 21 it was announced that Lord Portal was being replaced as Minister of Works by Mr. Duncan Sandys, a son-in-law of the Prime Minister. The reason given for the change was that in view of the great importance now attaching to housing policy it was advisable that the Minister responsible for it should be in the House of Commons in order to answer all questions there personally. At the same time Sir Edward Grigg was appointed Minister Resident in the Middle East in succession to Lord Moyne, who had just been assassinated in Cairo, and Captain Harold Balfour, Minister Resident in West Africa in succession to Lord Swinton. Notice was also given that, as the blockade of Germany was now maintained almost entirely by the Allied Armies on her borders, the Ministry of Economic Warfare had become practically superfluous and would shortly be wound up.

Parliament was prorogued on November 28, and met again on the next day to commence its tenth session. The programme of legislation outlined in the King's Speech was one of the largest on record, covering almost the whole field of the transition from war to peace conditions. Among the subjects it embraced were a comprehensive health service, national insurance, along with industrial injury insurance and family allowances, a national water policy, and electoral reform. These were all matters on which the Government had received a kind of mandate to go forward in the previous year. Other Bills were to deal with the resumption of local elections, the financing of local authorities, the adjustment of local government areas, the extension of export credit facilities, the conservation of the use or value of assets created at the public expense on requisitioned and other land, the regulation of wages and conditions of employment, the public educational system in Scotland, and the development of the Colonial Empire. Naturally, too, the Government promised its best endeavours for assisting the export trade, the re-equipment of industry and the production of food at home, for maintaining a high level of employment, and for providing additional housing accommodation and increasing supplies of civilian goods.

In the debate on the Address on the next day the Prime Minister stated that the Government had no expectation of being able to carry through all this programme in the lifetime of the existing Parliament. How much of it they would be able to put into effect depended on the date when the war with Germany would be officially declared at an end, a date which would automatically be followed at no long interval by a dissolution. In view of the military situation he was now inclined to place this date somewhat later than in his previous forecast—not before the summer was well in—but even so there would be no time for drafting and discussing more than a few of the Bills mentioned in the King's Speech. However, this did not mean that the whole programme would not sooner or later be carried out, since all parties were more or less committed to it, and the next Parliament, whatever its complexion, would probably be willing to continue the work of the present one.

In spite of the Premier's assurance, some speakers in the debate found cause for misgiving in the expression used in the King's Speech that Bills would be presented by the Government "as opportunity arose." Mr. Eden, in replying to the debate on December 1, assured them that these words bore no sinister implication. They were inserted, he said, simply because the Government had no certainty about their own life after an event the date of which could not be fixed. He gave a pledge that if a Labour Government came into power after the election, members of the Conservative Party would support them in putting through what remained of the programme.

On November 30 the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that, as a result of discussions that had been taking place in the last few weeks in Washington between a British Mission headed by Lord Keynes and the American Administration, great reductions would soon be made in lend-lease supplies from America. Some of these reductions would come into effect at the beginning of 1945, when they would cease to receive shipments under lend-lease of any manufactured articles for civilian use which entered into export trade, and of many raw and semi-fabricated materials, such as iron and steel and some non-ferrous metals. The shipments made would, however, include complete houses to meet some of their needs for temporary and emergency houses for war workers in war areas. After the defeat of Germany it was estimated that it would be possible for them to reduce their supplies and services from America by half. Naturally the embargo on re-exporting in commerce any articles which they received under lend-lease would still remain, nor would they in general receive articles identical with those which they exported. The quantities of raw materials supplied under lend-lease would continue to be limited to their domestic consumption for the manufacture of munitions and the maintenance of their essential war-time economy.

The Prime Minister was at pains to point out that under the new arrangement British exporters would have a much freer hand, and he pictured it as redeeming to a certain extent the Government's pledge to assist the export trade. Representatives of the export trade in the House hardly took this view, and on December 6 supported an amendment—which, however, was not carried to a division—regretting that the King's Speech contained no proposals for the reorganisation of the Board of Trade and no mention of the other steps necessary for the expansion of the export trade or for dealing effectively with the change-over of industry from war to peace production. Mr. Lyttelton retorted that when the Board of Trade recently had invited applications from industry for the release of draughtsmen and technicians with the object of starting on the production of prototypes and samples and carrying on experiments in peace production, the response of industry had been disappointing. Actually, he said, the Board of Trade was working in close conjunction with the Ministry of Supply, and using the regional boards as a common service. He defined the Government policy as being, without damage to war production, to release capacity and labour in those areas where it could be most readily absorbed and for purposes which would make the greatest immediate contribution to the re-establishment of their commercial, financial, and industrial life, of which the export trade was only one element. While confident that the country could eventually raise its export to 50 per cent. above pre-war level, he could not promise that the process would be either rapid or easy.

In further debate on the Address, complaints were made on December 7 that the all-important subject of housing was dismissed in a very cursory manner in the King's Speech. Mr. Sandys, the new Minister of Works, in reply, stated that good progress was being made with the task of restoring to a tolerable state of comfort the large number of houses which, though damaged, were still for the most part habitable; out of 700,000 houses which had been in this condition at the end of September about 200,000 had been dealt with. He greatly disappointed the House, however, by informing it that, owing to shortage of labour and manufacturing capacity, there was little chance of the Portal houses being produced till the end of the war in Europe. Though he held out a prospect of other types of prefabricated houses being produced much earlier, the House was left with the impression that many members of the forces, after being discharged, would not find suitable housing accommodation.

If the Government's programme of reconstruction did not entirely satisfy the bulk of the Labour Party, it at least gave them no ground for denouncing the party truce so long as the war with Germany continued. But its conduct of foreign policy at this juncture stirred them to more serious discontent and brought them face to face with the question whether it would not be necessary for the Labour members to leave the Coalition immediately. While the debate on the Address was still in progress British representatives in Belgium, in Italy, and in Greece, took action which, to a large section of the British public, seemed high-handed and contrary to democratic principle; and the defence of this action given by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, so far from allaying these misgivings, served only to focus suspicion on himself as an enemy of democracy and an arch-supporter of reaction in those countries of Europe in which the military situation enabled Great Britain to exercise decisive influence.

On November 28 the British Commandant in Brussels, with the approval of the British Government, placed troops at the disposal of the Belgian Government for the purpose of combating a rising which the Resistance forces were alleged to be preparing. At about the same time the British representative in Rome prevented the appointment of Count Sforza as Foreign Minister in the Italian Government which was then being formed. Both these steps were stigmatised in certain quarters in England as being anti-democratic. Mr. Eden, in his speech in the House of Commons on December 1, strongly denied the charge. The object of the British commander in Belgium, he said, was only to assist in keeping order and to give support to the properly constituted Belgian Government. In Italy the British Government had simply asserted their perfectly valid right to express their views about the appointment of any particular statesman in that country, and they objected to Count Sforza on account of certain

of his activities since his return to Rome. Everywhere, however, the policy of the Government was to maintain order until fair and untrammelled elections could be held for governments, dynasties, and Parliaments alike.

Two days later an event occurred which went far to deprive Mr. Eden's assurance of any value it may have possessed in the eyes of the Government's critics. The police in Athens, acting under orders of a Government which had the support of British troops on the spot, fired on an unarmed demonstration of supporters of the E.A.M. or Republican Party. Again the cry went up in England that Britain was imposing on a foreign people a Government which it did not want. This time the Government's defence was made by the Prime Minister. Speaking in the House of Commons on December 5 he blamed the E.A.M. for interfering seriously with the British relief work in Athens, and stated that until the Greek people were in a position to decide for themselves whether they would have a republic or a monarchy, the British Government would not hesitate to use the British Army in Greece, already considerable and being reinforced, to see that law and order were maintained. It was their belief, added Mr. Churchill, that in that course they had the support of an overwhelming majority of the Greek people.

Events soon proved this belief to be completely mistaken. Strong in popular support, the E.A.M. were able to defy not only the Greek police, but also the British troops who came to their aid. Before many days had passed a state of war existed between the E.A.M. and the British Army in Greece. People in England saw with horror troops which were really needed for the war against Germany being used to crush men whom they had lately been acclaiming as heroic comrades in the war of liberation. The shock to public opinion was profound, especially in Labour circles.

The first attempt to give expression to Labour sentiment on the subject was made by a private member, Mr. Seymour Cocks, who put down an amendment to the Address "regretting that the King's Speech contained no assurance that British forces would not be used to disarm the friends of democracy in Greece and other parts of Europe and suppress the popular resistance movements there." There could be no doubt that the bulk of the Labour Party were in full agreement with the terms of the amendment, and would have been prepared to support it if they had been allowed a free hand. But the leaders of the party could not accept a resolution which implied a censure on the Labour members of the Government, and they therefore drafted an amendment in more moderate terms. The Speaker, however, gave preference to the original amendment of Mr. Cocks, and it was duly moved by him on December 8.

Mr. Cocks said that there was a feeling in the country that as

victory was approaching British policy seemed inclined to support many of the worn-out regimes in Europe as against the popular forces which had emerged. It could not be denied that in the summer the British Government had been showing far greater sympathy with the Greek dictatorship exiled in Egypt than with the popular resistance movement fighting in the mountains of Greece. It was none of their business to intervene in a friendly and foreign country to prevent the overthrow of a dictatorship or to say that the sword of Hampden or Cromwell should never be unsheathed. He appealed to the Prime Minister to reverse this policy and not to let the battle of Athens become another Bunker's Hill. The amendment was seconded by the Common Wealth leader, Sir R. Acland.

The reply for the Government was given by the Prime Minister. He immediately made it clear that his point of view had not changed in the slightest since he had spoken on the matter on December 5, and that the events which had occurred in the interval had rather confirmed than shaken him in the position he then took up. He now said outright what he had only left to be inferred from his words on the previous occasion, that in his opinion the E.A.M., or at any rate their military section, the E.L.A.S., were a pack of brigands who were more interested in their own dominance than in the welfare of their country. They were now, he said, attempting to put into execution a plot which they had been hatching for two years to seize power by force of arms and impose a Communist dictatorship on the Greek people. He maintained therefore that in opposing them by force of arms the British Government were truly upholding the cause of democracy in Greece, and he announced that the Government would persist in this policy without flinching.

Mr. Churchill took the opportunity at the same time to defend the British action in Belgium and Italy which had been criticised. In Belgium, he said, a *putsch* had been organised at the end of November to throw out the properly constituted Government of M. Pierlot. On November 29 a demonstration marched up to the Belgian Parliament House in Brussels and lorry-loads of "friends of democracy" came hurrying in from Mons and other places heavily armed. Orders were therefore sent to the British officer in command in Brussels to stop the lorries on their way and disarm the occupants; and this action was taken at the request of the Belgian Government. As for Count Sforza, the objection against him was based on the ground that when passing through London on his way to Italy he had given his word to Mr. Churchill not to oppose Marshal Badoglio and had afterwards intrigued against him.

Mr. Churchill's tirades against the E.A.M., while they were heard with pleasure by a section of the Conservative Party, served only to irritate still further his critics on the Labour

benches. Mr. Eden in closing the debate put the case for the Government in a more persuasive form. Without denying that the E.A.M. were the popular party in Greece, he attributed the whole of the trouble to the action of their representatives in the Greek Government in going back on their agreement with regard to the disarming of the partisans, and maintained that this left the British Government no alternative except to support the Papandreu Government in the way they had done. He assured the House once more that their one object in Greece was to maintain order and go on with relief work until a new Government could be appointed by popular election.

At the beginning of his speech the Prime Minister had assured the victory of the Government by making the question one of confidence. In spite of this only about thirty members of the Labour Party—most of them members of the Administration—voted against the amendment. The great bulk of the party abstained from voting, and no less than thirty supported the amendment.

Acting on a suggestion made in the debate, the Government immediately afterwards sent out to Athens Mr. Harold Macmillan, Minister Resident in the Central Mediterranean, to try to mediate. At the same time, however, it also sent reinforcements to Athens in order to be prepared for all emergencies. In fact the E.L.A.S. increased their pressure on the city, and the prospect of a peaceful solution receded further into the background.

The debate on the situation in Greece was followed almost immediately (December 11) by the opening of the Labour Party Conference which had been postponed from Whitsuntide (*vide* p. 53). In his opening address, Professor Harold Laski, who presided in the absence through illness of Miss Ellen Wilkinson, struck an uncompromisingly Socialist note. If, he said, they could plan for victory in war, they could not less certainly plan for the life of reason and plenty in time of peace. Only a planned world could hope to be a free world for the common man. But no renovation could be either real or profound that was not Socialist in principle and Socialist in method. The day had passed when an economics of plenty was compatible with the private ownership or control of the essential means of production. The day had also passed when the exercise of State power could be safely left to either an aristocracy of birth or an oligarchy of wealth. It was the duty of the Labour Party to support the Churchill Government till victory in Europe was overwhelming and complete. But then they would have to seek decisive and independent electoral authority to enter upon the great task of building the Socialist commonwealth, which alone could give the people full employment and was a necessary precondition of adequate health and nutrition, a rational housing policy, and security against the burden of old age.

The first motion before the Conference, moved by Mr. Greenwood in the name of the Executive, pledged the Labour Party to continue its participation in the Government "so long as it was necessary in the national interest and for fulfilling the purposes for which the Government was called into being," and at the next General Election to go before the country "with a practical policy based on the Socialist principles in which it believed," and with the object of placing in power a purely Labour Government. Attempts were made to refer the report back on two grounds. One was that it practically committed the Labour Party to stay in the Government until the end of the war with Germany; the other was that it virtually excluded the co-operation in the election of the Labour Party with other groups of the Left. Both attempts were defeated by overwhelming majorities.

The "practical principles" on which the Executive intended to fight the election were specified in a resolution which "re-affirmed the conviction that full employment could only be obtained within a planned economy, through the maintenance and adaptation of appropriate economic controls, the transfer to the State of the power to direct the policy of the main industries, services and financial institutions—in particular to control the Bank of England and the lending policy of the joint-stock banks—and to set up a national investment board." This programme was criticised on the ground that it made no explicit mention of public ownership, and an amendment was moved to make the programme include the transfer to public ownership of the land, large-scale building, heavy industry, and all forms of banking, transport, fuel and power. This was carried against the express wish of the Executive. A motion demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners in India and the formation there of a responsible National Government was also carried in defiance of the Executive. The Socialistic spirit of the Conference was further manifested by the election to the Executive of Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the "live wire" of the party, who a few months before had come within an ace of being expelled on account of his militant Socialism (*vide* p. 37).

Important as were the matters on the original agenda of the Conference, they were quite overshadowed in the eyes of the delegates by the crisis which events in Greece had suddenly created in the relations of the Labour Party with the Government. As soon as the Conference met, the Executive set to work to draft a resolution which should give adequate expression to the feelings of the party on the matter without at the same time making untenable the position of the Labour members of the Government. The task proved no easy one, and it was not till the third day that the resolution was presented. It called on the Government to take all necessary steps to facilitate an armistice

without delay, and to secure the resumption of conversations with a view to the establishment of a provisional National Government which would proceed to a free and fair General Election as soon as practicable. In submitting the resolution Mr. Greenwood said that the Conference had two courses open to it—either to waste their time on criticism of what had happened in the past, or devote their time to a discussion of positive, constructive efforts which could be taken at once and in the near future. The Executive had chosen the latter course, and he recommended the resolution as indicating a line of action which could be followed with advantage in the case not only of Greece but of all liberated territories.

Rather unexpectedly, Mr. Ernest Bevin intervened in the debate with the object of justifying himself and his Labour colleagues in the Government in the eyes of the Conference. He took his full share, he said, of responsibility for all the decisions that had been taken, and maintained that in view of the way in which E.A.M. had broken their word the Government could not have acted differently in the crisis. In face of conditions prevailing in the Balkan peninsula, it was absolutely essential for British interests that Greece should not be allowed to fall into a state of chaos. He assured the Conference once more, however, that once order was restored in Greece the Government would immediately resume its policy of furnishing relief to the population and making preparations for the holding of a free and fair election. The appeals of Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Bevin proved effective, and though there were some sharp references to Mr. Churchill in the debate, the resolution was carried on a card vote by 2,455,000 to 137,000.

The Labour Conference resolution on Greece was not followed by any improvement in the situation in that country, or by any change in the policy of the Government. The Labour Party became more convinced than ever that Mr. Churchill was taking a radically wrong view of the position there. They were strengthened in this opinion by evidence which now came to light that the Prime Minister had been seriously misinformed regarding the position both in Belgium and in Italy. A correspondent in Belgium of the *News-Chronicle* wrote in that paper that after making careful inquiries he had been unable to find any trace of the intended *putsch* which Mr. Churchill had alleged as the ground of British interference in Belgium. In Italy Count Sforza issued a statement to the Press denying categorically that he had had any part in driving Marshal Badoglio from office.

The subject was raised again in the House of Commons on December 20, in the debate on the adjournment. Mr. Greenwood, speaking, as he said, more in sorrow than in anger, maintained that the Prime Minister had not handled the situation in the way it should have been handled. He protested against the action of

the Government in insisting that the E.A.M. should lay down their arms before talks could commence. He also hinted that the Government should not encourage the King of Greece—then in England—in his opposition to the establishment of a Regency in Greece.

Mr. Eden again made a conciliatory reply. He pointed out that British troops had gone to Greece in the first instance with the consent of all parties there, and with the sole object of safeguarding the distribution of food supplies among the starving population. He defended the action taken by General Scobie, the British officer in command, and stated that he had refused assistance from Royalist partisans and had actually disarmed some of them. With regard to the proposal for a Regency, he said that the Government had no objection, but insisted that the demand for it should come from the parties in Greece themselves. Meanwhile, however, the British forces in Athens must continue to use force until the E.L.A.S. partisans consented to lay down their arms.

Mr. Eden's speech, for all its conciliatory tone, did not bring a solution of the problem any nearer. Fighting still went on in Athens, and public opinion in England became more and more inflamed. To restore confidence in the Government Mr. Churchill now took a characteristically bold and dramatic step. Accompanied by Mr. Eden, he flew on Christmas Eve to Athens. His first step there was to bring about a conference between the representatives of the opposing parties, which he opened personally. The results of the visit were, however, not so spectacular as the visit itself. When he and Mr. Eden left Athens on December 29 fighting was still going on there. Nevertheless it was generally felt in England that his personal intervention had done much to restore the confidence of the Greek people in British integrity and good intentions, as it certainly served to create a more favourable disposition towards him personally at home. This feeling was strengthened by the announcement, at the end of the year, that King George of Greece had consented to the appointment of a Regent.

Before leaving Athens, Mr. Churchill made a statement to Press representatives justifying British action in Greece. He pointed out that both President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin had agreed to the British entering Greece on the heels of the retreating Germans in order to help in pushing them out of the country and in organising the food distribution. The reason why they had to intervene with their troops in the internal affairs of the country was to prevent a massacre which otherwise he was certain would have occurred. All tales that they were supporting a Fascist Government or endeavouring to get some advantage for themselves were absolutely without foundation; they wanted nothing from Greece beyond her friendship. Having got into

this business, however, they had to see it through, and they would use whatever force was necessary to clear the whole of the built-up area of Athens and a sufficient area all around of armed persons not under the control of any recognised Government ; after which it was to be hoped that a more sensible spirit would prevail.

On December 15 the Prime Minister made a statement on British policy in regard to Poland, in a speech directed rather to the new Polish Government in London than to the House itself. He made it clear that the Government still adhered to the plan which had been drawn up at Teheran, and which he had disclosed to the House ten months before—that the boundary between Poland and Russia should follow in the main the so-called Curzon line, and that Poland should be compensated for the loss of territory on the east by the acquisition of German territory in the west. Mr. Churchill declared himself to be quite undismayed by the prospect of the extensive transfers of population which this plan would involve, and he strongly advised the Polish Government to accept it while there was yet time.

Mr. Churchill's speech on Poland upset the Conservative Party almost as much as his speech on Greece had upset the Labour Party. A number of Conservatives declared themselves horrified by the idea of driving millions of people, whether Poles or Germans, from their homes, and saw in such a proceeding the germs of future wars. Labour speakers also regarded it with misgiving, though they fully approved of Mr. Churchill's attitude to the reactionary Polish Government in London, which in their eyes made some amends for his hostility to the anti-monarchical party in Greece.

In replying to the debate, Mr. Eden said that Polish-Soviet relations had been, for the last three years or a little more, the most vexatious and anxious problem with which the Government had had to deal. Unless there was some understanding between Poland and Russia, it was difficult to see how there could be confidence, settlement, and peace in Eastern Europe when the war was over. It was for that reason that they had made repeated efforts to find a solution—efforts which at times seemed to be successful, but which for the moment had ended in failure. He pointed out that already in 1920 and 1921 the British Government had urged the Poles to accept the Curzon line, including the cession of Lvov to a new Ukrainian State. He also stated that, quite apart from the question of Russo-Polish relations, he personally had always regarded the Danzig Corridor as unworkable, and had advocated its cession to Poland, with a transfer of the German population. He admitted that the prospects of an agreement at the moment were very bleak. They would, he said, go on recognising the new Government in London as they had recognised its predecessor, and hope that some way of settling the problem would

be found at the Peace Conference, though he could not see how it was to be done.

On November 14 the British Second Army, having established itself along the south bank of the Maas from the North Sea to the neighbourhood of Venraij, with a salient north of the river at Nijmegen, launched an attack on the German pocket west of the Maas and south of Venraij in order to clear the left bank of the river as far as Venlo. The attack took the enemy by surprise and quickly drove him back some way. The muddy state of the ground, however, hampered the British advance, and though the resistance encountered was not very strong, progress was not rapid. However, by November 22 the British had captured Maasbree, a few miles before Venlo, and by the 26th they had reached Blerick, where the enemy had a bridgehead on the west side of the river opposite Venlo. This bridgehead was finally cleared on December 4, by which time also the enemy had been driven from another bridgehead at Roermond further up the river, and the British Second Army was able to link up with the American Ninth Army in the neighbourhood of Geilenkirchen. From this point to the end of the year it remained stationary and its activities were restricted to patrol clashes, save that it sent some assistance to the Americans in their struggle with Rundstedt after Christmas.

If comparatively little was achieved by the British forces on land in the last three months of the year, there was no slackening in the activity of the British and American Air Forces. In November the R.A.F. Bomber Command set up a new record by dropping nearly 53,000 tons of bombs on Germany, while the United States Strategic Air Force in Europe dropped over 50,000 tons. The chief targets were enemy communications and synthetic oil plants; while on November 20 the Dortmund-Ems Canal was once more drained by an R.A.F. attack. Early in November bombers of Coastal Command had the satisfaction of sinking, by means of 12,000-ton bombs, the German giant battleship *Tirpitz* in a Norwegian fiord. The number of U-boats sunk in this period was small, but it was again larger than the number of British merchant vessels lost.

On the other hand, German air activity over England was not eliminated so completely as had been hoped after the capture of the French coast. In spite of the loss of their installations in the Pas de Calais, the Germans still found means to send flying bombs across by launching them from planes flying over the North Sea. They also commenced in September to send over rocket bombs, known as V2, which rose into the stratosphere and descended at a terrific speed without any warning in the London area and other parts of South-east England. The combined attack of these two kinds of missile was on a much smaller scale than that of the earlier flying bombs; nevertheless the amount

of damage it caused was by no means negligible. Raid casualties for September were reported as 170 killed and 360 injured; for October, 172 killed and 416 injured; for November 716 and 1511; and for December 367 and 847.

In Italy in the last three months of the year the Eighth Army continued to make slow but steady progress. After taking Rimini it began to push forward in two directions—along the coast towards Ravenna and inland along the Via Emilia in the direction of Bologna. Again it met with stubborn resistance from the Germans, and it had to contend with unfavourable weather which greatly hampered its operations. Nevertheless it succeeded in capturing Forli, nearly half-way to Bologna, on November 9. The American Fifth Army meanwhile had advanced from the Futa Pass in the direction of Bologna and had come within 12 miles of that city when they were held up in the neighbourhood of Imola. The Eighth Army also, after advancing from Forli along the Via Emilia as far as Faenza, met with exceptionally strong resistance and were brought to a standstill. Along the coast, however, they continued to make good progress and Ravenna fell to them on December 5. After further stiff fighting Faenza was at length taken on December 18 and the Eighth Army gradually pushed on to the line of the River Senio, which marked the limit of its advance up to the end of the year. The Fifth Army, so far from advancing, was actually pushed out of the villages of Barga and Galliciano at its western extremity towards the end of the year, but after a few days it succeeded in recovering the lost ground.

In Burma military operations, which had not ceased entirely during the whole period of the monsoon, were resumed with vigour by the British as the monsoon season drew to a close. In the middle of September Indian troops of the 14th Army crossed the Manipur River south of Imphal and began to advance towards Tiddim, a hundred miles further south. With the aid of support from the air this place was taken by them on October 19. The British then turned eastwards, setting their faces towards the important junction of Kalewa, on the Chindwin River. On November 7 they captured the 9,000 feet high mountain of Kennedy Peak, and a few days later Fort White, two of the chief obstacles in the way. On reaching Kalembo, a short distance before Kalewa, the Indian troops joined hands with East Africans who had advanced from Arakan through the Kabaw valley. The Japanese made a strong stand in the gorge of the Myhittha River between Kalembo and Kalewa, but their resistance was eventually overcome and the Africans entered Kalewa on December 2, and in the course of the next few days succeeded in establishing a bridgehead on the other side of the Chindwin River. Concurrently with these operations British troops of the 36th Division had advanced from the neighbourhood of Mogaung in

North Burma along the railway corridor in the direction of Katha, an important junction on the Irrawaddy River. They met with stubborn resistance at the village of Pinwe, a few miles north of Katha, but after three weeks fighting secured possession of it on December 1.

Both the East Africans of the 11th Division and the British of the 36th Division now commenced to converge on Mandalay, some two hundred miles distant, together with the Chinese further east, along the Irrawaddy River. On December 10 the British occupied Indaw and Katha, and soon after the East Africans captured Shwegyin, and advanced towards Yeu, the terminus of the railway from Mandalay. Contact between the two forces was made on December 16, south of Indaw. This meant that the whole of North Burma, with an area twice as large as Ireland, was clear of the enemy. Continuing their advance, the combined forces, forming the IV Corps, occupied Wuntho, fifty miles along the railway from Katha, before Christmas. Progress was also made in Arakan by the XV Indian Corps, which occupied Rathi-daung at the end of the year.

With the Germans driven to the banks of the Rhine, the danger of an invasion of Britain had become so remote that it was judged safe to disband the Home Guard, after a final parade before the King on December 3. In a broadcast on the same night His Majesty expressed his own and the nation's thanks to the Home Guard for their "steadfast devotion," which had "helped much to ward off the danger of invasion." During the four and a half years of their existence they had become a thoroughly trained force; and though they had never been called upon to display their capacities in action, there could be no doubt that their mere presence had acted as a strong deterrent to the enemy, while it had also liberated large forces for service overseas. They had, too, played a full part in the defence of the country, as anti-aircraft and coastal gunners, as sentries at vulnerable points, as units for dealing with unexploded bombs, and in many other ways; and they had given valuable aid to the Civil Defence Services in dealing with air-raid incidents.

On December 5 Mr. Hudson, the Minister of Agriculture, announced in the House of Commons that he had come to an agreement with the industry regarding the procedure to be adopted for fixing agricultural prices, up to and including the harvest of 1947, and for the period of the four-year plan ending in the summer of 1948. Every February the Agricultural Departments and the farmers' unions would review the general financial position of agriculture in the United Kingdom in the light of the economic and financial material available, and decisions would be made applying as regards crops to prices from the harvest of the following calendar year, as regards milk to prices from October 1 of the current year, and as regards livestock and

eggs to prices from July 1 of the current year. A special review would be conducted in the event of an important change in the situation, such as a sudden and substantial change in costs. Mr. Hudson intimated that in the transition to peace there would probably be an expansion of livestock and livestock products, and a reduction in the high war-time level of certain crops for direct human consumption.

On December 6 the Minister of Labour laid before Parliament a Bill empowering him to set up wages councils in industries where there was no adequate voluntary negotiating machinery—such as trade boards—and where, having regard to the remuneration, he thought it expedient to do so. Wages councils were to consist of equal numbers of persons representing employers and workers respectively, and three independent persons chosen by the Ministry. They would be authorised to fix “remuneration,” which might include a guaranteed weekly wage, and not merely a minimum rate, and paid holidays of more than a week. The Bill also proposed to prolong for five years the provision of the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order requiring all employers in the industries concerned, whether members of the organisations making the agreement or not, to observe its conditions.

On December 14 the Stationery Office published a plan for Greater London drawn up by Professor Patrick Abercrombie at the request of the Minister of Town and Country Planning. Its chief object was to provide an adequate scheme for decentralising the population of London. For this purpose it embraced an area of over 2,700 square miles covering the whole of the counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Surrey, and parts of Essex, Kent, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire, with a population of over ten millions. This it divided into four concentric rings—the Inner Urban ring representing the fully urbanised built-up areas adjoining the L.C.C. area, the Suburban Ring extending about 12 miles from Charing Cross and already fully built up, the Green Belt extending about 5 miles beyond the Suburban Ring, and the Outer Country Ring, including the remainder of the region. In this outer ring it was proposed to create eight or ten satellite towns, each complete in itself, with a maximum population of 60,000, to which would be drawn off the surplus population from the overcrowded inner parts. The rest of the area would be planned so as to accord with this basic feature. The plan received high commendation in the Press, but few were optimistic enough to expect that it would ever be carried out, or even that it would be allowed to influence to any great extent the future development of London.

The year 1944 closed without bringing to the Allied nations the victory which at the end of the summer had seemed to be within their grasp. Great as had been the successes gained by

them in the course of the year, they had not yet sufficed to break down entirely the enemy resistance. This fact was brought home to the British public both by the continued exposure of Southern England to V-bombs and rocket bombs and by Von Rundstedt's attack on the American Third Army before Christmas, which came as a rude warning to the British no less than the American public that it was not yet safe to allow any slackening in the war effort. That the postponement of victory was only temporary was doubted by scarcely anyone in England; nevertheless it produced a feeling of frustration similar to that which had been caused at the opening of the year by the delay in invading the Continent. Another circumstance which threw a shadow over the close of the year was the injection into Anglo-American relations of a certain spirit of suspicion, due on the British side to the American rejection of the British proposals at the Chicago Civil Aviation Conference, and on the American side to the British handling of the Greek, and to a lesser extent of the Polish crisis. The state of affairs, therefore, both at home and abroad, was not so favourable for the nation as its achievements during the year might have entitled it to expect. Withal, the year had brought solid gains, and the prospects for the future, in spite of clouds on the horizon, were brighter than they had been for a long time. The steadfast cheerfulness of the people, with all its war weariness, gave promise that the work of reconstruction would be carried out under good auspices.

IMPERIAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

IRELAND

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE issue of a White Paper on Education in December was the most important event in a somewhat uneasy political year in Northern Ireland. There was no divergence of view on questions of broad policy but internal matters gave rise to differences. This was particularly the case in regard to a measure brought forward by the Government to restore the powers previously taken from Belfast Corporation. During the debates on the Bill it became clear that there was no general agreement in favour of the measure, and the Prime Minister withdrew it.

Soon after the Governor, the Duke of Abercorn, had opened the 9th Session of the Fifth Parliament, there were rumours of friction between the Minister of Education, Rev. Professor Corkey, and his Parliamentary Secretary, Mrs. Dehra Parker. In February the Minister resigned, giving as his reason that he had been opposed on the question of securing a Christian education for the children. Later, the Prime Minister told the House of Commons that he had asked for the Minister's resignation because Professor Corkey had not attended at the Ministry's headquarters in Portrush as often as he should have done. There was much support for the Minister, both inside and outside the House, but, after the Premier had stated that if the House did not agree with his decision a motion of censure could be put down, the mild crisis passed.

March brought the resignation of Mrs. Parker from the Parliamentary Secretaryship of the Ministry. The only woman member of the House of Commons—and a very able one—she denied that she had ever clashed with the Minister on religious education in the schools, or tried to dictate policy. The new Minister, appointed on March 21, was Lt.-Col. S. H. Hall Thompson, the first holder of the Education Portfolio to sit in the House of Commons. At the same time Sir Roland Nugent, a former Director of the Federation of British Industries, was appointed Minister without Portfolio and Leader of the Senate.

Following many conferences with local authorities and various teachers' and religious organisations, Col. Hall Thompson presented his White Paper in December with his proposals for the re-organisation of education. He proposed to supersede the present organisation of public elementary schools by a new system of

primary and junior secondary schools, with a break at "11 plus," corresponding to the system in Great Britain under the Hadow re-organisation. It is intended that in the senior secondary schools there should be many more free places for pupils of merit and that there should also be greater facilities for clever pupils to go on to the University. It is expected that when the Bill is produced the chief controversy may centre on the question of whether teachers should be compelled to give religious instruction.

The Budget statement by Major Maynard Sinclair in May made provision for an Imperial contribution of 35,000,000*l.* The Ulster Unionist Council issued a pamphlet showing that this brought Northern Ireland's total contribution since 1922 to 157,937,000*l.*, and that this figure showed that the area stood, not as a poor relation, but as a partner in the business of running a world-wide empire and paying her way.

The magnitude of Northern Ireland's effort in food supply was revealed in October by the Minister of Agriculture (Rev. Robert Moore), who stated that the area under crops had increased from 470,823 acres at the outbreak of war, to 850,730 acres in 1943, the highest since 1918. Flax increased from 21,194 acres in 1939 to 124,536 acres, the highest since 1870. The tillage area had increased by 78 per cent. over 1939, compared with 69 per cent. in England and Wales and 46 per cent. in Scotland. The cattle figures, 885,799, were the highest on record, while the poultry figures of 16,645,746 compared with 10,229,324 at the outbreak of war. Pigs and sheep had declined. Mr. R. S. Hudson, the British Minister of Agriculture, who paid a visit during August, said that the Ulster farmers had worthily played their part.

On the industrial side a strike in March involved 19,000 workers, but it was settled after a few weeks, and Sir Stafford Cripps later stated that there had been a marked increase in production.

A new Ministry of Health was set up on June 1, with Mr. William Grant, Minister of Labour, being appointed the first holder of the office. Mr. H. C. Midgley, the Labour M.P. whom Sir Basil Brooke had included in his Ministry the previous year as Minister of Public Security, became Minister of Labour. Sir Wilfrid Spender, head of the Civil Service, retired and his place was taken by Mr. W. D. Scott, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce. The Chief Government Whip, Sir Norman Stronge, resigned suddenly in the autumn.

The Government's proposals to solve the housing shortage—it was stated that 100,000 houses are required—consisted of helping local authorities and the setting up of a Housing Trust, financed by the Exchequer, to undertake building. The proposed Trust came in for severe criticism both in the Senate and the House of Commons, where members declared that private enterprise should

have a chance. They were informed that private enterprise would not be excluded, and the Commons passed on the Bill to the Senate, which was to meet early in the New Year.

During the later months of the year Sir Basil Brooke was ordered to take a rest and the duties of Prime Minister were carried out by the Minister of Finance, Major Maynard Sinclair.

EIRE

BOTH in home and external affairs 1944 was marked in Eire by important events. The most striking, in the domestic field, was the sudden General Election—the second in a little over a year—precipitated by the defeat of the Government by one vote on the motion that the Transport Bill be deferred till the findings of the Stocks Tribunal had been made known. This tribunal was investigating alleged leakages of official information affecting dealings in railway stocks. The Government defeat occurred on May 9 and, early next morning, Mr. de Valera announced that President Douglas Hyde had authorised a General Election. A whirlwind election campaign began. Nominations closed on May 19 and polling day was May 30.

Fianna Fail—the Government Party—nominated 99 candidates, as compared with Fine Gael's 54. The Labour split which took place in January—following the withdrawal of the powerful Irish Transport and General Workers' Union—weakened Labour's chances. Instead of the united Labour group numbering 17—which had been elected in 1943—the Labour Party returned 8, while the National Labour break-away accounted for another 4. One result of the election was that Labour loses the 500l. State grant which goes to the third largest Opposition party. The Farmers' group now receives this.

The Government came back with 76 members as compared with 67 in 1943 (increased to 77 by a subsequent by-election), Fine Gael dropped from 32 to 30, the Farmers' group dwindled from 14 to 11, while Independents totalled 9 instead of 8, as in the previous year. No new issues were raised at the election. Fianna Fail asked for a majority to ensure stable government. Fine Gael again urged a National Government, drawing on the talents of all parties. Mr. de Valera would have none of this, and succeeded in strengthening his party position by gaining an over-all majority of 14 seats. The Opposition parties were unprepared for the conflict. Labour polled 70,000 votes less than the previous year. The total poll dropped by 108,438. Fine Gael lost the services of its old leader, Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, who did not offer himself for re-election. He had resigned the leadership early in the year, and was succeeded by Dr. T. F. O'Higgins before the election. The new Opposition Leader is General Richard Mulcahy, who gained a seat in Tipperary. He main-

tained that Eire's future is bound up with close and friendly relations with Britain. At the Killarney by-election early in November he developed this argument, calling for a stand for the idea of Imperial Preference because "by tradition and equity this country was entitled to preference in the British market." This appeal was made directly in the interests of the Irish farmers.

Mr. John Dillon, T.D., Independent candidate, who was re-elected in Monaghan, submitted an eight-point plan, including a United Ireland in the Commonwealth of Nations; maintenance of friendship with the United States; no taxation or restrictions on the raw materials of the agricultural industry; development of the external market for agricultural produce; increase of agricultural output; full work or maintenance; no teaching through the medium of Irish, except in the Irish-speaking districts. In a speech in the Dail on June 28, Mr. Dillon said he was in favour of retaining their membership of the Commonwealth and using it for three ends: (1) to secure the unity of the Irish nation and the abolition of the border; (2) to make the influence of a predominantly Catholic nation effective in the councils of the world; and (3) to ensure for their people an opportunity of securing employment on equal terms throughout the territories of the Commonwealth of Nations, to which Eire at present belonged.

The Senate election took place on August 1, as required by the Constitution. There were 83 candidates for the 60 seats, while 11 members are nominated directly by the head of the Government. The Senate election is conducted on party lines and held no surprises.

In the new Dail, the Transport Bill was re-introduced, and was carried through both Chambers before Christmas. Its effect is to wind up the old Great Southern Railways Co. and to substitute a new National Transport company—*Coras Iompair Eireann*—which also takes over the Dublin United Tramways Co. and has the task of controlling and reorganising the whole of the road and rail transport of the country. Of the 20,000,000*l.* capital of the new company, 16,000,000*l.* Debenture Stock is guaranteed by the Government, which has now appointed the Chairman, Mr. A. P. Reynolds, who has wide powers of initiative and veto. Owing to the election delay and the adverse Dail vote, this transport measure, designed to operate from July 1, 1944, did not become effective until January 1, 1945. The Stocks Tribunal, which reported after the General Election, found that no leakage of information, affecting the purchase of railway stocks, had occurred.

Apart from home affairs, the chief interest of the year attached to relations with external Powers concerning matters of foreign policy, especially as relating to the war situation. The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, in a Note of February 21,

requested "that the Irish Government take appropriate steps for the recall of the German and Japanese representatives in Ireland . . . whose presence in Ireland must inevitably be regarded as constituting a danger to the lives of American soldiers and the success of Allied military operations." This Note was replied to on March 7 by the Eire Government, which reiterated its neutrality attitude while affirming its friendly relations with the United States and with Britain. The United Kingdom Government supported the American request in a Note dated February 22.

Following these diplomatic exchanges a complete travel ban was imposed between the United Kingdom and Ireland. Also trunk telephone facilities were not available between the two countries. These measures, with their hampering effect upon travel, were imposed from March 12, in the spring, before the Allied landings on the Continent, but they were subsequently relaxed, a concession greatly appreciated by business men and by the host of Irish workers who were, in consequence, able to return home for the Christmas holidays. On August 12 it was announced that an Emergency Order had been issued by the Minister of Finance requiring Irish residents to pay debts owing to persons in Germany to the Minister, to go towards liquidation of part of the liabilities of the German Government to the Irish Government in respect of bomb damage. The Minister undertook to give a receipt and to discharge the debtor. German creditors were to receive an equivalent payment in their own currency from their Government. This arrangement was arrived at in consequence of the Irish protest about earlier bombings and a demand for the admission of liability.

Widespread interest was roused by the Eire reply to the United States representations concerning the possible harbouring of "war criminals" in Eire. This reply was issued by the Irish Legation in Washington on November 16. It stated that (1) "The Irish Government note that the right to grant asylum is not in question" and therefore the Irish Government can give no assurance. (2) "The Irish Government wish, moreover, to point to the absence of a comprehensive international code applicable to the subject-matter of the request . . .," and (3) "On the other hand, since the present war began it has been the uniform practice of the Irish Government to deny admission to all aliens whose presence would be at variance with the policy of neutrality. . . . It is not intended to alter this practice."

On November 1, Dr. Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, was a guest speaker at the inaugural meeting of the College Historical Society held in Trinity College, Dublin. At this meeting Mr. de Valera stated that "Until some central world authority had at its disposal sufficiently concentrated power which they could use to prevent aggression, they would not, and

could not, have an effective instrument for the maintenance of peace. He could see no other way of maintaining peace."

In a Dail debate of November 9, the action of the Government in cancelling the reading of a paper by Dr. Jan Masaryk at a meeting organised by the Irish Institute for International Affairs, was discussed. Mr. de Valera explained that when a Minister of one State was invited to address a group of citizens within the territory of another, the Government should be afforded an opportunity of expressing assent. He also declared that meetings of the Institute had been made the focus for attacks on the Government neutrality policy. In lengthy statements published on November 14, two Vice-Presidents of the Irish Institute, Senator J. G. Douglas and Mr. Donal O'Sullivan denied Mr. de Valera's charges and protested against the cancelling of the meeting.

An important statement on post-war policy was made by General Mulcahy in his Presidential address at the Annual Meeting (Ard Fheis) of Fine Gael held in the Mansion House, Dublin, on November 21. He said: "Anglo-Irish interests were so closely entwined that it was inconceivable that they should take their place in any security scheme in which Britain was not included. A necessary preliminary to entry into any world combination for military security should be discussion and decision with Britain for mutual defence. To review economic and social aims was to realise that an essential preliminary to achievement was close collaboration in defensive planning and in economic co-operation with Britain." After a private session it was announced that General Mulcahy's statement was unanimously approved.

Eire had an anxious year in the matter of supplies, fuel, and power. Drastic cuts in the domestic electricity ration—reduced to one-fifth of the corresponding period in 1941—were announced early in June. Electricity for cooking was reduced by 50 per cent., no current was permitted for water heating, and the use of electric power for traction was barred. In consequence, the tram service in Dublin was suspended from June 11. This was restored from Monday, October 2. With the rainfall in the autumn the electricity position became easier again.

A huge rural electrification scheme estimated to cost 17,000,000*l.* and to take ten years to complete, was announced in an E.S.B. Report issued on August 25. This electrification scheme is only one of the many post-war plans, which include building on an extensive scale. An important piece of post-war planning is provided in the Arterial Drainage Bill which embodies the conclusions of the Drainage Commission set up two years ago. In future the construction involved in drainage schemes will be a State and not a local charge, though maintenance will fall upon each county. The drainage improvements recommended will cost approximately 7,000,000*l.*, and will be spread over several years.

The new National Transport Co. stands in the forefront of long-term planning. In October, too, steps were taken to make the Shannon air-port a free port for air-borne goods and passengers landing at Foynes on their way to another destination.

In August, 1944, the Children's Allowances Act—introduced the previous December—came into operation for the first time. All parents are entitled to a weekly payment of 2s. 6d. in respect of children after the second and up to the age of 16. The annual charge is estimated at 2,250,000l. This assistance given to large families is an experiment in social legislation.

During the past year the "Grow More Wheat" campaign met with success, the acreage under wheat having risen from 509,200 in 1943 to 641,000 in 1944. Corn crops in general increased from 1,663,600 acres to 1,776,000. The increase in wheat acreage was due largely to the 1943 Tillage Order, which required three-eighths of the arable land to be tilled and wheat to be planted in a specified minimum acreage. The compulsory Tillage Order for 1945 is unchanged. Earlier in the year a percentage of barley was used in the bread but, from November 1, this admixture was discontinued. Since then wheaten flour of 85 per cent. extraction has been used. A shortage of artificial manures increased the farmers' difficulties. Some 53,413 tons were distributed during the year, and the Minister for Agriculture stated in September that an additional 10,000 tons would, he thought, be available for 1945.

CHAPTER II

CANADA

IN Canada the national war effort was vigorously maintained throughout the year 1944. Political divisions, resulting from the continuous strain on man-power and economic conditions arising from the vast war production programme, became more marked. Provincial General Elections revealed divergent trends and the Federal Government faced a Cabinet crisis at the close of the year.

The Dominion Parliament, assembling at Ottawa for its fifth Session, was opened by the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, on January 27. While the needs of the war would be given precedence over all else, Lord Athlone announced that provision was being made to establish three new Government departments: a Department of Veterans' Affairs, to take charge of the rehabilitation and re-establishment of the forces and the administration of pensions and allowances; a Department of Reconstruction, to promote national developments and employment; and a Department of Social Welfare, to organise and help to administer health measures and social insurance.

Referring to international affairs, Lord Athlone said that his Ministers believed that the time had come when all the nations now united in the common purpose of winning the war should seek unitedly to ensure an enduring peace. The dangers of future aggression could be removed and world security attained only by a general international organisation of the peace-loving nations. To that end Parliament would be invited to approve of Canada's taking part in the establishment of such an international organisation.

In the House of Commons (January 31) Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, made an important speech on Canada's place within the British Commonwealth in relation to foreign nations.¹ He told the House that he favoured neither the proposal of General Smuts, who had advocated a closer association between the United Kingdom and the smaller democracies in Western Europe, nor that of Lord Halifax, who envisaged the British nation forming a fourth Great Power. He favoured collaboration with all nations seeking peace.

Reaffirming his belief in the existing system of continuous inter-Empire consultation and conference, Mr. Mackenzie King said :—

"I am one hundred per cent. for close co-operation and as effective co-ordination as possible on Empire matters. Let us by all means unite but do not let us separate ourselves as an entity from similar co-operation with other countries. Behind the ideas of Lord Halifax and General Smuts there lurks an inevitable rivalry between the Empire and other countries."

Mr. Gordon Graydon, Leader of the Opposition, said there were strong, but, he hoped, not irreconcilable views in Canada about the country's position in the Commonwealth and her relations with the world at large. He thought it unfortunate that the Speech from the Throne dealt only with the international aspect. While maintaining that it was well that the views of all sides should be carefully considered, Mr. Graydon said it was not the intention of his (Progressive-Conservative) Party to embarrass the Prime Minister nor the representatives of other parts of the Commonwealth who would be attending the London Conference by throwing controversial issues into the debate when common-sense indicated that every effort must be made to secure a second

¹ Developments in Canadian diplomatic representation during the year were : Agreements with the Governments of Mexico and Peru for an exchange of diplomatic missions (Jan.) ; the replacement of Dr. Henry Laureys, High Commissioner in South Africa by Mr. C. J. Burchell, and the appointment of Mr. J. S. MacDonald as High Commissioner for Newfoundland (Jan.) ; the appointment of Mr. W. F. A. Turgeon as first Canadian Ambassador to Mexico (March) ; the assumption of office by Mr. G. N. Zarubin as Russian Ambassador to Canada (May) ; the advancement of the Chilean Legation in Canada to the rank of Embassy (May) ; the restoration of the post of Canadian Ambassador to France held by General Vanier (Sept.) ; the appointment of M. Pierre Dupuy as Chargé D'Affaires of the Canadian Embassy to Belgium (Sept.) ; and the appointment of M. Haute-Cloque as French Ambassador to Canada (Nov.).

front in a united Canada in a greater and more powerful Commonwealth.

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Socialist-Labour) Party endorsed a policy similar to that of the Government. All parties agreed that continuing and close collaboration within the Commonwealth should be maintained on all matters of common concern, although certain political spokesmen in Quebec favoured some form of isolationism in Empire affairs.

On February 16 Mr. C. G. Power, Minister of National Defence for Air, announced, after conference with a British Delegation headed by Captain Harold Balfour, Under-Secretary of State for Air, that the Commonwealth air training plan had reached its original objective of creating air forces equal in size and superior in quality to those of the enemy, and that the Allies now had increasing air superiority over the enemy in every theatre of war.

In presenting Air Estimates (March 6) the Minister made provision to send six more R.C.A.F. squadrons to Great Britain, bringing the total number of Canadian squadrons overseas to 44. Mr. Power said that the R.C.A.F. also had nearly 12,000 training aircraft operating in Canada, and that number would be augmented by another 1,000 to cover requirements of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan during the next two years. The House approved estimates amounting to nearly 1,400,000,000 dollars, which included a cost of 345,000,000 dollars for the maintenance of Canadian oversea squadrons.

Naval Estimates totalling 410,000,000 dollars, were tabled by Mr. Angus Macdonald, Minister of National Defence for Naval Services (March 9). Canada's naval operations, said Mr. Macdonald, lay mainly in escorting convoys in the North Atlantic, but Canadian warships were also in action in the Pacific, the Mediterranean, and the Indian and Arctic Oceans. Canadian shipyards had built about 100 warships for the Royal Navy, and more were under construction. Canada had also built vessels for the United States.

Mr. Mackenzie King announced in the House of Commons on March 16 that mutual aid agreements, based on the Mutual Aid Act, had been signed between Canada and the United Kingdom and Soviet Russia on February 11 and with Australia on March 9, and that similar agreements were being negotiated with other Governments, notably China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

Since early in the war, Mr. Mackenzie King said, the Canadian Government had taken the position that accumulation of large war debts was contrary to public interest, and Parliament had endorsed that policy on several occasions. A similar policy had been adopted by the U.S. Government, and by Britain in providing supplies to Allied Governments. The new agreements were in some respects parallel to the American Lend-Lease agreements,

but whilst the Lend-Lease Act was adopted when the U.S.A. still retained her neutrality, and was based on the conception that U.S. defence would be furthered by the provision of supplies on other than a cash basis to countries at war with the Axis, the Canadian Mutual Aid Act was passed when Canada had been at war for over 3½ years and was based on a realisation that provision of materials to the common cause was not less vital than the provision of fighting men. While the agreements with Great Britain and Australia were identical, that with Soviet Russia had certain minor differences and did not include any provision concerning the supply of ships.

Repercussions of the situation caused by the refusal of the Government of Eire to close Axis missions in Dublin took place when Mr. Mackenzie King told the House of Commons (March 13), that the Canadian Government were in full sympathy with the representations made by the United States Government. His Government saw no reason to intervene when Mr. de Valera sought Canada's offices to secure withdrawal of the Notes "in the mutual interest of Ireland and the United Nations." The Prime Minister said that he had seen the Eire High Commissioner in Ottawa and informed him of the Canadian Government's attitude. He added that he believed these informal discussions were of some help in steadying a difficult situation.

Civil aviation plans were made public when Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply, gave the House of Commons, on March 17, a statement of the Government's views on domestic and international air services. It was decided that the Trans-Canada Railways should not exercise any monopoly of such services and steps would be taken to require the railways to divest themselves of ownership in air lines so that within a year after the end of the war air transport would be entirely separate from surface transportation.

A new Air Transport Board would be established to have regulatory functions and to advise the Government on ways and means of bringing about a rapid and well-planned expansion of all aerial transport. With a chain of modern airfields already opened from coast to coast, with others in Alaska, Labrador, and Newfoundland, Canada already had a framework of civil aviation.

Mr. Howe outlined various mutual concessions on the use of air routes between nations during the war. These included the rights of Canadian services to operate over parts of American territory with similar rights for American services over parts of Canada. These agreements would be valid during the war and for six months after the war ended. Operations carried out under them would create no vested rights for the post-war period. "It is our intention," concluded Mr. Howe, "to make every effort to ensure that the framework within which international

air transport of the future functions shall be designed to promote international co-operation and not to foster international bitterness."

At a Convention held in Toronto during April, adherents of the Social Credit Political philosophy formed a national organisation to be known as "The Social Credit Association of Canada." This organisation was pledged to political action in the federal field under the direction of Mr. Solon Low, Provincial Treasurer of Alberta, who was appointed National Leader. The Convention indicated that while Alberta was the only Province with a Social Credit Government, there were supporters of the system in all parts of the Dominion, including Quebec, whose delegates expressed the view that the new organisation should foster education in Social Credit principles on a national scale rather than become active in current political affairs.

Mr. John Bracken, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party (who had not yet sought a seat in the Federal Parliament), issued a statement (April 18) on Canada's international status on the ground that his views had been misrepresented. Mr. Bracken said he was proud that Canada was a member of the British family of nations but up to now the Dominion had failed in many respects to exercise the independent sovereignty she ought to exercise.

Some days later Mr. Bracken announced the appointment of Mr. Charles T. McTague as National Chairman of the Progressive-Conservative Party. This appointment was regarded as a reflection of the party's preparations for the next General Election under the policy directed by Mr. Bracken.

The Government's Sixth Victory Loan was opened on April 24. The campaign resulted in subscriptions to a total of over 1,350,000,000 dollars. Bonds were purchased by nearly 2,750,000 persons, and over 600,000,000 dollars was invested by individuals as distinct from corporations. Members of the Forces bought nearly 47,000,000 dollars' worth of bonds, including 10,000,000 dollars' worth acquired by 115,000 soldiers overseas. The Seventh Victory Loan, held later in the year, yielded a total of over 1,500,000,000 dollars.

On April 27 the Prime Minister flew across the Atlantic to join other Dominion Premiers at the Empire Conference in London. He was accompanied by Mr. Norman Robertson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and their Secretariat.

During the Session of the Conference, Mr. Mackenzie King addressed both Houses of Parliament in Westminster Hall (May 10) and his speech was widely acclaimed in the British Press.

"I profoundly believe" (said Mr. King) "that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth, and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies,

which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. . . . So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her pre-eminence in the world ; so long as we all share that spirit we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth."

The declaration of the Prime Ministers on the unity of Commonwealth policy [see under Public Documents], issued in the five Commonwealth capitals on May 17, was considered in Canada as due in no small measure to the lead given by the Canadian Premier.

On his return to Ottawa (May 21) after an uneventful flight direct to the airfield of the capital city, the Prime Minister was enthusiastically greeted by a large crowd and was formally welcomed by Colonel J. L. Ralston, Minister of National Defence, who had been acting as Prime Minister during his absence.

Speaking in the House of Commons (May 23), Mr. King said, in reviewing the proceedings of the Conference, that its success not only represented the unity of purpose, feeling, and action within the Commonwealth family, but symbolised its high purpose to other parts of the world. The Prime Minister maintained that the task undertaken by the Allies went beyond the war, and implied the need to continue to share with all freedom-loving peoples the great task of keeping the gate of freedom open to mankind.

Mr. Curtin, the Australian Prime Minister, returning from the Conference, travelled through Canada and was cordially welcomed. During his short stay in the capital, he addressed a special sitting of both Houses of the Federal Parliament (June 1), when he reviewed the progress of the war and some of the problems of post-war statesmanship.

Later in the same month Mr. Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, paid a visit to Ottawa, when he similarly addressed both Chambers of Parliament.

The part played by Canadian troops in Allied operations in Europe was the subject of radio messages to the nation by Mr. Mackenzie King on the occasion of the fall of Rome (June 4) and the landing in Normandy (June 6), and services in the churches were held throughout Canada for the success of the invasion plans.

Shortly afterwards General de Gaulle, during a short visit to Ottawa, addressed a large crowd of Canadians who had assembled on Parliament Hill to greet him, headed by the Governor-General with the Countess of Athlone and members of the Cabinet. Introducing the French leader, the Prime Minister said that the time of his visit could not have been more happily chosen, since it coincided with the moment when French and Canadian soldiers were fighting side by side and Canadians were forming part of the great Allied striking force on the battlefields of Normandy.

In the Province of Saskatchewan, the General Election held

on June 15 resulted in a sweeping victory of the Co-operative Commonwealth Party over the Liberal Government, winning 46 seats from a total of 52. The Premier, Mr. John Patterson, won his own seat by a small majority, but five Ministers of his Cabinet were defeated. This victory marked the first occasion of the election of a Socialist-Labour Party to a Provincial Government. The campaign was fought moderately, with an assurance to farmers that the socialisation of Canada would exempt farmers from its operations and on a programme of reform put forward by the C.C.F. leader, the Rev. T. C. Douglas, a native of Falkirk, Scotland, who became the new Premier.

The House of Commons, on June 15, voted a further 800,000,000 dollars for the purpose of continuing the mutual aid scheme under which the Government sent munitions and food to the United Nations according to their strategic needs. Included in this vote was 77,000,000 dollars earmarked as a contribution to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation scheme.

Presenting his sixth war-time Budget in the House of Commons on June 26 Mr. J. L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance, said that Canada's financial needs for the current fiscal year would exceed 6,000,000,000 dollars, of which more than 3,200,000,000 dollars would be sought by borrowing from the Canadian people. He estimated expenditure at 5,152,000,000 dollars and revenues at 2,617,000,000 dollars, leaving a budgetary deficit of 2,535,000,000 dollars; but as the cash outlay was expected to exceed the estimated expenditure, borrowing would be necessary to the amount indicated. Slightly modified taxation and more bond buying was the prospect that Mr. Ilsley held out to the Canadian people in a speech in which he contended that the greatest national exertion was still necessary to maintain the maximum of men, materials, and money to finish the fighting in Europe and contribute to the elimination of the enemy in the Far East. He laid emphasis on the importance of the savings programme in Canada's war effort—in holding down the cost of living, in preventing inflation, and in preserving an orderly economy. No tax increases were announced and no important tax reductions were proposed, but Mr. Ilsley made several readjustments in individual income-tax, including the abandonment of the compulsory savings portion of the tax as from July 1. This was designed to alleviate cases of hardship. As regards agriculture, Mr. Ilsley said that it had been decided to remove all Customs duties on agricultural implements without waiting for the completion of reciprocal arrangements with other countries.

General Elections in three Provinces were held during August. On August 8 the General Election in Alberta resulted in the return to power of the nine-year-old Social Credit Government led by Mr. E. C. Manning. The Premier and all members of his Cabinet were re-elected with a Legislature of 51 for the Govern-

ment and only 6 elected to Opposition groups, among whom was Mr. Elmer Roper, Provincial C.C.F. leader, re-elected for Edmonton.

In the Province of Quebec the Union Nationale Party, led by the former Premier, M. Duplessis, came into power by a General Election, held on August 8, defeating the Liberal Government of M. Godbout with 48 seats in the new Legislature against 37 for the Liberals. Noteworthy features of this election was the unsubstantial showing of the new nationalistic party, the Bloc Populaire Canadien, which had only 4 candidates elected although it contested 80 ridings, and the securing of only 1 seat by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The major appeal of M. Duplessis to the electorate was the strengthening of provincial powers. He claimed that the Godbout Government had relinquished to the Federal Government, under the guise of war necessity, the provincial rights guaranteed under the British North America Act. The question of conscription for overseas service, although not emphasised by M. Duplessis, formed part of the background of the campaign which, with the extension of suffrage to women, yielded the heaviest polling in the history of the Province.

New Brunswick held its General Election on August 28. This resulted in the return of the Liberal Government under Dr. J. B. McNair, with an increased majority of 36 seats, with an Opposition total of 12. Although the C.C.F. Party contested 41 of the 48 seats, 27 C.C.F. candidates lost their deposits and none were elected.

The Federal Parliament was prorogued on August 14. Legislation of the Session covered Acts for the Insurance of War Veterans, the establishment of an Exports Credits Insurance Corporation to promote the revival of trade, and the formation of an Industrial Development Bank. A further outstanding enactment was for the provision of Family Allowances in the form of a cash grant to every Canadian family with a child under 16 years of age. This measure excited wider political discussion and public interest than any other legislation of the Session.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, travelling by sea route, arrived at Quebec on September 10, accompanied by the British Chiefs-of-Staff, with Mrs. Churchill, Lord Moran, and Lord Cherwell, for Conference with President Roosevelt. The Prime Minister and the President met at Wolfe's Cove on September 11, and were met by the Governor-General and Mr. Mackenzie King. The visitors, who included Mrs. Roosevelt and the American Chiefs-of-Staff, drove to the Citadel which Mr. Churchill, the President, and the Canadian Premier made their Conference headquarters. The combined Chiefs-of-Staff, with their large secretariat, were accommodated at the Chateau Frontenac. Later they were joined by Sir William Glasgow, the

High Commissioner for Australia in Canada, Mr. A. M. Firth, the Acting High Commissioner for New Zealand, and Mr. Richard Law, British Minister of State.

The purport of the Conference was succinctly conveyed in a statement which Mr. Stephen Early, the White House Secretary, made to journalists when he quoted Mr. Roosevelt as saying :—

“ This is a Conference to get the best we can out of the combined British and United States war efforts in the Pacific and in Europe. We are working in cognisance with the situation in China, the Pacific, and in Europe, co-ordinating our efforts with those of our Allies, particularly the Chinese and the Russians.”

Formal and informal meetings between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill were continuous and Mr. Churchill also had discussions on the Pacific campaign with Mr. Mackenzie King and the War Committee of the Canadian Cabinet. Consultations between the military, naval, and air chiefs and their advisers of both countries were also held daily. On September 14, Mr. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, arriving non-stop by air from England by way of Iceland and Labrador, joined the Conference. Sir Alexander Cadogan, of the British Foreign Office, also arrived from Dumbarton Oaks, where British, American and Russian representatives had exchanged opinions on the general nature of international organisation for peace and security.

At the close of the Conference on September 17, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt issued a joint statement :—

“ The President and Prime Minister and Combined Chiefs-of-Staff held a series of meetings during which they discussed all aspects of the war against Germany and Japan.

“ In a very short space of time they reached decisions on all points both with regard to the completion of the war in Europe now approaching its final stages and the destruction of the barbarians of the Pacific.

“ The most serious difficulty with which the Quebec conference has been confronted has been to find room and opportunity for the marshalling against Japan of the massive forces which each and all of the nations concerned are ardent to engage against the enemy.”

Simultaneously with the Quebec Conference, nearly 400 representatives of 44 nations assembled at Montreal for the second meeting of the Council of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which opened on September 15. Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Minister at Washington, was elected Chairman, and headed the new policy committee, which dealt with the overlapping of authority, indiscriminatory aid and methods of repayment. The Conference considered far-reaching plans to expedite relief and rehabilitation of the countries being freed from enemy occupation, in conjunction with the recognised Government or Military Command of the country concerned. The work of the Conference included a draft agreement for signature by the European nations pledging mutual co-operation to control unorganised mass movements of men and women who would be released from enemy territory, to apply to

them equality of treatment with their own nationals and to facilitate their speedy repatriation.

Canada's part in peace plans were referred to by Mr. Mackenzie King when he announced (October 10) that the tentative proposals made by the four Great Powers at Dumbarton Oaks for establishing a general international organisation were receiving the urgent study of the Canadian Government. [The proposals agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks are given under Public Documents.] The Prime Minister commended the proposals to the Canadian people, and hoped that the issues raised would not become a matter of party controversy, since they far transcended party issues.

Changes in the Canadian Cabinet were announced by Mr. Mackenzie King on October 15 when he appointed Mr. Claxton Brooke, hitherto Parliamentary Assistant to the Prime Minister, as Minister of National Health and Welfare. Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply, became Minister of Reconstruction, and Mr. Ian Mackenzie, formerly Minister of Pensions and National Health, Minister of Veteran Affairs. These changes were the result of legislation creating three new Government Departments to carry out the Government's policies during the transition from war to peace, particularly in promoting maximum employment and production and in giving effect to social security projects. Among the responsibilities of the new Minister of National Health and Welfare were the organisation of machinery for administering the Family Allowances Act.

At Montreal, on October 23, representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Newfoundland, and Southern Rhodesia began discussions on civil aviation within the Commonwealth. Mr. H. J. Symington, who headed the Canadian delegation, explained that their findings were subject to endorsement by the individual Governments, but they hoped to be able to agree on recommendations. These, however, must take their place within the framework of whatever organisation might be agreed upon at the coming international conference on civil aviation at Chicago. The work to be done at Montreal, he said, would be intertwined with what happened at that Conference, and the delegates at the discussions did not intend to take up any position that might prejudice achievement in the larger field of a complete international air authority. As an example, he mentioned that a Commonwealth route from Britain to Australia, New Zealand or India could only be set up by obtaining transit and landing rights in foreign countries.

Arising from reports on the work and proceedings of the Conference, Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction, restated the character of these discussions. He emphasised that the Montreal meeting was simply a gathering of experts from Commonwealth countries, who were dealing with the operational problems arising out of the agreements or understandings reached

in London last year. Their chief purpose was to determine what routes were to be operated within the Empire, who was to operate them, and under what conditions.

Unanimous conclusions involving plans for the development of two routes intended to serve the Commonwealth in the future—an east-west route and a west-east route—were announced on October 29. Shortly afterwards, the delegates left to attend the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago.

A Cabinet crisis occurred on November 2 when the Prime Minister announced the resignation, as Minister of National Defence, of Colonel J. L. Ralston (who had recently returned from a visit to Canadian troops in the European theatres of war) and the appointment of General McNaughton, the former Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Forces, to succeed him.

This was the culmination of discussions within the Cabinet of the problems of conscription and man-power. Colonel Ralston urged the Government to exercise its powers to compel drafted men to go overseas and to abandon its policy of relying on volunteers for overseas service. Colonel Ralston was supported in this view by some of his colleagues, but the general Cabinet opinion favoured the maintenance of the voluntary system of overseas recruitment. The predominant view appeared to be that compulsion was not necessary in view of the number of men in the army in Canada who had volunteered to go anywhere, although many of these men were not physically fit for overseas service.

Colonel Ralston made it clear that if the Army overseas could not be maintained by the voluntary system he would not hesitate to recommend action under the National Resources Mobilisation Act, which would result in drafted soldiers being made available for overseas service.

No formal statement was made by Mr. Mackenzie King about the causes which led to Colonel Ralston's resignation, but at a Press Conference he indicated that it was obvious that Colonel Ralston would not have resigned if he had not felt it his duty to maintain a position on policy which he had long held. Mr. Mackenzie King regretted that Colonel Ralston had found it necessary to resign, and he paid a warm tribute to his services.

Mr. Mackenzie King said he was grateful to General McNaughton for his assumption of the responsible portfolio in a situation which he thoroughly understood. In inviting him into the Cabinet he had sought to get the one man he felt would be in a position to bring the greatest measure of confidence to service men and their relatives that attention to their interests would be paramount. He believed that General McNaughton's appointment would bring to the country the feeling that the choice was the best that could possibly be made. General McNaughton had assumed his new task in order to serve Canada and to ensure that the Army overseas received support in the fullest measure needed.

General McNaughton in a public speech expressed his confidence in the voluntary system of recruitment for reinforcing the overseas Army, but there was an insistent demand for the Government to state how it proposed to obtain the needed reinforcements under a system which Colonel Ralston found to be unsatisfactory. Despatches from Press correspondents with Canadian troops overseas stimulated considerable criticism of the Government's policy. On November 9 the Prime Minister broadcast to the nation describing the sequence of events which led to Colonel Ralston's resignation. Mr. King pointed out that the National Resources Mobilisation Act of 1940 gave the Government full control of the Dominion's man-power, but for service in the European theatres of war Canada had relied upon the voluntary principle and over 390,000 men had actually volunteered for service overseas.

He believed the country would be more united in its support if reliance were placed on the voluntary system as long as that system continued to be effective, and intensified efforts would be made to encourage voluntary enlistment. The Prime Minister corrected what he described as the "widespread false impression about draftees" in Canada. He said that of 60,000 draftees only 23,000 were from Quebec Province and only 25,000 from all Canada were French-speaking. Moreover, the so-called Home Defence Army was not a static force. Its composition was constantly changing. This year nearly 15,000 had been enrolled as draftees and more than 10,000 had volunteered for general service. Since the Allied landing in France voluntary enlistments for overseas from Home Defence troops had been higher than the numbers called up and accepted as draftees.

There were, he said, some thousands of trained volunteers already overseas or about to be despatched overseas as reinforcements. Others were being re-mustered. In addition, many thousands of volunteers were in training in Canada, and their numbers were increasing every day. The Prime Minister believed their numbers could be increased by emphasising anew the need and opportunity for overseas service, and he appealed to the country generally to encourage men in the Home Defence Army to volunteer for service abroad.

This issue, which aroused nation-wide controversy, precipitated the summoning of Parliament, which re-assembled on November 22 in Special Session. The correspondence between the Prime Minister and Colonel Ralston was tabled and General McNaughton addressed the House of Commons.

The immediate problem of maintaining the fighting fronts was met by a new Order in Council which directed the Minister of Defence to send drafted men overseas. Units comprising the first 16,000 men, needed by January, 1945, were selected and moved into Eastern Canada in readiness for drafting overseas, but

Mr. M. J. Coldwell, the C.C.F. leader, described the methods adopted as coercing men into volunteering. Meanwhile certain demonstrations by drafted men took place at Quebec and at Vernon, B.C., against conscription.

On November 27 Mr. Mackenzie King who, on the same day announced the acceptance of the resignation of Mr. C. G. Power, Minister for Air, brought the controversy to a climax by tabling a motion asking that "the House will aid the Government in its policy of maintaining a vigorous war effort." In asking for a vote of confidence for his Government's war effort, the Prime Minister declared that unless its members could unite in a reasonable measure to support an Administration that could carry on at this time of war the country would face the possibility of anarchy while its men were fighting overseas. He emphasised the gravity of the present situation by comparing it with that which existed in 1865 when Sir John A. Macdonald asked for Confederation, and he (Mr. Mackenzie King) made it clear that he would have to resign if he did not receive the support of the House and particularly the support of his own party.

In the course of his three-hour speech Mr. Mackenzie King said the Government had already surmounted two crises within the Cabinet, and it remained for Parliament to decide whether a greater crisis had yet to be surmounted. The first crisis was faced when Colonel Ralston (then Minister of Defence), on his return from Europe, urged conscription to reinforce the overseas troops. The division that arose in the Cabinet was not as to the need but as to the method of meeting it. Some Cabinet members believed the voluntary system could meet the need; others thought that conscription alone could meet it.

When it became clear that Colonel Ralston and others would resign, Mr. Mackenzie King said he called in General McNaughton, who favoured the voluntary system, and appealed to the country to support it. But an organised conscription campaign thwarted all hopes of success and brought on the second crisis. He convened his Cabinet on November 22 to devise some compromise solution which resulted in the Order in Council to send 16,000 drafted men overseas.

The Prime Minister said he had asked one Minister after another, including Colonel Ralston, whether he would assume responsibility for forming a Government. None was prepared to do so. He pointed out that it was easy to criticise the Government and to put forward an opposite policy, but unless men were prepared to back those policies by taking the responsibility for carrying them out they had no right to leave a Ministry in a condition where the whole structure was almost certain to collapse. He asked himself if he should dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country; but the answer was that such action would not help the fighting men to get the reinforcements they urgently needed.

During the debate Colonel Ralston expressed his dissatisfaction with the Order in Council which applied only to 16,000 men instead of the whole force and the lack of a sense of urgency which the Government had shown. Nevertheless, he was unable to support the amendment of the Progressive Conservative Party contending that the Government had not taken adequate action to ensure continual trained reinforcements to serve in any theatre of war and had failed to ensure equality of service and sacrifice.

After a stormy session of thirteen days the Government obtained a Vote of Confidence by a majority of two to one. The original motion was subjected to an eleventh-hour amendment by the C.C.F. who made it clear that they would not give their support to all the policies of the Government which they claimed the motion implied. The amendment eliminated the words "its policy of" and it was adopted by 141 votes to 70. The change enabled the C.C.F. and the Social Credit Party to vote for the Government in a manner that was in keeping with their own wider ideas for the prosecution of the war.

After the vote had been recorded Mr. Mackenzie King moved the adjournment of the House until January 31.

CHAPTER III

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—SOUTHERN RHODESIA

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE year 1944 revealed more clearly to members of the United Nations the importance of South Africa's productive contributions to the war effort and the potentialities of its peace-time industrial development. It is understandable that the Union itself should have been astonished at its economic adaptability and its five years of achievements, and consequently encouraged to look forward with confidence to solving its own immediate post-war problems and making a worthy contribution to the establishment of world peace.

Details of South Africa's contribution to war-production efforts of the last five years were disclosed in a general review of the years 1940-44 issued by the Director-General of Supplies in South Africa, Dr. H. J. van der Bijl. Among the major items of production during that period included in the schedule of deliveries were: over 70,000 tons of high explosive bombs; some 50,000 tons of shells and shell cases; 28,000 tons of mortar bombs, grenades and landmines; about 20,000 tons of small arms ammunition; over 6,250,000 pairs of army boots; some 4,500,000 blankets, and over 14,000,000 items of personal equipment and clothing.

The effect of the war on South Africa's industrial development was stressed in an article which Dr. H. J. van der Bijl wrote for the Ministry of Information. He declared "the war has put a stop to our peace-time development of industry but our war effort has taught us what can be done, and it will be done after the war."

As in other Dominions there was much consideration and outlining of plans for post-war years in several fields of activity. One example was South Africa's 30,000,000% plan for railway development recommended by the Administration's post-war reconstruction committee. Outlining the programme, when he introduced the Railways and Harbours Budget in the Union House of Assembly, Mr. F. C. Sturrock, the Minister of Transport, said it was by no means a relief measure, but was designed to meet future needs in the light of modern development in transport and town planning and the replacement of obsolete assets. Later in the year, although he emphasised he was not making a ministerial statement, Mr. Sturrock spoke to the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa on South Africa's civil aviation policy. Dealing with domestic, or internal, arrangements he said he did not personally believe that the policy of leaving the field open for private commercial enterprise held out much prospect of furnishing a satisfactory solution to the problem of conducting regular air services in South African territories. After examining in detail the various systems he came to the conclusion there was much to be said for Southern African airways being operated by the Government, not on the general ground that government operation was necessarily and under all circumstances better than private enterprise, but merely on the ground that in the particular set of circumstances that apply to civil aviation in Southern Africa the balance of advantage rested with Government ownership and operation.

South Africa's attitude to post-war immigration came up for consideration early in March when a motion urging the Government to consider the advisability of adopting a policy of immigration from Europe on a large scale was put before the House of Assembly. Mr. F. H. Acutt, in proposing the motion, said they wanted men and women of virile stock who would be useful citizens, not people who came simply to make money. With this object in view, South Africa should collaborate with Britain, the Rhodesias, and other African states under British administration. There was opposition from the Nationalists and criticism from the Labour Party. The Minister of the Interior said that no such scheme could be considered during the war. The Government proposed, however, to encourage people who had sojourned in South Africa, such as the R.A.F. personnel, to return after the war. In August, however, Dr. H. J. van der Bijl, Director-General of Supplies, speaking at Durban, said if South

Africa were to carry out the big industrial schemes now contemplated in post-war years the country would have to import skilled artisans of almost every class. It would be utterly impossible to carry out the proposed programmes with labour available at present.

As in Great Britain, popular interest was aroused by the social security plan proposals published in a Parliamentary White Paper. The Social Security Committee, presided over by Dr. H. J. van Eck, attached to its report a draft Bill incorporating its recommendations. In the general scheme of social security it included Europeans, Asiatics, and Coloured people, fully urbanised natives, native farm-workers, "relatively developed" and dependent on regular earnings, and natives employed in the reserves who elect to join. A separate scheme was devised for the "bulk of the Bantu population" living in reserves who "do not need elaborate cash benefits," although "nominal cash payments, supplemented by rations are essential in old age and invalidity." If the van Eck plan is accepted the amount to be spent on social services, which at present reached the figure of 25,000,000*l.*, will be progressively raised until a total of 98,000,000*l.* is reached in 1955, at which date it was hoped that the full scheme would be in operation. The Social and Economic Planning Council concluded by expressing the view that although the social programme outlined was a "necessary minimum," its full implementation by 1955 would require an increase in national income of at least 50 per cent. This goal, it suggested, might be attained by industrial development generally, including a long-term policy for the gold mining industry on which all else must continue to depend for years to come. Three plans for social security were presented on the day following the tabling of reports in the House of Assembly, and after debate a proposal to refer the matter to a Select Committee was agreed to.

The setting up by Parliament of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa and the provision of money to advance South African industries was another field of Government post-war planning. The Industrial Development Corporation, under the managing directorship of Dr. H. J. van Eck, owed its inception to the Government's determination that capital shall not be the limiting factor in the development of secondary industries. South Africa's chief problem was its low productivity—only about one-third per head of that of the other Dominions, while agriculture produced only about 12½ per cent. of the national income. The business of I.D.C. was to promote, guide, and assist in financing industries. It preferred to take up shares rather than grant loans, because loans weaken a company. The part which the I.D.C. is expected to play in encouraging enterprise was illustrated in December when the Union Prime Minister announced plans for the establishment of a woollen textile factory

at Uitenhage costing 650,000*l*. The factory was being set up largely on the initiative of the National Woolgrowers Association, and the capital subscribed in the first instance by the I.D.C. and to that extent of course it was public money voted by Parliament. The scheme was considered to be one of the most interesting departures South Africa had made and was a conspicuous example of the vision shown by the Government in the formulation of a bold post-war policy.

As in the previous years of his war-time leadership of the nation, Field-Marshal Smuts did not spare himself in the service of the Union and the British Commonwealth. Towards the end of April, together with Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, he arrived in England for the Conference of Empire Prime Ministers. The Union Premier was accompanied, as on his previous visit, by Mr. John Martin as economic adviser, and by his son, Major J. Smuts, serving his father as A.D.C. On his flight to England the Field-Marshal spent two-and-a-half days at Cairo and conferred with General Sir Bernard Paget, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East. At the end of the London Conference Field-Marshal Smuts summed-up his impressions by saying, "I have attended many of the Imperial Conferences of the past but I cannot think of one which has had a character like the present. . . . It has achieved a success that is amazing under war conditions." Before he left England, the Union Prime Minister visited Birmingham to be made a Freeman of that city, and a few days later he accompanied Mr. Winston Churchill, on the eve of D-day, to a British port, where he wished God-speed to the British and Canadian troops of Field-Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery's armies. Then on D-day he paid a visit to General Eisenhower at Supreme Headquarters. On his return journey to South Africa, at the end of June, he paid a three day visit to the South African forces in the Italian theatre of war, breaking his journey at Algiers to see General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean. In Italy, he addressed the men of the South African Sixth Armoured Division, along with the Guards so closely associated with that corps.

The Nationalist Party objected to the Imperial Conference, and were critical of its results. Their leader, Dr. D. F. Malan, utilised the debate on the Conference as a peg on which to hang his favourite policy of "loosening the ties between the members of the British Commonwealth." In his reply to the Nationalists, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Finance, declared

We stand for South Africa's continued association with the British Commonwealth of Nations on the basis of freedom and because we believe that to be in the interests of South Africa . . . we believe in the continued co-operation of which the Imperial Conference recently held has been the outward and visible sign. We believe that that co-operation has been of value to South Africa in the war . . . that South Africa has also been able to render a valuable contribution in this war. I have little doubt that when the history of this war comes to be

written, South Africa's participation against Germany, Italy, and Japan will be found to have been one of the determining factors. We believe that co-operation has been worth while in the war, we believe it will also be worth while and fruitful in the time of peace.

Earlier in the year—towards the end of January—the Nationalists had enlarged on the same subject in the House of Assembly and the Prime Minister replied in a speech which one member characterised as the most outstanding speech in the Prime Minister's life, that it had given them the feeling that he was really acting as a guiding star in the darkness. It could only have been given by a statesman able to look ahead—a statesman who had passed through the turmoil, the agony, and the throes of the birth of a nation.

At the United Party Congress at Bloemfontein in December, the Prime Minister had the opportunity of defining his Pan-African policy. Replying to a motion that immediate steps should be taken to bring about the union with South Africa, into a single self-governing State within the British Commonwealth, of all British possessions in Africa, whether Crown Colonies, Protectorates, or Mandated Territories, he declared that there was a great deal to be said for closer co-operation between South Africa and all territories to the north, but South Africa had tremendous problems of her own to solve before being able to talk of the possibility of unification with outside territories. While he welcomed the spirit of the motion, he could not support the proposal for a union of African States as it stood and he declared, "We can set that on the reserve list as something that must be attended to by generations to come."

What is popularly known as the "Indian problem in Natal" took a new turn early in December when the Union Government made a decision which it was hoped would bring to an end a state of affairs that has disturbed South African-Indian relations. The Prime Minister and his colleagues advised the Acting Governor-General to withhold his sanction to the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance of the Province of Natal which had created a storm in Delhi and Durban. The Ordinance, which passed its third reading early in November, provided that where a European wished to sell residential property in a mainly European area to a non-European, or vice-versa, the National Housing Board should have the immediate option of purchasing the property. The Union Prime Minister's note on the subject stated, that the Ordinance was "not in accordance with the Pretoria Agreement" to which the Union Government was a party.

The "Indian problem" almost exclusively concerns Natal, where the greater proportion of South Africa's 250,000 Indians have made their homes. It has been Natal's contention that unless the right of Indians to acquire property in the recognised European areas is restricted, the evil which the Pegging Act of 1944 was

designed to check would flourish. In withholding their approval of the Ordinance, the Prime Minister and his colleagues did not support the Indians against the Europeans, but merely demonstrated that the Union Government would be placed in a false position if they gave their approval to legislation that went beyond the terms of the agreement entered into by the Prime Minister. The Natal Indian Congress, commenting on the Union Prime Minister's statement that the Pretoria Agreement "can now be considered as of no further effect," said, repudiation rested entirely on Field-Marshal Smuts's shoulders, and that repudiation automatically released Congress from its share in the agreement. Pending a new agreement acceptable to both sides, the Pegging Act forbidding, for the time being, the acquisition of property by Indians in recognised European areas was still in force at the end of the year.

Among the noteworthy Administrative changes during 1944 was Lord Harlech's resignation, in May, of his post as British High Commissioner in the Union and the appointment of Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor of Southern Rhodesia, to succeed him. Sir Evelyn arrived only in Southern Rhodesia to take up his appointment at the end of 1942. In November it was announced that the Hon. George Heaton Nicholls, Administrator of Natal, had been appointed High Commissioner for South Africa in London in succession to the late Colonel Deneys Reitz.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

During the year the Government of Southern Rhodesia, like that of the Union, was not slow to give consideration to post-war policy and examine schemes for post-war development. When the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, opened the sixth session of the fifth Parliament on April 11, he referred to the fact that post-war development of the Colony in general had occupied the attention of the Government, and that a comprehensive list of new Government buildings was drawn up which would form part of the Government's programme. To encourage the establishment and expansion of industry a bill would be introduced setting up an Industrial Development Commission.

• The subject of immigration was also kept much to the fore. A proposal made in England by a Mr. Leeming, of Urmston, near Manchester, for the migration of 500,000 people from industrial Britain, especially Lancashire and Cheshire, to "satellite towns" in Southern Rhodesia received much publicity in the British and Dominions Press. The plan envisaged the establishment of some twenty-five such towns of 10,000 people with light industries and some ten towns of 25,000 people for heavier industries. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia appointed a committee of three to consider the feasibility of the proposals ;

obviously much preliminary planning and organisation would be required to make the scheme practicable. Moreover, many existing industries would need to expand. The finances of the scheme would need contributions from the Imperial Government, local authorities in Great Britain, and the Southern Rhodesian Government. An official statement on the Southern Rhodesian Government's immigration policy was made at the end of November. It declared that the Government's first consideration immediately after the war would be the rehabilitation of Rhodesians now in the services. All avenues of employment would have to be kept open to ensure their absorption. Present immigration policy would be shaped on that basis. During the war, and pending the return of Rhodesian servicemen and women, no one will be permitted to enter the Colony except on holiday, unless he can establish a business that will provide employment for Rhodesians, or otherwise stimulate employment. At the end of the war, however, the present policy will be overhauled and made more liberal, but no matter how liberal "it will have to be selective." There would be no room for unskilled or semi-skilled workers for whom employment prospects are uncertain.

In August the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, intimated that it would soon be necessary to revert to party politics, and that a general election could not be long postponed. There was consequently some surprise when at the United Party's annual congress a few weeks later Sir Godfrey suggested that Parliament might possibly prolong its life by another year and arrange for the General Election in 1946 instead of in 1945. Moreover, he would not be averse to such a prolongation. On November 1, Parliament decided by 23 votes to 6 in favour of prolonging its life until May 3, 1946. Nevertheless, it was not thought likely that Parliament would remain in existence until the end of April, 1946, but that the Government intended to hold a General Election in October, 1945.

An important statement on the future relations of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland was made in the House of Commons on October 18 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Oliver Stanley, which postponed the hope for the amalgamation of the three territories. Colonel Stanley explained that His Majesty's Government, in considering the question, had fully taken into account the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1938-39, and had also discussed the present situation in the three territories with the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland during their recent visits to London. It was agreed that positive and concrete steps should be taken to ensure that the closest possible co-ordination of the policy and action of the three territories in all matters of common interest should be effective and comprehensive. With this in view, it was proposed

that a Standing Central African Council representative of the territories should be established on a permanent basis. The Colonial Secretary then went on to say, "His Majesty's Government realise that the Southern Rhodesian Government still adhere to their view that the three territories should be amalgamated. While, however, His Majesty's Government have, after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that the amalgamation of the territories under existing circumstances cannot be regarded as practicable, they are confident that the present scheme will, by ensuring a closer contact and co-operation, make an important contribution to the future prosperity of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland." Towards the end of November, 1944, Vice-Admiral Sir Campbell Tait, K.C.B., M.V.O., was appointed Governor of Southern Rhodesia in succession to the Hon. Sir Evelyn Baring, K.C.M.G.

CHAPTER IV

AUSTRALASIA

AUSTRALIA

THE beginning of the year 1944 was marked by a conference at Canberra of representatives of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand to discuss problems of mutual interest arising from the war. The Australian delegation consisted of Messrs. Curtin (Prime Minister), Forde (Minister for the Army), Chifley (Treasurer), Beasley (Minister for Supply), Makin (Minister for the Navy and Munitions), Drakeford (Minister for Air), Dedman (Minister for War Organization), Ward (Minister for Transport), D'Alton (High Commissioner in New Zealand), and Dr. Evatt (Minister for External Affairs). They were accompanied by a staff of official advisers. Opening the Conference on January 17, Mr. Curtin said that, in the opinion of the Australian Government, the aim of the Conference should be to ensure that Australia and New Zealand should take the lead in applying to the countries of the South and South-West Pacific the principles of freedom from fear, want and repression. Moreover, by reaching unanimity, they would enhance the authority with which the two countries would speak to the world at large. Some of the problems would in due course come up for discussion in London with the other members of the British Commonwealth. Others would necessitate the participation of all Governments which had territorial interests in the specified Pacific areas. Mr. Curtin defined the main items of the agenda as armistice arrangements ; security plans ; provision for interim and long-term administration of island territories ; aviation ; immigration ; and the development of native peoples.

On some of these matters nothing more was contemplated than an exchange of views ; on others it was hoped that some form of agreement could be reached which would duly appear either as applied policy in affairs entirely within the competence of each country, or as joint or parallel expressions of opinion on matters in which other Governments were concerned. It was not the wish of either Australia or New Zealand to treat the affairs of the South and South-West Pacific as rigidly separate. Their aim was simply the assumption of responsibility proper to themselves in relation to the wider international field.

The Conference resulted in the signing, on January 21, of an agreement, consisting of 44 clauses, to be known as "The Australia-New Zealand Agreement, 1944," which was described by Dr. Evatt as "a Pacific Charter of permanent collaboration and co-operation." The agreement was formally ratified by the Australian Cabinet on January 25.

Broadly speaking, the two Governments agreed "to act together in matters of common concern in the South-West and South Pacific areas." They agreed that the final peace settlement should be made in respect of all enemies only after the complete cessation of all hostilities, and that the interests of Australia and New Zealand should be represented at the highest level on all armistice planning and executive bodies. Both Governments regarded it as a matter of cardinal importance that they should be associated in the preliminary planning, and in the establishment of the proposed international organisation contemplated by the Moscow Declaration of October, 1943. Within the framework of a general system of world security, Australia and New Zealand proposed the setting-up of a regional defence zone based on the two countries and stretching through the arc of islands north and north-east of Australia to Western Samoa and the Cook Islands. Pending the establishment of law and order, each Government was willing to assume full responsibility for policing certain areas in the Pacific. Each Government specifically declared that the use of any territory as a war measure should not provide a basis for territorial claims after the war, and that no change in the control or sovereignty of the Pacific Islands should be effected except as a result of an agreement in which Australia and New Zealand should concur. It was agreed that both Governments should promote the early establishment of a "South Seas Regional Commission" of all interested Powers to recommend a common policy for the advancement of the interests of all native peoples in the Pacific, and that as soon as it should be practicable the Australian Government should summon a conference of all Powers interested in the Pacific to discuss problems of security, post-war development and native welfare.

On the subject of immigration, both countries accepted the principle of international law by which every Government has

the right to control migration as a matter of exclusive domestic jurisdiction ; and agreed to collaborate generally on migration questions.

As regards civil aviation, the opinion was expressed that international air trunk routes should, by international agreement, be owned and operated by an international air transport authority, each country retaining the right to regulate its internal air services, subject to international regulations on such questions as safety, landing facilities, transit rights, and interchange of mails. Australia and New Zealand would require that a due proportion of Australian and New Zealand personnel, agencies and material should be used in the operation and management of international trunk routes. Failing such international agreement, Australia and New Zealand would support a system of air trunk routes, controlled and operated by the Governments of the British Commonwealth under Government ownership.

In order to promote continuous collaboration on the lines set out in the Agreement, a permanent secretariat to be known as " The Australian-New Zealand Affairs Secretariat " would be set up in both Dominions.

On January 21, at the concluding session of the Conference, Mr. Curtin described the Agreement as a landmark in international collaboration in the Pacific, in the development of Australian and New Zealand policy, and in the constitutional growth of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It represented an attempt by each Dominion to draw on its special knowledge of Pacific problems in the interest of the welfare of both. It was a regional understanding serving a global ideal. It was not an exclusive or monopolistic Agreement, and the signatories would welcome the participation of all Pacific Powers with similar ideas and objectives. The Conference, Mr. Curtin added, marked an important step in the working-out of improved methods of consultation within the British Commonwealth, and a noteworthy stage in Dominion autonomy in foreign policy. The fact that the Dominions could act both as separate units and also as members of the British Commonwealth would strengthen rather than weaken the ties which bound them together.

In a statement on February 10 before the House of Representatives, Dr. Evatt commented on the remarkable degree of unanimity of views manifested throughout the Conference. There had been for a considerable time some degree of co-operation between the two Dominions, and this had been strengthened as a result of the war ; but this was the first general conference dealing with their foreign relationships and their future security. As a result of the Conference at Canberra, they had determined to consult each other in all important dealings with other Powers.

On March 24, members of all political parties met in Canberra to bid farewell to Mr. Curtin who was about to leave Australia to

attend the Conference of Prime Ministers in London. Mr. R. G. Menzies, Leader of the Opposition, gave a pledge that during Mr. Curtin's absence no political embarrassment would be caused in Australia on matters that would be coming up for discussion in London.

Mr. Curtin, who was accompanied by General Sir Thomas Blamey, Commander of the Allied Land Forces in the South-West Pacific, Sir Frederick Shedden, Secretary of the War Cabinet and of the Department of Defence, and other officials, arrived in England at the end of April for the Conference which began on May 1. On the way, he conferred with President Roosevelt and explained the Australia-New Zealand Agreement to a Press Conference in Washington.

In a statement issued on May 4, Mr. Curtin said that one important purpose of his visit was to express the unbounded admiration of all Australians for the stand made by the people of Britain in the cause of world freedom. He then outlined the position of Australia in the early months of the war in the Pacific, and the splendid effort put forward by the people of Australia at a time when their own men and materials were dispersed over other fields of combat. "I do not think that any country faced greater danger with less resources than Australia did after the fall of Singapore," said Mr. Curtin. Her defence depended largely on British sea power based on Singapore. Relying on this barrier, she had sent 44 per cent. of her stock of small arms ammunition and 25 per cent. of her rifles out of Australia prior to the Japanese attack. When that came, Australia had abroad three A.I.F. divisions with a strength of 101,000 men, and one air squadron in the Middle East; small Army units and more than 10,000 air personnel in England; one A.I.F. division of a strength of 18,000 men, and three air squadrons in Malaya; and several infantry battalions in the Pacific islands. When Singapore fell, the strength of the Australian defences was inadequate to defend the country as a main base against an enemy with command of the sea and air. "Our small naval forces were divided in several areas," said Mr. Curtin. "Our militia forces were only partly trained and were very short of modern equipment. We lacked air support, possessing no fighters whatever, and our bomber and reconnaissance aeroplanes had been reduced to about 50 machines." After tracing the course of the Pacific campaign since the opening of the Allied offensive after the Battle of the Coral Sea, the Premier turned to Australia's own war effort, declaring that, by the end of 1943, more than 40 per cent. of the total male labour power available was serving in the Forces or in direct war work, compared with less than 1 per cent. at the outbreak of war, while the rest of the available man-power was engaged in food production, or some other essential service. Under reciprocal Lend-Lease, 90 per cent. of the food required by the American Forces in the

South-West Pacific, as well as clothing and supplies of all kinds, had been provided by Australia. During the current year the value of reciprocal Lend-Lease would reach 100,000,000*l.*, or one-sixth of Australia's total war expenditure. [For the pronouncement issued after the Prime Ministers' Conference, see under "Public Documents."]

On his return journey to Australia, Mr. Curtin visited Canada, where he fulfilled many engagements, including attendance at a meeting of the war committee of the Canadian Cabinet, and an address to a special session of both Houses of Parliament at Ottawa.

The Australian Federal Parliament was called together on July 17 for a brief session to hear a report by the Prime Minister on his visit abroad. His review covered the course and conduct of the war, foreign policy, in which he associated the Government of Australia with the plans laid down on behalf of the United Nations, and the discussions on his own proposals for closer Empire consultation. Of the war in the Pacific he said: "Mr. Churchill discussed the part to be played by the United Kingdom Forces in the ultimate defeat of Japan. Although the transfer of the main British effort must await the defeat of Germany, large and powerful forces will become available this year, and the planning of the whole British effort is being vigorously pursued. Mr. Churchill had summed up the position as follows:—'Though we might have to begin in a small way, we intend to pour our forces into that struggle to which we are pledged by honour and fastened by interest.'" There had been general agreement in London regarding Australia's future effort in supplying troops, providing food for the United Kingdom, and contributing to the maintenance of the Allied forces in the Pacific. There was, said Mr. Curtin, a minimum fighting strength below which Australia would not go, and a maximum beyond which she could not go, and the Government was trying to strike a balance between these limits. As regards improved machinery for Empire consultation and co-operation, he could not accept, from Australia's point of view, the opinion of the Prime Minister of Canada that the present methods had worked with complete success. His proposals had been based on what Australia believed to be necessary in the light of her war-time experience.

When the Federal Parliament reassembled on February 9 after the Christmas recess, the legislative programme for the session included a bill to authorise a referendum for the granting of certain additional powers to the Commonwealth Government for the purposes of post-war reconstruction [*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 142-143.] After the Constitution Alteration (Post-War Reconstruction) Bill had been passed providing for a referendum, the date for the voting was fixed for August 19, the Service franchise being the same as for the Federal Election in

1943, providing votes for members of the Forces over 18 years of age who had served or were serving outside Australia. At a conference of the United Australia Party parliamentary leaders and office bearers held at Melbourne on June 16, the resolution was passed to oppose the referendum, on the ground that the most important of the new powers—those referring to employment and production, which would enable indefinite continuance of industrial conscription and general socialisation of industry—were designed to enable the present Government to carry out post-war policies “of a dictatorial and destructive kind.” The U.A.P. was not, however, opposed to constitutional reform in itself, and would have been prepared to support some of the individual proposals. Mr. Curtin, on the other hand, declared that no question of the socialisation of industry or any other fundamental alteration to the economic system was involved, nor was there any question of a permanent amendment to the Constitution.

The vote, which was compulsory, was for or against the whole 14 powers together, not *seriatim*, and the support of a majority of electors in a majority of States was required if the proposals were to become operative.

By a substantial majority, the electors of Australia voted against the granting of the additional powers. The final results were :—

	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Civilians.</i>	<i>Services.</i>
Against . . .	2,305,418	2,110,270	195,148
For . . .	1,963,400	1,744,948	218,452

Mr. Menzies declared that the vote showed the vitality of democratic Liberalism and its proper respect for the traditions of human freedom and of ordered liberty. Mr. Curtin said he was disappointed, but not surprised, for the approach to the people had been prejudiced by the nation's preoccupation with the war and by irrelevancies of the kind which had marked every referendum since Federation. It was widely suggested, however, that the adverse vote might be interpreted, not as a fundamental objection to any revision of the Constitution, but rather as an emphatic protest against the continuance of Government controls and restraints longer than was justified by the genuine needs of war.

On February 18, Mr. Menzies, leader of the United Australian Party, announced that his party felt that it was being placed in an ambiguous position by its representation on the Advisory War Council, and that he wished to regain freedom of action in Parliament. Accordingly, the U.A.P. withdrew its representatives—Mr. Menzies, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Spender—although the Country Party had decided that its representatives—Mr. Fadden and Mr. McEwen—should continue to sit on the Council. In spite of

his party's decision, Mr. Spender, who, with Mr. Hughes, had opposed withdrawal from the Council, decided, after consultation with Mr. Curtin, to remain a member. He was therefore expelled from the U.A.P., and Mr. Hughes, who followed his example, shared his fate. Sir Earle Page having been appointed to the Council, membership then consisted of Mr. Curtin, Mr. Forde, Dr. Evatt, Mr. Beasley and Mr. Makin representing the Government, and Mr. Hughes, Mr. Spender, Mr. Fadden, Mr. McEwen and Sir Earle Page representing Opposition parties.

In October, some 80 delegates from almost every political non-Labour organisation in Australia, except the Country Party, attended a conference at Canberra, where they decided to form one united Federal Party. Mr. Menzies, Leader of the U.A.P., who had convened the Conference, described this decision as the first great step towards unity and a revival of progressive Liberalism. A further conference held at Albury, N.S.W., in December endorsed these decisions and began an examination of a draft constitution for the new Liberal Party.

Australia's war effort included not only the maintenance of her own forces and civil population, but the feeding and servicing of Allied forces and the production of food for Britain. These various duties imposed a severe strain on her man-power, and enforced on civilians an austerity which has brought the war close to every home. A statement issued in April gave the gross enlistments of the three Armed Services on December 31, 1943, as 870,960, of whom 629,074 had volunteered for service anywhere in the world. The total displacement of Royal Australian Navy ships in commission exceeded 100,000 tons. Since the war, the R.A.N. had lost some 30,000 tons through enemy action. Up to the end of 1943, ships of the R.A.N. had escorted a monthly average of 1,300,000 tons of shipping round the Australian coast, and 1,600,000 tons to New Guinea. Up to the end of March, casualties for the three Services totalled 68,797, of whom 16,650 were killed, 18,092 wounded, 7,140 missing, and 26,915 prisoners of war.

War Production included naval and aircraft construction on an astounding scale. In addition, Mr. Makin, Minister for the Navy, stated that since August, 1942, 4,000,000 tons of shipping had been repaired in Australia, nearly 3,000,000 tons in dry dock. In August it was disclosed that a huge flying-boat repair depôt had been constructed at Lake Boga, in Victoria, hundreds of miles from the sea, at which are carried out major repairs to flying-boats of the American, Dutch and Australian Air Forces in the South-West Pacific area. Built over two years ago, this is believed to be the largest inland flying-boat depôt in the world. The cost of construction was 250,000*l.* Weatherboard cottages built in the township provide accommodation for over a thousand men and women. By November, the seven-hundredth Beaufort

bomber built in Australia had been placed in the service of the R.A.A.F. The Beaufort Division of Aircraft Production Directorate which built these bombers is now engaged on the production of Beaufighters, having completed the first specimen at the end of May, only 14 months after the drawings and data began to arrive from England. Beaufighters manufactured in Australia embody certain changes to meet operational requirements in the Pacific. Senator Cameron, Minister for Aircraft Production, described this achievement as "the culmination of the most intense industrial effort in Australian history." Without Australian-built aircraft, he said, the R.A.A.F. would have been "a very small force indeed." Up to September, over 3,000 aircraft of eight different types had been delivered to the R.A.A.F. by Australian manufacturers since the beginning of the war. Other types of aircraft on which concentration would be focussed were the Lancaster and the Mosquito.

The conflicting demands of the Services, the war industries, farming and essential civilian production threatened to produce an acute crisis in the man-power situation. A report of the War Commitments Committee on man-power requirements for the six months ending December, 1944, revealed a deficiency of at least 39,000 men for high priority industry. Consequently, Mr. Curtin made an announcement that after a report on the strength of the Services had been studied in the light of the discussions which had taken place in London and Washington concerning the agreed strength of the Forces, direction had been given for the release of 30,000 men from the Army and 15,000 from the R.A.A.F. by June, 1945, for work in essential industry. 20,000 of these would be released by the end of 1944. The decision had been taken with the full agreement of the Government's military advisers, including General MacArthur. The labour shortage was especially critical in the food processing and dairy industries, said the Prime Minister. Australia had undertaken certain commitments to Britain, and had in addition to meet increasing demands for the United States forces in the Pacific, and supplies for occupied territories now being liberated from the enemy. Man-power must be made available for the rural industries if Australia's food programme was to be maintained.

Some figures relating to Australia's food production were given by Mr. Curtin in October. Meat production in 1944 was estimated at the record figure of 1,035,000 tons, of which Britain and British Forces would receive 178,000 tons and U.S. forces 158,000 tons; the butter estimate was 145,000 tons, of which 47,000 would go to Britain and 9,000 to the U.S. forces; cheese, 34,000 tons, of which 10,000 would go to Britain, and 8,500 to British Forces. More than 11,000,000 gallons of milk would be condensed and dried for Britain and British Forces in 1944.

The main features of the Budget, introduced by the Treasurer

(Mr. Chifley) in the House of Representatives on September 7, were slightly reduced war expenditure and minor income tax concessions in the form of more generous rebates for medical expenses to include dental expenses up to 10*l.*, a rebate for school children between the ages of 16 and 18, and concessions for the maintenance of plant. The rates of income tax remained unchanged. The total expenditure for the year 1943-44 was 686,532,000*l.*, including 544,416,000*l.* for war purposes. Revenue provided 309,375,000*l.*, of which 270,854,000*l.* was obtained from taxation, leaving 377,157,000*l.* to be financed by loans. The expenditure on the war represented a decrease of 17,000,000*l.* compared with the previous year. Substantial Lend-Lease aid had been received from the United States, and Australia had also benefited from Canadian Mutual Aid. The cost to Australia of reciprocal aid to the United States was 110,000,000*l.*, or 20 per cent. of the war expenditure for the year. Every effort had been made to maintain the volume of foodstuffs to Britain. War supplies purchased by the United Kingdom and other countries, together with the restriction to essentials of goods imported into Australia, had helped to improve the financial position, enabling Australia to meet overseas war expenditure of 56,000,000*l.*, and to repay a temporary loan of 12,000,000*l.* sterling raised in London for war purposes in 1940-41. Estimated war expenditure for the year 1944-45 was 505,000,000*l.*, which included 53,000,000*l.* overseas. The decrease of 39,000,000*l.* was due to a reduced programme of capital works for war purposes and the necessity for diverting man-power from the Armed Forces and munitions production to provide essential supplies for the British and Allied Governments. Expenditure for purposes other than war was estimated at 147,861,000*l.*, an increase of 5,745,000*l.* compared with last year's figures. The estimated revenue was 325,472,000*l.*, of which taxation was expected to yield 286,022,000*l.*

Two War Loans were launched during the year. The first, for 150,000,000*l.*, was over-subscribed by nearly half a million. The success of the second, for 160,000,000*l.*, of which 112,500,000*l.* represented new subscriptions and the balance conversion of securities maturing on October 15, was announced by the Treasurer before the end of the year.

In the Pacific, Australia continued to play a highly important part on land, sea, and in the air in the campaign against Japan, in close and friendly co-operation with her American Allies. To mark the second anniversary of General MacArthur's arrival in Australia, a state dinner was given at Canberra in his honour, and he was presented by the Governor-General with the insignia of the G.C.B. Mr. Curtin said that it had been a new experience for Australians to entrust their Forces to an officer of another country in Australia itself, but General MacArthur had shown a regard for the rights of the Australian Government and the Australian

people which could not have been surpassed had he been an officer of the Australian Army. In a statement made in October, Mr. Curtin said : " Now that the great bulk of United States forces have moved from the mainland of Australia, I offer to them and their great Commander-in-Chief the deep gratitude of the Australian Government and people. We will never forget the feeling of deep relief which swept the country when the United States forces arrived early in 1942."

In December, Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser, Commander-in-Chief of the British Fleet formed to operate in the Pacific, arrived in Australia. Admiral Fraser, in an interview, indicated that the Pacific Fleet based on Australia would include enough battleships and aircraft-carriers to do more than sway the balance of naval strength in those waters. It would operate under the supreme command of Admiral Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific area. The administrative headquarters of the Pacific Fleet would be in Melbourne and Sydney. Battleships would dock at Sydney and aircraft-carriers at Brisbane. Mr. Makin, Minister for the Navy, stated that 3,000 artisans had been allotted for the servicing, repair and maintenance of this Fleet in the engineering establishments and dockyards at Sydney. The new graving dock, capable of taking the largest ship afloat, would be ready in ample time.

Apart from Australia's share in the struggle against Japan, Australian personnel have played an active and in many cases a creditable part on all fronts in the world war. The R.A.A.F. has been well represented in the bombing attacks on cities, lines of communication, railway yards, military strong-points, airfields, and coastal defences in Germany, Italy, northern France and Holland. They also did good service in the fight against the flying-bombs and in the attacks upon the rocket bomb installations. Further afield, an Australian squadron took part in the liberation of Greece.

Post-war reconstruction and the repatriation of ex-servicemen engaged the attention of the Government and the public throughout the year. Among the more important subjects discussed were the promotion of secondary industries, including motor-car manufacture ; a large-scale programme of public works ; heavy expenditure on housing, involving a 30,000,000*l.* loan in the first year after the war ; civil aviation ; national defence ; an immigration policy after the absorption of Australian servicemen into employment, with preference for immigrants of British stock ; social security ; the provision of employment ; occupational training for ex-servicemen and women ; homes for returned soldiers, for which large building blocks have already been purchased in each State.

In State politics, Queensland returned the Labour Party to power under the Premiership of Mr. Cooper in April, with a

slightly reduced majority. In South Australia, the Government (Liberal Country League) was returned to office. In New South Wales, Labour, under Mr. McKell, was also returned, after the quietest poll on record.

Mr. Curtin announced in March the adoption by the full Cabinet of a programme for the standardisation of Australian railway gauges. It was subsequently decided to establish a uniform gauge of 4 ft. 8½ ins.

On March 17, Dr. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, announced in the House of Representatives that the Canadian-Australian Mutual Aid Agreement had been signed at Ottawa on March 9. Under this agreement, Australia expected to receive from Canada goods and services to the approximate value of 24,000,000£.A. These included automotive, electrical and communications equipment, ammunition and ordinance, aircraft parts, metal and woodworking machinery, chemicals, ferrous alloys and non-ferrous metals, timber, and many other goods essential to the war effort.

At the end of May, Mr. Forde revealed that technical experts from Canada, consisting of nine officers and 63 other ranks, would shortly arrive in Australia to supervise the installation there of Canadian military equipment and to train Australians to operate and maintain it. The cost of pay and allowances would be defrayed by the Canadian Government for a period up to two years while the technicians were on loan to the Australian Army. This generous action at a time when Australia's man-power problem was so acute was a proof of cordial Empire relations, for which the Australian Government was greatly indebted.

In March, a Bill providing for the introduction of taxation of income on a pay-as-you-earn basis was passed through its final stages in the House of Representatives.

Disastrous bush fires in Victoria and New South Wales caused wide-spread devastations, and in some districts considerable loss of life. Large areas of crops and valuable pasture land were swept by the flames, involving heavy loss of sheep and cattle. A preliminary estimate of the loss of property and stock caused by the Victorian fires in January alone was given in the House of Representatives by the Minister for Commerce and Agriculture (Mr. Scully), showing that 500 houses, 1,000,000 sheep, 50,000 cattle, 1,000 horses, 1,000 pigs, 200,000 poultry and thousands of miles of fencing were destroyed.

Thirteen members of the British and Canadian Parliaments arrived in Australia in June for a six-weeks' tour of the Commonwealth. On leaving, the leader of the British delegation, Lieut.-Colonel Wickham, praised the high standard of efficiency of the nation's war production and declared that the delegation had been greatly impressed with the vastness of Australia and the magnitude of her war effort. At a State luncheon in Victoria, Mr. J. G. Ross,

leader of the Canadian delegation, announced the Canadian Government's intention, under the Mutual Aid Agreement, to defray the cost of the tuition of Australian air trainees in Canada in recognition of Australia's contribution to the war in the Middle East and the Pacific.

On August 5, some 900 Japanese prisoners-of-war in a camp in Australia mutinied and made an unprovoked attack on their guards. The attack was met by fire from the guards, with considerable loss to the prisoners. The total Japanese casualties were one officer and 230 other ranks killed or died of wounds or by suicide; one officer and 107 other ranks wounded. A military court of enquiry reported that conditions in the camp had been in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva International Convention, and that the accommodation and rations for the prisoners were on the same scale as those of the Australian troops. No complaints had been made either by or on behalf of the Japanese before the mutiny.

Lord Gowrie, the Governor-General, left Australia in September, after representing the Crown there for sixteen years, having served as Governor of two States—South Australia and New South Wales—before becoming Governor-General.

At a Commonwealth farewell dinner attended by almost every member of both Houses, at which his services were warmly and gratefully praised, Lord Gowrie said: "I have worked with you in good times, in bad times, in fair weather, in foul, in peace and in war, and as the result of that experience, I am supremely confident that, however severe this test may be, Australia will not fail."

Sir Winston Dugan, Governor of Victoria, was sworn in as Acting Governor-General until the arrival of the Duke of Gloucester.

A printers' strike which occurred in Sydney in October over a demand from the employees for a 40-hour week and a month's annual holiday spread until the city was left without newspapers, except for a composite of four dailies, which road transport workers refused to distribute and newsboys to sell. The journalists of New South Wales struck in sympathy with the printers. After the strike had lasted ten days, a settlement was reached, granting to the men a reduction of the working week from 44 to 40 hours, with overtime for work in excess of 40 hours. The employers also agreed not to oppose the application for arbitration in court on a demand for four weeks' annual leave. There was to be no victimisation, and all employees were to be reinstated in accordance with the conditions existing before the strike.

On November 22, the Acting-Prime Minister, Mr. Forde, announced that all inter-State air lines in Australia were to be taken over and operated permanently by the Commonwealth Government. Mr. Menzies, Leader of the Opposition, described this as the first shot in the Socialist war.

Diplomatic changes and innovations during the year included the following :—

Sir Owen Dixon resigned the post of Australian Minister to the United States in September to return to Australia to resume his place on the High Court bench. Sir Frederick Eggleston, Australian Minister to China, was appointed his successor.

Sir Iven Mackay took up his duties as Australia's first High Commissioner to India, while India's reciprocal choice was Sir Raghunath Paranjpye, who served on the Council of India in London for five years from 1927.

Following on Australia's recognition in October of General de Gaulle's administration as the Provisional Government of France, the French Minister to Australia was expected to take up residence at Canberra before the end of the year.

It was announced in December that M. Lifanov had been appointed Soviet Minister to Australia in succession to M. Vlasov, who had recently returned to Moscow. In June, Mr. J. A. Alexander was appointed Public Relations Officer at the Australian Legation at Moscow.

Press attachés, who will also act as Public Relations Officers, are to be appointed to Washington, Chungking, New Delhi and Ottawa. The last-named post will be filled by Mr. Thomas Dunbabin, a well-known Sydney journalist.

The appointment of Mr. S. M. Bruce, Australian High Commissioner in London, was extended for another year from October. Mr. Bruce has been High Commissioner since 1933.

NEW ZEALAND

THE New Zealand delegation to the Canberra Conference [*vide* Australia, page 142] consisted of Messrs. Peter Fraser, Prime Minister ; P. C. Webb, Minister of Labour ; Frederick Jones, Minister of Defence ; C. A. Berendsen, High Commissioner in Australia. They were accompanied by expert advisers.

Addressing the Conference, Mr. Fraser said that New Zealand regarded her membership of the British Commonwealth as the fundamental principle of her external policy, but wished to collaborate with other interested Powers to ensure the security of the Pacific. New Zealand would like to see the machinery for co-operation within the British Commonwealth of Nations improved, and at the same time looked forward to the institution of an effective universal organisation on the basis of either a reorganised League of Nations or a body similarly constituted and empowered to preserve peace. The understanding reached by the two Dominions had as its object the enhancement of the welfare of the peoples of both countries and of the Pacific island territories. It was not directed against any other people ; on

the contrary, other Powers were invited to adhere to the principles enunciated at the Conference. The proposals for future collaboration, and the provision of permanent machinery for consultation, the exchange of information, and joint planning should be of great mutual benefit. The Prime Minister was confident that this machinery would function in the same atmosphere of goodwill as that which had characterised the deliberations of the Conference. In this spirit the two Dominions would be able to play a full and useful part not only in improving the lot of their own peoples but also in preserving the future peace of the world.

On January 20, the New Zealand delegation attended a meeting of the Australian War Cabinet for a discussion on the war effort of the two Dominions in the light of the decisions taken at the Canberra Conference. The extent of their respective war efforts was discussed in relation to their man-power, and it was agreed that each country, in readjusting its war effort, should take into consideration the views of the other. The New Zealand Ministers later attended a meeting of the Advisory War Council.

The first session of the new Parliament, which was elected in September, 1943, opened on February 22. There was an unusual number of new members in the House of Representatives—23 in all, of whom 20 were making their first appearance in Parliament. Nearly 50 per cent. of the National Party were new members, and although this did not constitute a Parliamentary record, it was an unusually large proportion. The fact that exactly a quarter of the personnel of the House was new, coupled with the increased strength of the Opposition, was expected to add interest to the session. After the members had been sworn in, the House proceeded to appoint Mr. F. W. Schramm, Speaker of the House, in place of the former holder of that office, Mr. Barnard, who was defeated at the General Election.

The following day, the Governor-General, Sir Cyril Newall, delivered the Speech from the Throne. During the past year, as throughout the whole of the war, he said, the New Zealand people, Maori and Pakeha alike, had contributed to the common cause to the full extent of their resources. It was a ground for justifiable pride that forces of the Dominion were still in the forefront of the attack, and that the devotion of the total energy of the country to the purposes of war continued to be its foremost aim. The Second New Zealand Division, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Bernard Freyberg, after fighting with great distinction in North Africa, was now the spearhead of the Italian offensive. In the Pacific, the Third New Zealand Division, under Major-General Barrowclough, had been assigned an offensive rôle, in which it had already acquitted itself most creditably with the capture of Vella Lavella, the Treasury Islands, and the Nissan Group. In the combat areas, as in the Dominion itself, relations with the American Forces had been characterised by the spirit of mutual

assistance in all forms of practical aid. As a result of the operations in the Pacific, greatly increased responsibilities had been laid on the R.N.Z.A.F., and the Royal N.Z. Navy had also played a highly successful part in the operations of the South Pacific, while maintaining the defence of the ports of the Dominion.

Among the more urgent matters to be dealt with during the Session would be a review of the man-power requirements, particularly as regards the balance between the Armed Forces and the production of food and other essential commodities. It was also proposed to place before Parliament the question of the adoption of the Statute of Westminster, the enactment of which would bring New Zealand into line with the other self-governing Dominions, and would remove doubts on the part of foreign Powers regarding the sovereign status of the Dominion. It would, at the same time, remove existing difficulties in legal drafting and administration both in New Zealand and in the United Kingdom.

Referring to his visit and that of the Minister of Armed Forces and War Co-ordination and of the Minister of Defence to New Zealand Forces in the Pacific, Sir Cyril said: "My Ministers have been giving close and constant attention to the welfare of the peoples of the Island territories. In progress, and impending, are gratifying extensions in the educational and medical services of Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, and at the same time equipment and materials for expansion of public works and utilities are being supplied in appreciable quantities." In the field of social legislation, the Government proposed measures dealing with annual paid holidays for all workers, a minimum home and family income, the extension of social security benefits to cover domestic or nursing service to invalids, the correction of superannuation anomalies, and the establishment of community centres in the interests of physical welfare and recreation. Special attention was being paid to the problems involved in the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen and ex-servicewomen. In this connection, the Government was "deeply conscious of the outstanding contribution to the Dominion's war effort by the Maori race, whose devotion to the cause of freedom the deeds of the Maori Battalion have so strikingly demonstrated, and proposals have been formulated which will ensure that Maori ex-servicemen and ex-servicewomen can participate fully in all the benefits under the rehabilitation schemes." Preliminary steps had also been taken towards "the settlement of the long-standing Maori land claims in both Islands," and it was anticipated that during the course of 1944 such progress would be made as would "permit of finality being reached."

Mr. Fraser attended the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, calling en route at Honolulu where he met Admirals Nimitz and Ghormley for discussions concerning the

Pacific campaign, and at Washington, where he had conferences with leading Americans, including Mr. Henry Wallace, Mr. Cordell Hull, the late Colonel Knox, Mr. Stimson and Mr. James Forrestal on matters affecting the Pacific War and post-war Pacific policy. He attended a meeting of the British Commonwealth Heads of Missions, presided over by Lord Halifax, and a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, and explained the Dominion's man-power position and its attitude on various Pacific affairs, including the Canberra Agreement. He also stated that he did not see any cause for disagreement on any question of territory, defence bases, or aviation facilities in the Pacific.

At the Conference in London, Mr. Fraser said: "Sure of our aims, we have demonstrated, not only the desirability, but the absolute necessity, in the interests of the world as a whole, as well as of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and Empire, of maintaining and strengthening the Commonwealth, not merely as an organisation, but as a mighty instrument for achieving great purposes in the highest interests of mankind." He repeated and solemnly renewed the pledge given by the late Prime Minister, Mr. Savage, in 1939: "Where Britain goes, we go; where she stands, we stand."

In an interview with the New Zealand Press Association, Mr. Fraser declared that the Conference had been most valuable from the point of view of New Zealand and the Commonwealth as a whole. He had had a talk with General Eisenhower and visited centres where troops and equipment were assembled for the invasion of Europe. One of the subjects discussed at the Conference had been the rôle which the New Zealand Division in Italy would play in the European struggle. Another had been immigration. The attitude of the New Zealand Government on this subject was conditioned by a determination to see that the servicemen and population of the Dominion were adequately housed and restored to full employment, and by a desire to ensure that when any further immigration was undertaken, it would be on such a basis that suitable jobs were available for the immigrants. It was naturally of the greatest importance for New Zealand to have a larger population; but nothing would be gained by allowing a rush of immigration in any unco-ordinated fashion during the period of post-war demobilisation. Moreover, the type of worker, such as those in the building trade, who could be placed in immediate employment, might be more urgently required for reconstruction work in the United Kingdom. The question of immigration had, therefore, been left open for further discussion with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions, in order that a co-ordinated policy might be worked out which would ensure that prosperity was increased and not endangered by migration.

After the Conference, Mr. Fraser visited the New Zealand

Forces in Italy and Egypt, returning to London after a fortnight's tour of the Mediterranean war theatre.

On August 7, Mr. Fraser outlined, for the benefit of the House of Representatives, the views which he had expressed on behalf of New Zealand at the Conference.

The Municipal Elections were held throughout the Dominion on May 27. Strong Opposition hostility was aroused by certain clauses in a Local Elections and Polls Amendment Bill, introduced on March 24, which was intended to substitute a residential qualification for the county franchise in place of the current system, which allowed plural voting according to a graduated property qualification. It was widely admitted that this method was an anachronism, and that "one man, one vote" could be held to represent a basic principle of democracy. The opposition centred round the clause which stated that "no person shall be incapable of being elected or appointed as . . . a member of any local authority by reason of his employment by that authority." The introduction of a three-months residential qualification for the county franchise was also strongly attacked, as was the fact that a Bill involving so far-reaching a change was introduced towards the end of the session. With slight modifications, the Bill was passed on April 4, the Opposition contending that the new system would introduce party politics into Municipal elections.

With few important exceptions—notably Dunedin—the candidates of official Labour were defeated at the polls. For example, in Wellington City not a single Labour candidate was elected for either City Council, Harbour Board, Hospital Board or Mayoralty, while in Christchurch 15 out of 16 Citizens' candidates won office on the City Council. The Labour candidates for the Mayoralty in the four chief centres were all defeated.

Figures given at the end of August by the Minister for Defence (Mr. Jones) showed that the total New Zealand personnel in the Services on July 31 was 114,022, of whom 61,068 were overseas. Included in this total were 6,589 women at home and 882 abroad. The Forces were distributed as follows: In Europe, 44,143; Pacific, 14,211; other locations, 2,714. The Air Force personnel numbered 41,547, of whom 13,351 were overseas, an increase over last year's number of approximately 7,800. There were 4,906 naval servicemen in New Zealand and 4,917 overseas—a total of 9,823. Along with the Merchant Navy, the men in the naval service had done their work magnificently.

The casualty figures, given by Mr. Fraser up to the end of July were: Killed, 8,065; wounded, 15,330; missing, 963; prisoners of war, 7,249, making a total of 31,607, as compared with 58,004 in the last war.

War industries and the growing demands on food production, however, increased the strain on the Dominion's man-power

resources, with the result that her food production declined, in spite of the release the previous year of soldiers who could be spared from the Forces to return to farming and other essential industries. Arrangements for further releases of selected Army personnel for work on farms throughout the country, in accordance with a general plan for increasing primary production, particularly dairy produce, were accordingly announced in April by the Minister for National Service (Mr. McLagan). In May it was announced that some 4,000 farm-workers would be released from the Army by the end of the month. Mr. Fraser explained in Washington that these decisions had been taken on the advice of the combined British and American Chiefs of Staff. A further statement on the question of man-power was made by Mr. Fraser in Wellington on September 21 :—

“ Since the beginning of the year it has been agreed that New Zealand cannot maintain two divisions overseas and at the same time increase production of foodstuffs and raw materials which are urgently needed and are so essential for the United Kingdom, and for Allied Forces in the Pacific. In the light of Quebec decisions, and in view of developments in Europe and the Pacific, it has been decided, therefore, that New Zealand land forces at the present time can be of the greatest use in Italy, and that the 2nd Division should remain overseas until the conclusion of the Italian campaign, after which its future rôle will again be examined. It may be necessary at a later stage to give consideration to the question of making New Zealand land forces available in the war against Japan. Meanwhile, however, personnel of the 3rd Division now in camp, and those due to return to camp on the expiry of leave, will be drafted to district mobilisation camps, where they will become available for posting to the 2nd Division.”

Because of the developments and decisions to which he had referred, Mr. Fraser said that it had now become possible to make arrangements for the introduction of a scheme to relieve men who had been overseas for three years or more by others who had not so far had an opportunity of serving overseas. It must be understood, however, that under this replacement scheme those who returned to New Zealand would be released from military service and directed into essential industry. This direction was necessary so long as the war lasted.

In an effort to maintain supplies to Britain, meat was rationed in New Zealand from March 6, the weekly allocation being 1s. 9d. worth for persons over 5 years of age, with a half ration for children over 6 months. Hotels and restaurants would collect coupons from customers supplied with meals at the rate of a 3d. coupon for each meal. It was estimated that rationing would provide an additional 50,000 tons of meat for export to Britain annually.

Introducing the Budget in the House of Representatives on August 3, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Nash, disclosed that the Dominion's total war expenditure to the end of March, 1944, was 383,200,000*l.*, of which 152,900,000*l.* had been spent in the previous financial year. The estimate for war expenditure for the current year was 133,000,000*l.* The reduction on the last

year's figure was accounted for by a decrease of 21,000,000*l.* in the Army estimate, due mainly to a reduction in personnel and a contraction in the supplies of war stores. The Navy also showed a decrease in expenditure of some 700,000*l.*, but the Air estimate was 1,700,000*l.* greater than that for the last year. The estimated revenue of the War Expenses Account was 86,000,000*l.*, the deficit of 47,000,000*l.* to be met partly by a War Loan of 40,000,000*l.* and partly from departmental funds available for investment. The revenue of the Consolidated Fund was estimated at 51,500,000*l.* Expenditure from the Social Security Fund was estimated at 18,857,000*l.*, compared with 17,634,000*l.* for last year. The Fund's estimated revenue was 17,875,000*l.* Provision was made for a further expenditure of 3,500,000*l.* on State housing; and increased provision had been made for national development works. There was no increase in taxation, but certain increases were made in family benefits grants. The estimate for civil expenditure, in addition to the war expenditure estimate, was 80,375,000*l.*, making an estimated total of 213,375,000*l.*, of which about 47 per cent. would be paid out of revenue from taxation.

On August 28, a Victory Loan was launched, with the objective of 40,000,000*l.*—the largest War Loan effort New Zealanders had yet been called upon to make. All Parties gave their keen support, with the result that when the campaign closed on October 4, the Loan had been over-subscribed. The final figure as given by Mr. Nash on October 17 was 40,672,104*l.*

An announcement that National War Savings had reached a total of 20,000,000*l.* was made by Mr. Fraser on February 8, 9,669,000*l.* having been raised during the current financial year.

Trade statistics released in August showed that, during the 12 months ended June 30, the aggregate value of exports and imports totalled 170,898,000*l.* Exports amounted to 73,213,000*l.*—1,476,000*l.* in excess of the figure for the previous year, and only 826,000*l.* lower than that of the peak year 1942. Imports, which had shown an increase during recent months, largely owing to the inclusion of defence materials and equipment and Lend-Lease supplies, reached the abnormally high figure of 97,685,000*l.*—an increase of 25,913,000*l.* over that of the previous year. The excess of imports over exports was, therefore, 24,472,000*l.*, compared with 35,000*l.* in 1943, which had been the first year since 1930 that exports had not exceeded imports. It was contended in the Press, however, that the inclusion of defence materials, equipment, and particularly of Lend-Lease supplies in the import totals created a misleading impression, by increasing artificially the adverse trade balance.

Following an announcement in August that the United Kingdom had arranged for the purchase of the total exportable surplus of New Zealand butter, cheese, beef, veal, mutton and

lamb for four years, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the House of Commons on November 14 that the British Government had agreed, in recognition of the benefit which the United Kingdom had received from the New Zealand price stabilisation policy, to pay the New Zealand Government 4,000,000*l.* sterling a year during the contractual period, together with a lump sum of 12,000,000*l.* It had also been agreed that payment by the New Zealand Government under the Memorandum of Security Agreement of sums due to the United Kingdom up to an amount of 18,000,000*l.* might be deferred for subsequent adjustment at a time and on terms convenient to the New Zealand Government. The Security Agreement was concerned with the settlement of the cost of maintaining the Dominion's overseas forces. Total borrowings by New Zealand from Great Britain under this head, as revealed in the last Dominion Budget, were N.Z.48,000,000*l.*, of which N.Z.32,000,000*l.* had been repaid.

A Mutual Aid Agreement between the Governments of Canada and New Zealand, signed at Ottawa on June 28, stipulated that New Zealand would pay cash for her requirements from Canada to an amount approximately equal to the proceeds of New Zealand's exports to Canada, any balance being charged against a Canadian Mutual Aid appropriation set aside for the purpose.

On April 13, it was officially announced that New Zealand and Russia had agreed to establish diplomatic relations and to exchange Ministers. Mr. C. W. Boswell, a former member of Parliament, was subsequently appointed to represent New Zealand at Moscow.

Diplomatic changes included the return of Mr. Nash (Minister of Finance) from Washington. He was succeeded by Mr. C. A. Berendsen, New Zealand High Commissioner in Australia and formerly Secretary of the War Cabinet. Mr. J. G. Barclay, who was Minister of Agriculture and Marketing before his defeat at the last election, was appointed to succeed Mr. Berendsen in Australia.

The appointment of Mr. D. Wilson, Leader of the Legislative Council, as High Commissioner for New Zealand in Canada was announced at the end of March. The post had been vacant since the resignation of Mr. Langstone in October, 1942.

Tributes were paid by two distinguished commanders to the New Zealand forces engaged in the Pacific and the Italian campaigns. In a broadcast message, Admiral Halsey said that as members of the South Pacific team, New Zealanders had done more than their share towards throwing the Japanese out of the islands. Reporting on the progress of the New Zealand Division in Italy, Lieutenant-General Sir Oliver Leese, Commander of the Eighth Army, in a letter to Mr. Fraser, which the Prime Minister read to the House, wrote as follows :—

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"Throughout, the part of the New Zealand Division has been as prominent as its reputation and quality deserved. Bernard Freyberg has been, as always, a tower of strength, lion-hearted, bold and determined—an inspiration to every man in the Division.

"Their first task was the difficult and unaccustomed one of a holding rôle in the mountains, under the Tenth Corps. This led to the follow-up through the Atina Valley, in even harsher country, on our left flank.

"In July, under the Thirteenth Corps, they had a hard task, culminating in their well-planned onslaught on Arezzo. They played a valuable part in seizing this position, vital to our further advance. Next they had much hill fighting under heavy shell and mortar fire, and withstood fierce counter-attacks. Finally they succeeded by determined assaults in forcing the Germans off the high ground which dominates the town. Throughout the advance on Florence, their drive and steadfastness were noteworthy, and their final attack was the decisive factor in our success.

"I have said enough to show how grateful we all are to General Freyberg, his staff and the New Zealand Division, whose name in the Eighth Army never stood higher than to-day. Their people at home may justly be as proud of their part in this campaign as they were of their previous exploits in Greece, Crete and in the African campaign."

CHAPTER V

INDIA AND BURMA

THE vast scale of India's contribution to the Allied war effort was brought more clearly to public view both by the further great exploits of her soldier sons in the Western theatres and the change on her Eastern flank from the defensive to the offensive. For the year saw the enemy driven from her frontiers and also from a great part of Northern and Central Burma. She was called upon to develop further a mighty base to support the naval, military and air forces being used for the final overthrow of Japan. This base absorbed some two million men, including the great bulk of the vastly expanded Indian Army and an immense labour force on its essential engineering works. The drive for enemy expulsion was carried far in face of great difficulties of transportation, lack of important raw materials, and the insufficiency of competent directing staffs for constructional purposes.

Happily a heavy handicap of the previous year was largely overcome. When the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, made his first "policy" speech to the Central Legislature on February 17, the Bengal famine was still levying toll of human life, and he observed that to maintain the stability needed for victory India must solve her economic problems. He outlined the efforts of his Government to organize food production and distribution on an all-India basis. The key-points to the plan were the strict supervision of dealers under the Foodgrains Control Order, the avoidance of competitive buying in the obtainment of Government requirements, statutory price control, rationing in the larger towns and control over transport of foodstuffs.

A few weeks later (March 23) Mr. L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, laid before Parliament the Bengal mortality balance-sheet so far as could be officially ascertained. The "recorded" deaths in the province from all causes in 1943 numbered 1,873,749, being an excess over the average recorded mortality in the previous quinquennium of 688,846. This figure roughly represented the number of deaths due to starvation and malnutrition, as well as abnormal epidemic disease not associated with malnutrition. Conditions remained anxious, but with the prospect of a good rice harvest in the winter hoarded stocks—small in themselves but great in aggregate amount—came into the market and prices fell. Mr. Casey, the Governor of Bengal, kept the public informed of the steadily improving situation by a series of broadcasts. At the close of the year Mr. P. B. Mullick, Publicity Minister, was able to announce on the air :

"The famine had been checked, and food was not actually lacking ; destitutes, orphans and the sick were no longer adrift, unfed, unhoused and uncared for ; the work of repair of damage caused in 1943 was well in hand ; and the many prophecies of recurrence of the catastrophe happily were unfulfilled."

Mr. Mullick was careful to disavow complacency in view of the incidence of malaria and other diseases. Nor could higher authority allow the recent calamity to pass without inquest. Under the terms of an Ordinance issued on June 25 the Government of India appointed a commission of inquiry "upon the causes of the food shortage and subsequent epidemics in India, and in particular in Bengal, in 1943, and to make recommendations as to the prevention of their recurrence." Sir John Woodhead, formerly acting Governor of Bengal, was appointed chairman, and the Commission, hearing evidence in camera, issued brief daily statements, and then assembled at New Delhi to prepare reports. A gratifying announcement from Government was that, as a result of the "Grow More Food" campaign, the total acreage in India under all major foodgrains had increased by 6 per cent.—from 195 million to 206·3 million acres.

The political stalemate failed to yield to efforts in many directions to bring it to an end. In his speech to the Central Legislature on February 17 Lord Wavell stated that the Cripps offer (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1942, p. 389) was still open to those who had a genuine desire to further the prosecution of the war and the welfare of India. He described as "utterly barren" the plea for the release of the detained Congress Party leaders "until there is some sign on their part of willingness to co-operate." Meanwhile the number of detained persons was being diminished by an Ordinance issued on January 13 providing that all detention orders must be reviewed at six-monthly intervals and would then terminate unless specifically extended. Any person detained was to be informed of the reasons for such detention, and to be given

every facility to make representations against the continuance of the order. On October 19 Mr. Amery stated in Parliament that since their original detention approximately 15,000 internees had been released.

This number included the central figure in the "Quit India" resolution of the Congress Party. Mrs. Gandhi, who had voluntarily shared the sequestration of her husband, died on February 22 at the age of 74, and a large sum was raised in Congress circles to perpetuate the memory of a devoted wife. Soon after this loss the health of the Mahatma deteriorated. Solely on medical grounds, he was released unconditionally on May 6, after some 21 months of restraint. Though serious symptoms were reported and he was medically advised mental and physical rest, he soon made his reappearance felt in efforts to revive the fallen fortunes of the Congress Party. His claim that the detained members of the Working Committee should also be released was supported by the bulk of the Indian Press, but the Government view that this step should not be taken while the party remained wedded to the "Quit India" resolution was steadily adhered to throughout the year.

Correspondence between Mr. Gandhi, the Viceroy and others from July, 1943, was published in June. Lord Wavell wrote on March 28 reiterating his view that the policy of the Congress Party was "hindering and not forwarding India's progress to self-government and development." He pointed out that a great opportunity awaited the party for participation in the work, so urgent and stimulating, of national reconstruction. Mr. Gandhi's requests to be allowed to see the members of the Working Committee and also to meet the Viceroy were refused. In view of their radical differences of point of view, wrote Lord Wavell, "I feel that a meeting between us at present could have no value and could only raise false hopes which would be disappointed." But if after convalescence and reflection his correspondent had a definite and constructive policy to propose for the furtherance of India's welfare he would be glad to consider it.

Meanwhile Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the former leader of the party in South India, continued his unwearied efforts to pave the way for a National Government by some compromise designed to assuage communal strife. He approached Mr. Jinnah, the president of the Moslem League, with suggestions, stated to have the Mahatma's approval, which left the final decision on the separation of "Pakistan" to be determined by a plebiscite of areas in which Moslems are in a majority. This weakening of Mr. Gandhi's hitherto uncompromising opposition to partition was denounced by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs and caused much misgiving in Congress circles. At a meeting of the Council of the Moslem League on July 30 Mr. Jinnah was extremely critical. In view, however, of a cordial letter from Mr. Gandhi offering to

meet him for discussion at any time he might choose, the president was given full authority to conduct negotiations accordingly.

After various delays the two key-men met at Mr. Jinnah's Bombay residence on September 9, when scenes of emotional brotherly regard were staged for the Press photographers. The sittings extended over a fortnight, and correspondence exchanged ran to a total of more than 15,000 words. One great obstacle to accommodation was that while Mr. Jinnah was duly authorised to negotiate Mr. Gandhi made clear from the beginning that he spoke only in his individual capacity—for technically he is not even a member of the Congress Party. There was no surprise when failure to reach agreement was announced on September 27. This negative outcome tended to give fresh impetus to separatist claims, such as that for the creation of a "Dravidistan" as a distinct national State in South India.

Appeals to the public from the two negotiators not to feel embittered or despondent were followed by yet another unofficial effort to find a way out. In his February speech the Viceroy had expressed personal approval of the frequently suggested idea of a preliminary examination of the Constitutional problem by an authoritative body of Indians, and stated that Government would be ready to give such a body every assistance it might desire. Encouraged by this observation Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the veteran chairman of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference, announced early in December the names of 22 prominent public men who had accepted membership of a Conciliation Committee over which he would preside. The Committee was not to attempt to frame a detailed Constitution, but would investigate whether there was a possibility of reconciling conflicting views and of suggesting a basis on which a Constitutional structure might be built. Sir Tej met with disappointments in bringing the team together, and its composition was less influential than had been hoped. Mr. Jinnah refused Moslem League recognition of the Committee when the names were published, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar withdrew a contingent promise of support, and Sir Mirza Ismail was one of the outstanding men who declined Sir Tej's invitation to join. The Committee met on December 29, issued a questionnaire, and appointed four sub-committees.

Amid the search for political solutions, questions of post-war economic and social development claimed increasing attention. The much discussed "Bombay Plan," sponsored by the heads of the great Tata and Birla firms, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and other industrialists, was issued early in the year. It proposed an expenditure of no less than 7,500,000,000*l.* in the next fifteen years to provide for a five-fold industrial expansion and the doubling of agricultural production. In his speech to the Legislature in February Lord Wavell welcomed this contribution to discussion, and said that his Government meant to prepare the

way for post-war development with all earnestness of spirit, and with all the resources, official and non-official, which it could enlist. The great aim must be to raise the standard of living and general welfare. The whole range of planning was in the hands of a committee of his Executive Council, assisted by a number of other committees with a strong non-official element.

At the beginning of June it was announced that Lord Wavell had decided that post-war planning required the attention of a member of the Executive free from ordinary departmental responsibility. Accordingly a new Department of Planning and Development was set up. A signatory of the Bombay Plan, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, was appointed to this charge, and took office early in August. After long service in the I.C.S. he had been director-in-charge of Tata's Iron and Steel Company, Ltd., the largest industrial enterprise in India. Many plans—Central, Provincial, State and departmental—came under his consideration with a view to co-ordination. The results of his studies were indicated towards the close of the year in the "Second Report on Reconstruction Planning" of the Reconstruction Committee of the Executive Council. It outlined an all-India plan upon broad lines for a period of 15 years, except in certain subjects requiring a longer period, together with a detailed phased plan for the first five years. The report was designed to provide guidance to the planning authorities, including those of the Provinces and the States, as to the lines on which they should proceed.

The role of the Indian States in a planned economy, and the tendency of new industrial enterprises to be attracted to the States in order to escape the higher taxation of British India, were believed in some quarters to account, in part at least, for an unexpected complication which arose on December 4. A session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi, to be addressed by the Viceroy next day, had to be cancelled on account of the resignation of the Chancellor (the Nawab of Bhopal), the Pro-Chancellor and 19 members of the Standing Committee. This action followed the reception of a letter from the Political Department, but no explanation of the resignations was officially made. On December 17 the Chancellor announced that this reticence was due to the desire of the Princes not to cause unnecessary embarrassment. He intimated that events of the past three or four years had caused the Princes grave anxiety and apprehension; but added the assurance that the States would not relax their war efforts until final victory had been won. They had faith in Lord Wavell and relied on the goodwill of H.M. Government.

The vast influx to India of British fighting men—drawn by conscription from all classes of the community—was accompanied by grave complaints of the inadequacy or absence of reasonable amenities and even necessities and of various drawbacks of life under Indian conditions. Early in October Lord Munster (then

Under Secretary for India and later transferred to the Home Office), went out under the instructions of the Prime Minister to investigate the provision made for the welfare of British troops in India and the S.E. Asia Command. His report, published in December (Cmd. 6578), showed that the complaints were not without strong foundation, and made a number of ameliorative recommendations.

Lord Munster visited the front in Burma, and found that the S.E.A.C. troops "feel strongly that their achievements and the conditions under which they have to fight have not been brought sufficiently prominently before their fellow-countrymen." To remedy this was "one of the most essential measures to maintain the moral of British troops." If the war canvas had not been so crowded, the achievements of the forces of the Allied Nations in Burma would have attracted the keenest attention, in spite of the unfamiliarity of the general public with the place names and the difficulties and monotony of jungle warfare, for the year was one of very marked progress in the field.

When in mid-April Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander, S.E.A.C., transferred his headquarters from New Delhi to Kandy, in Ceylon, the enemy was doing his utmost to seize the Manipur plain in Assam. Thereby he would obtain a convenient lodgment on Indian soil and be in a position to cut the long and discontinuous Allied front at a crucial point. He had pressed back our troops and isolated Imphal, the capital of the Manipur State—save by air—but failed before Kohima, which was relieved by the end of April. Communication with Imphal was restored on June 22. In spite of the monsoon rains the Fourteenth Army (largely composed of Indian troops) passed to the offensive, expelled the invaders from India, recaptured the Chin Hills, crossed the Chindwin on a wide front in November, and on December 2 took Kalewa, "the gateway of Burma" after inflicting over 50,000 casualties on the Japanese in these operations.

In February a force under General Stilwell, mainly Chinese with an American leaven, invaded northern Burma from Assam in order to seize airfields affording better communication with China, and eventually to reopen the Burma Road. British and Imperial airborne troops (Chindits) under General Wingate and, after his untimely death, under General Lentaigne, landed in advance of the Chinese, thus enabling General Stilwell to clear the Hukawng Valley. On his recall to America he was succeeded by Major-General Wedemeyer. Operations were assisted by the great engineering feat of constructing a petrol pipe line from Calcutta through the Brahmaputra Valley to Assam and thence through Northern Burma to Yunan. The jungle and mountainous way was cleared by an Indian pioneer battalion, and the line, giving precious succour to the operations in Burma

and to China, was laid by United States engineers. In December amphibious operations gained the port and island of Akyab on the Arakan front. The year closed with the Allies in possession of a substantial part of upper Burma, nearing Shwebo, and far advanced "on the road to Mandalay."

These successes contributed to some awakening of interest in the post-war reconstruction of Burma and its political framework. A group of seven Conservative M.P.'s belonging to the Imperial Affairs Committee of the Party issued, in mid-November, a "Blue Print for Burma." It recommended that when Burma was fully reoccupied there should be a period of reconstruction and for making the necessary arrangements for the establishment of full self-government, not exceeding six years. Burma should obtain Dominion status, subject to the conclusion of a treaty between the Imperial Government and the Burmese Government, providing for defence and the conduct of external relations. In a debate in Parliament on December 12 Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, repeated that our aim was to assist Burma to attain complete self-government as soon as circumstances permitted. But inevitably still veiled by the fog of war were the detailed steps and the time-table for such a policy.

FOREIGN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

MORE noticeably than in any previous war year, the League of Nations in 1944 carried out its work in a disturbing atmosphere of uncertainty regarding its future status. Theoretically the position of the League remained unaltered. Forty-five of the sovereign States of the world maintained their membership. The organisation continued to discharge, within the limits of war-time practicability, the various duties connected with the promotion of international co-operation entrusted to it in accordance with the terms of the Covenant. Yet, as the prospects of an early end to the war in Europe brought the whole question of post-war international organisation right into the forefront of official and private discussion, it became increasingly clear that, in the world after the war, the League of Nations as such would probably cease to exist and a new "general international organisation" would take its place.

This subtle change of attitude towards the existing League was no reflection upon either the scope or the quality of its current activities. When war broke out, the majority of nations realised that they could not get on without some sort of a League. With wise direction from the members of the British Commonwealth, they deliberately preserved the structure of the League for two purposes. First, even in war-time, international co-operation could still be continued in many useful fields. The League, with its unrivalled experience and its machinery still in working order, was as convenient and inexpensive a centre as any. With the decentralisation which followed the Nazi "encirclement" of Geneva, the efficiency and usefulness of the League in some departments of its work actually tended to increase. So, long before 1944, the policy of employing the League's services in war-time had more than justified itself. Secondly, there was never any serious doubt that an International Authority would be needed more than ever after the war. Whether or not the old League would survive, the advantages of building upon existing foundations were apparent to many Governments. In any case, until a new League could be established, it would have been folly to abolish the only international body of its kind.

By 1944, after four or five years of war, influential opinion regarding the League's future was coming round to the view that, on balance, it would be wiser to make a fresh start with

a new organisation. That seemed to be the only way of overcoming the antipathies and prejudices which the name of the League aroused in so many quarters. However similar in structure and machinery the new organisation might be to the old, the handicap of an ill-starred name, associated in a number of minds with failure, would be avoided.

Knowledge of these trends in current thought was naturally unsettling to the League Secretariat. In his last Annual Report Mr. Sean Lester, the Acting Secretary-General, argued eloquently in favour of maintaining a re-invigorated League under the present name. Doubtless with a view to proving the indispensability of the League, one of the documents published was a survey of the "Powers and Duties attributed to the League of Nations by International Treaties." Both as a political institution and as an organ of international co-operation, it was shown, the League had expressly or tacitly undertaken to perform a large number of tasks, many of which would still have to be performed after the present war if these treaties and agreements were to remain operative.

Rearguard actions to preserve the League's entity, however, appeared to have little effect upon the steady crystallisation of ideas. The League bodies still functioning, it seemed, would have to reconcile themselves to the prospect of sooner or later being taken over by the new international organisation.

The New League : Official Discussions.—Throughout the year official and unofficial discussions on the form and character of the new League of Nations—pending the adoption of a different title it was still convenient to use the old nomenclature—went on in a number of countries, notably the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. Only the chief landmarks in the official talks can here be recorded.

During May the Dominion Prime Ministers, meeting in London, dealt specifically with the problem of world security. By May 11 so much progress had been made that the newspapers were able to give, as front page news, some indication of the lines along which the talks had been proceeding. This was in the nature of an officially inspired "interim report." [See under Public Documents.] The British Government, it was clear, had come to the conference table with definite ideas to put before the other nations of the Commonwealth. These were based on clause 4 of the Moscow Four-Power Declaration, recognising the "necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." The Dominion Premiers, it was understood, fully approved of the British scheme for making such an organisation a reality. The suggested body would be in structure closely

akin to the League, with such modifications as appeared necessary in the light of experience. In particular, the machinery for dealing with aggression would be tightened up. The British Government were ready to assume fuller responsibility than they did in the period between the two wars. The Great Powers, because they had the necessary material strength, would be the core of the defence system. The smaller States would help in all practical ways and, in return, their rights in the international community would be fully respected.

This meeting was, from the British point of view, an essential stage in the preparations for the Four-Power conversations held at Dumbarton Oaks between August 21 and October 7. As a result of these latter talks, an extremely important set of proposals was drawn up and published as an incentive to public discussion. [See under Public Documents.] ✓

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were undoubtedly the outstanding move yet made to implement the Moscow Four-Power Declaration. For that reason, perhaps, there was a tendency in certain quarters to accord them a greater status than they in fact possessed. It should be remembered that the negotiators were not statesmen of the first rank but high officials of the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and China. Although without doubt they reached their decisions with a full knowledge of the lengths to which their respective Governments were prepared to go, they had no power to make binding agreements. The British White Paper (Cmd. 6560) clearly labelled their draft as a "Statement of *Tentative* Proposals." The British Foreign Secretary, in his commentary to Parliament (Cmd. 6571), said that these proposals did not commit the four Governments concerned, but were intended to assist them to come to agreement on the questions covered and on other points which had been left open for further study. He foreshadowed, after agreement between the four Governments, a conference of all the States concerned. The proposals, with any modifications which might result from this conference, would be cast in the form of a treaty, to be known as the "Charter" of the Organisation.

As Mr. Eden pointed out, "the experience of the League of Nations was, of course, always in the mind of those who prepared the document, and there is in structure a considerable likeness between the Covenant and the proposed Charter."

To sum up, the intention of the Dumbarton Oaks plan could be expressed in a phrase—to "put teeth" into the League of Nations, and to enlarge the whole field of international co-operation. Pending a further meeting between President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, no practical steps towards its realisation were taken before the end of 1944.

Marking Time.—It was inevitable that the project on the part of the most important of the United Nations to replace the

League by another organisation should affect the current activities of the League. The year must be written down as the least spectacular since the outbreak of war. In all the fields of technical, social, and humanitarian collaboration, it is true, those undertakings which were already in progress continued. League experts and the respective sections of the Secretariat, as hitherto, placed their knowledge and experience at the disposal of the "functional" bodies set up by the United Nations—U.N.R.R.A. and the rest. But the general situation in which the League was working—combined, of course, with the restrictions imposed by a meagre budget—offered no incentive to expand or to embark upon fresh ventures. The year's record, taken as a whole, made it plain that the League—with the notable exception of the International Labour Organisation, which will be dealt with later—was marking time and waiting upon events.

Economic and Financial Questions.—The Economic, Financial, and Transit Department, working under the direction of Mr. Alexander Loveday at Princeton, continued its useful research work and published much of the material to the world in a series of reports. These took their place with the other documents published by the League during the past twenty-five years, which were being used daily by men and women of all nations engaged in planning the post-war world. The mass of evidence, carefully collected and accurately and clearly presented, provided Government officials, business men, students, and private citizens with the essential factual basis and vital data for dealing with present-day problems affecting the future of mankind.

The Report on the Joint Session of the Economic and Financial Committees took the form of a closely connected review of nine recent publications dealing with Trade and Commercial Policy (four reports), Relief and Reconstruction (three), and Economic Security (two). Four guiding threads ran luminously through the whole series. First was the vital necessity of carrying out an orderly transition from the economy of war to that of peace. Secondly it was stressed that no economy would work smoothly without political security. From this the third point emerged that no political security could be enduring unless economic security were added. Lastly came the inescapable interdependence of the various branches of economic policy; economic policy must be formulated as a whole, and it must include financial policy.

As a general signpost to post-war reconstruction, the Department issued a detailed study of "The League of Nations Reconstruction Schemes in the Inter-War Period." This was in three parts, dealing respectively with the theory and practice of reconstruction, 1920-39; schemes that were carried out (Austria, Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Danzig, and Estonia); and schemes that did not mature (Albania, Portugal, and Rumania).

"International Currency Experience" contained an expert analysis of international monetary relations during the inter-war period—a period particularly rich in evidence concerning every conceivable type of currency mechanism. This picture of the break-down of the gold standard mechanism, of devaluations and fluctuating exchanges, of the emergence of currency groups, of the trend of central banking policies, and of the rise of exchange control and clearing agreements, ended with a summary of the basic conditions required for a system of stable exchanges in the future.

There were other reports on "Agricultural Production in Continental Europe," "Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union," and "Food Rationing and Supply."

Health and Social Questions.—The Health Section, in addition to maintaining its epidemiological intelligence services and co-operating with national health administrations for the suppression of disease, issued reports on biological standardisation and a "Polyglot Glossary of Communicable Diseases."

Since 1921 the League's Health Committee had been the body responsible for obtaining international uniformity regarding activity and dosage of modern biological remedies—antitoxins, hormones and vitamins. The newest remedy calling for such international action was Penicillin. Approaches from London were made to Dr. Raymond Gautier, officer in charge of the Health Service of the League, with the result that an international conference on the subject was able to meet in London during October. This conference succeeded in adopting an international standard and unit for Penicillin, and was congratulated on its achievement by H.M. Government.

Another League meeting held in London (during May) was the session of the Permanent Central Opium Board. The chief problem considered was the need for instituting effective control over the traffic in narcotic drugs in the enemy and enemy-occupied countries so soon as they were liberated. A comprehensive plan for grappling with this problem was prepared. The Board had useful consultations with British and American Army representatives. It was realised that large supplies of drugs would be required by the medical relief organisations in the devastated countries. Their control and distribution would obviously be a matter of prime importance. The Board therefore offered to place its knowledge and experience at the disposal of the competent authorities.

Information relating to the drug traffic, received by the Opium Board from all parts of the world, was more complete than in any previous war year. Sixty-six countries and ninety-nine colonies were covered by the League's Drug Conventions.

The League's Advisory Committee on Social Questions issued a report on the "Prevention of Prostitution." Chiefly concerned

with minors, it supplemented the previous inquiry into the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes. In its preparation outside experts and the International Labour Office collaborated with the League Committee.

International Assistance to Refugees.—To an increasing degree, in the year under review, the efforts to assist refugees directly sponsored by the League of Nations became bound up with those of other bodies. That was mainly because it had become more and more difficult to distinguish between the categories of refugees for which, after the last war, the League had been made responsible and the new categories which had since come into existence. By their respective mandates, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, U.N.R.R.A. and the War Refugee Board of the United States had all been allotted definite functions. Thus three organisations of a governmental character were concerned with various aspects of the refugee problem. All, either by the terms of their constitutions or by specific resolutions, had adopted the principle of co-operation with the senior organisation, the League High Commission. Most important of all, active co-operation did exist in practice. Sir Herbert Emerson, League High Commissioner for Refugees, was confirmed in office as Director of the Intergovernmental Committee. His colleague, Dr. G. G. Kullmann, was Deputy High Commissioner of the one body and Assistant Director of the other. The offices of the two organisations were in the same building in London, enabling continuous consultation. Sir Herbert also kept in constant touch with U.N.R.R.A. and, during his visit to the United States, attended in his dual capacity the meeting of U.N.R.R.A.'s Technical Committee on displaced persons.

It will be understood that there was comparatively little that could be done for the relief and settlement of refugees whilst the war lasted. Although some hundreds of persons were enabled to leave the Balkans with official consent, no way was found of rescuing the European refugees in large numbers. In the circumstances, whilst present efforts to do the little that was possible were never relaxed, the more profitable course was to look to the future and get an efficient post-war organisation in working order.

Midway through August the Intergovernmental Committee held in London its first plenary session since its reorganisation to fit it for its post-war responsibilities. Thirty-seven Governments—United Nations, their associates and neutrals—were represented. The delegates included also representatives of the I.L.O., U.N.R.R.A., the War Refugee Board, the International Red Cross and S.H.A.E.F. The chief business was to adopt new rules for constitution and procedure, thus giving formal expression to the new mandate. Many Governments promised help on the financial side, and in providing places of permanent or temporary refuge. The spirit at the London meeting appeared to promise a

large measure of that official sympathy and understanding, which might mean the difference between life and death for multitudes.

International Labour Organisation.—Among the chief organs of the League of Nations system, the International Labour Organisation stood during 1944 in a class by itself. It alone seemed unaffected by the "unknown quantities" of the future. It alone, in its work, reached a notable climax, which was at the same time a tribute to its far-sighted attitude during the difficult years of war and a promise of enhanced usefulness in the period of post-war reconstruction. ✓

That climax was the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference, which took place at Philadelphia between April 20 and May 12. Delegations from 41 countries were in attendance. Twenty-eight of these were tripartite—that is, composed of two Government representatives, an employers' representative and a workers' representative. There were 74 Government delegates, 28 employers' delegates and 30 workers' delegates, accompanied by 131 Government advisers, 43 employers' advisers and 54 workers' advisers, making a grand total of 360 delegates and advisers accredited to the Conference. In addition, the Governments of Iceland, Nicaragua, and Paraguay sent official observers.

The chief handicap experienced by the Conference was the absence of the U.S.S.R., who refused to participate owing to the I.L.O.'s association with the League of Nations. A virtual invitation to Russia met with no response but a savage denunciation of the I.L.O. in *Izvestia*, coupled with demands for changing the whole basis of the organisation which were clearly out of the question. Nevertheless, the Conference was confirmed in its conviction that some means ought to be found for getting Russian co-operation. Ironically enough, the German Press was simultaneously filled with attacks on the I.L.O. on completely different grounds from those of Soviet Russia.

After Miss Frances Perkins, American Secretary of Labour, had officially welcomed the Conference and read a message from President Roosevelt, the Hon. Walter Nash, Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, was unanimously elected President and the Conference settled down to deal with an extremely heavy agenda. To expedite the proceedings, committees were formed to deal with certain important questions, with a view to their eventually placing before the full Conference "general guiding principles" on the subjects before them.

Items I. and II. on the agenda—the future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation; and recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy—were made the subject of a full dress debate, to which 52 speakers from 32 countries contributed. After the most careful discussion and deliberation, the adoption by a unanimous vote of a "declaration concerning the aims and purposes

of the International Labour Organisation"—which at once became known as the Declaration of Philadelphia—was hailed as the first major achievement of the session. This emphatic and detailed statement, it was felt, would greatly strengthen the position of the I.L.O. in the post-war world. [See under Public Documents.]

One of the main resolutions adopted by the Conference contained a series of draft articles setting forth principles for inclusion in a treaty between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. It also included a number of specific recommendations to the United Nations concerning social provisions, suggestions to enable the Governing Body to give advice on labour provisions in the peace settlement, and an Australian proposal recommending Governments to call a conference to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment.

Two recommendations were adopted on employment organisation, and three on various aspects of social security. The holding of an Asiatic regional conference, for the discussion of social security questions, was recommended. Other measures covered colonial policy.

During the Conference, the representatives of the occupied countries held a number of meetings and, on the last day, M. Tixier (France), as spokesman of the group, read a declaration it had drafted. This stated that, whilst the liberated countries realised that they must undertake the work of reconstruction themselves, they felt justified in "counting upon the full collaboration" of less impoverished countries. A resolution upholding this view, proposed by Miss Perkins (U.S.A.) and seconded by Sir Frederick Leggett (British Government delegate), was unanimously approved.

With a resolution condemning the Nazis' crimes against the peoples of Europe, the Conference completed its business.

The Governing Body, meeting to plan the future activities of the International Labour Office, approved an expenditure in 1945 of 11,635,505 Swiss francs (about 670,634*l.*), *i.e.* about double the 1944 figure. That was in itself an indication of the I.L.O.'s adventurous outlook towards the future. Those responsible for directing and carrying out its policies were in the happy position of knowing that they enjoyed the goodwill of almost all the United Nations and neutrals. But for the objections of the U.S.S.R., the place of the I.L.O. in post-war international organisation would have been absolutely secure. As matters stood, that one obstacle to complete support for the International Labour Organisation still had to be overcome.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE AND ITALY

FRANCE

FOLLOWING the inclusion in the Vichy Government of Darnand towards the end of 1943, further changes were made in the early part of 1944 with a view to rendering it a more reliable instrument of Nazi policy. The chief of these was the replacing, on January 6, of Paul Marion as Secretary of State for Information and Propaganda by Philippe Henriot, an able journalist, who presented the case for Vichy with considerable force. Several members of the administration, whose loyalty to the Nazis was regarded as doubtful, were either dismissed or arrested. A series of measures for the better exploitation of French labour was crowned by the appointment, on March 16, of the notorious Fascist leader, Marcel Déat as Minister of Labour and National Security.

The most influential member in the reconstituted Ministry was Darnand, to whose militia the Germans had transferred their support from the P.P.F. of the now discredited Doriot. One of his first steps after his appointment as Secretary-General for the Maintenance of Order was to make a determined attempt to suppress the "Maquis" in the Haute-Savoie department, the chief centre of the Resistance Movement, where active fighting had taken place in the autumn of 1943. Rather unexpectedly the bands there were not only surviving the winter, but were showing signs of increasing strength. Towards the end of January a force of 3,000 police was sent to the Haute-Savoie, supported by a body of Darnand's Militia. The police showed no enthusiasm for the work, and the Militia proved unable to make headway against the maquisards. At the end of March the Germans found it necessary to intervene. In an action fought on the Plateau des Glières they inflicted heavy losses on the maquisards, themselves, however, losing 400 killed, 300 wounded, and two aircraft. Resistance still continued, but on a reduced scale.

Not only in the "Maquis" but also in the factories the resistance of both workmen and employers became more effective. To counter it the Nazi authorities made demands for the despatch of further French workmen to the Reich instead of employing them in French factories. They were zealously seconded by Déat, who declared the despatch of workers to Germany to be his first task. His appointment was followed by mass arrests in the larger towns, particularly of those suspected of evading conscription, or of helping others to do so. The Germans also took increasing action in rounding up Frenchmen for labour, either in France or in Germany.

Outside of France the Committee for National Liberation in Algiers displayed great activity. Along with General de Gaulle, it made vigorous efforts to procure further supplies of arms for the Resistance Movement, but without much success. On February 8 the Committee signed an agreement with Great Britain pegging the franc at 200 to the £. in all territories then administered by it. A Mutual Aid Agreement was also signed providing for the furnishing by each party, free of cost, of all military assistance which it was best able to contribute to the successful prosecution of the war. The Budget submitted to the Committee on February 4 provided for an expenditure of 42 milliards of francs, of which 35 milliards was for war expenditure.

The chief concern of the Committee was, however, the measures to be taken, during and after liberation, to establish a provisional Government in France as well as a new Parliament, and to provide for the interim administration of departments and communes as they were freed. After considering various plans, the Committee, on March 27, adopted one, of which the chief provisions were as follows. In municipalities, until election could take place, the councils elected before September 1, 1939, were to be retained or re-established, those appointed by Vichy being abolished. New appointments would be made by the Prefect in accordance with the advice of the departmental resistance council. In the departments the Conseils Généraux suspended by Vichy in 1940 would be re-established, subject to the dismissal of members who had collaborated with the enemy. Provisional departmental elections would take place within three months of the department's liberation. Within the same period, too, departmental delegates would be elected, on the basis of one per 150,000 inhabitants, to a Provisional Consultative Assembly which, on the liberation of two-thirds of Metropolitan France, including the Seine department, would become the Provisional Representative Assembly. After the constitution of the Assembly's bureau the Committee of National Liberation would resign and the Assembly would elect the President of the Provisional Government, who would form his Government and ask the Assembly for a vote of confidence.

Immediately after the adoption of this plan, and as a supplement to it, the Committee published an Ordinance—which had already been drawn up on March 14—dealing with the administration of territories in the course of their liberation. It laid down that during this period a delegate of the Committee should exercise all its statutory and administrative powers until it was itself in a position to do so directly. The Committee's delegate should be assisted by a military delegate who should see to the carrying out of the Committee's decisions with regard to the intervention of Resistance Movements in the enemy's rear, and who should ensure liaison between the various echelons of the Allied Command and French civil and military administration.

On March 4 the trial was begun, before a special military tribunal in Algiers, of Pucheu, former Vichy Minister of the Interior, for plotting against the security of the State, treason, illegal arrest, and misuse of authority. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that he had been one of the worst of the collaborators; nevertheless, the evidence against him adduced at the trial was not as conclusive as might have been expected. However, the Resistance Movement in France unanimously demanded his execution, and he was accordingly found guilty and shot on March 20.

On April 4 two Communist members were included in the Committee of National Liberation, one as Commissioner for Air and one as Commissioner without Portfolio. At the same time General de Gaulle became "Chief of the Armed Forces," an appointment which rendered superfluous General Giraud's position as Commander-in-Chief. General Giraud was offered the position of Inspector-General of French Forces, but he declined and was placed on the retired list. On May 15 the Consultative Assembly passed a resolution—which was confirmed by the Committee on June 6—that the Committee of National Liberation should be known as the "Provisional Government of the French Republic." As such it was immediately recognised by Poland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Czechoslovakia, Norway, and Sweden, but not by Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, whose refusal to do so caused great disappointment to the French. Protests were also made by the Committee against the inclusion of France in the diplomatic ban imposed on April 17 by the British Government (*vide* English History), on the ground that this bore much more hardly on France than on more distant countries.

In anticipation of an Allied invasion, the Germans in April evacuated large sections of the population from the coastal areas in the north-west and the south. At the same time the British and United States Air Forces commenced an intensive bombing of railways and other communications in France. Many civilians were killed in these raids, and much damage was done to property, including such famous buildings as the Cathedral of Rouen and the Sacré Cœur in Paris. The destruction of railways and bridges also made the food problem in large cities, especially Paris, much more acute.

Shortly before the Anglo-American landing in Normandy on June 6 full agreement was reached between the Allied High Command and the French authorities on the part to be taken by the French in the coming operations. Immediately after the landing General de Gaulle broadcast to the French public bidding them follow exactly the orders given by the French Government and the national and local leaders appointed by them, and calling on all who could take action to do so. The public responded wholeheartedly, disregarding entirely the contrary appeals made

by the Nazis and Vichy, and rendered valuable assistance to the Allies by disrupting German communications and similar activities. On June 9, the French Forces of the Interior were formally incorporated in the French Army, and on June 25 General Koenig was appointed their commander directly subordinate to General Eisenhower.

To the great chagrin of the French, the British and American Governments, up to the time of the invasion, had declined to make any formal agreement with regard to the administration of liberated territory, and General Eisenhower, in a broadcast on June 6, had seemed to intimate that the Allied military command in France would take over authority. None the less when, on June 13, the Provisional Government appointed M. Coulet as Commissioner for the Rouen district, with authority over the liberated districts of Normandy, the Allied authorities made no objection, and worked amicably with him. The enthusiasm with which General de Gaulle was received wherever he showed himself in Normandy left no doubt as to the sentiments of the population. Franco-British conversations on the administration of liberated territory were at length opened on June 19, and two draft agreements on this matter and also on the issue of French currency and on mutual aid were completed on July 3.

While the battle of Normandy was in progress French Forces of the Interior continued to harass the Germans in many parts of the country. It was estimated that they kept ten divisions engaged. After their defeat at the Falaise Gap in August the Germans began to retreat in all haste to the German frontier, closely pursued by the British Second Army and the American First and Third Armies. On August 17 an appeal was broadcast from Algiers to the population of Paris calling for a general strike and the prevention of enemy demolitions. On the 19th the Préfecture de Police was occupied by strikers, and 50,000 F.F.I., supported by hundreds of thousands of unarmed patriots, rose in insurrection. Sporadic fighting with the German garrison took place for four days, at the end of which the Germans asked for an armistice. This was granted by General Koenig, who had been nominated Military Governor of Paris. The German Commander broke the armistice, but at this point American and French troops under General Leclerc appeared on the scene, and the German Commander surrendered to General Leclerc on August 25. On the same evening General de Gaulle entered Paris, and on the next day, amid scenes of tremendous enthusiasm, he went on foot, along with Generals Koenig, Leclerc, and Juin, from the Arc de Triomphe to the Place de la Concorde and Notre Dame, where a "Te Deum" was sung. As General de Gaulle was about to enter the Cathedral some shots were fired at him by unknown snipers, but he escaped unhurt. Immediately after, by agreement with Great Britain and the United States, the Provisional Government took over the administration of liberated France.

On August 16 the American Seventh Army under General Patch landed on the south coast of France. It included a large French contingent drafted from Italy, where it had greatly distinguished itself under the command of General Juin. French troops entered Toulon on August 22 and Marseilles on the next day, and, under the command of General de Lattre de Tassigny, and with the active assistance of the F.F.I., played an important part in clearing the Germans out of the Rhone valley and Southern and South-western France, including the port of Bordeaux, which was captured practically intact. By the end of September the whole of France had been liberated with the exception of Dunkirk, Brest, and a few other ports, and a small portion of Alsace-Lorraine, including Strasbourg, Metz, and the Territoire de Belfort. The Vichy Government fled to Germany—not, however, before Philippe Henriot had been executed by men of the Resistance Movement (June 28). In revenge Darnand's Militia murdered M. Georges Mandel as he was being driven to the Santé prison in Paris.

On August 30 the seat of the Provisional Government was officially transferred from Algiers to Paris. General de Gaulle assumed the title of President of the Council (Prime Minister), and on September 9 reconstructed the Ministry; M. Bidault became Foreign Minister in place of M. Massigli, who was appointed Ambassador in London. France was proclaimed a Republic, and the so-called "French State" of Vichy was declared to be abolished with all its laws. Press censorship was abolished except for military reasons, and a large number of papers began to appear in Paris, including several of the former clandestine journals. The two great Trade Unions, the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) and the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (C.F.T.C.), came out into the open.

In the early days of the liberation the F.F.I., who still retained their own organisation, showed a disposition to take the law into their own hands in dealing with collaborators, and committed many acts of violence. By a decree published at the end of September, they were formally enrolled in the Army, becoming subject to military discipline and under the authority of the Ministry of War. They remained on active service, and were to be reorganised into regular units, while retaining their own identity. Their disarmament, however, was not effected without a good deal of friction and protest.

After the execution of Pucheu in March the purge had continued in Algiers, though at a very moderate pace. The chief victims were General Blanc and Colonel Magnin, the latter of whom was condemned to death and the former to 20 years solitary confinement in July. On September 15 M. Menthon, the Minister of Justice, stated that in every Department a court of justice would be set up to try, in separate categories, cases of treason and collaboration under the legislation in force on June 16, 1940.

By the end of the month it was announced that 20,000 persons had been arrested on charges of collaboration in France. Owing, however, to lack of information and bad communications, proceedings were rather dilatory, and the Press clamoured loudly for a more drastic application of the purge.

On October 9 the Consultative Assembly was enlarged to 248 members, of whom 151 came from the Resistance Movement. The Assembly met on November 7 and remained in session till the end of the year. On October 12 an ordinance was published fixing the manner in which the new and enlarged consultative Assembly would be chosen, and stating the obligation of the Government to consult it on the Budget and on proposals touching "individual liberties, the organisation of public authorities, and the social and economic structure of the country." On October 23 General de Gaulle's Administration was at last recognised as the Provisional Government of France by Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, and also by Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and Brazil. On November 10 Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden visited Paris, and Mr. Churchill received the freedom of the city and conferred with General de Gaulle on questions concerning the conduct of the war and the preparation of the peace. In December General de Gaulle went to Moscow, and on the 10th signed there a treaty of alliance and mutual assistance with the Soviet Government, to be valid for twenty years. [See under Public Documents.] On October 6 the Council of Ministers rejected a request from Syria and the Lebanon that France should relinquish control of the special security police there, commanded by French officers.

In the closing months of the year the French Army in Alsace recovered Strasbourg and Metz and drove the Germans in many places across the frontier. French forces also maintained the siege of Dunkirk, Brest, and the other ports still held by the Germans, but were unable to reduce them owing to lack of equipment. Some progress was made with the restoration of bridges and railways, but owing to military demands on transport this brought no improvement in the food and fuel situation in the big towns, and with the approach of winter suffering became acute. An insistent demand was made in a large part of the Press for the nationalisation of industry, and on September 28 the Council of Ministers decided on a form of nationalisation of the coal-mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais departments, and on the requisition of the Renault motor works.

ITALY

At the beginning of the year Allied and German armies were facing one another on a line running from the mouth of the Garigliano River on the Tyrrhenian Sea, north-west of the Bay of Naples, to Ortona on the Adriatic. The country west and

north of this line was under a Fascist administration controlled by the Germans; east and south it was under a monarchist Government headed by Marshal Badoglio, and under the control of the United Nations Advisory Council for Italy.

Though devoid of any real power, Mussolini was able to wreak his vengeance on the men who had brought about his deposition. On January 8 five of them were brought to trial at Verona, and on the 11th four of these, including Count Ciano and Marshal de Bono, were shot, while fourteen others, including Grandi, Alfieri, Bastianini, and Bottai, were condemned in their absence. Special tribunals for judging "Fascists who betrayed Italy" were set up in Rome, Turin, and other towns, and many arrests were made of officials, officers, journalists, and professors.

The landing of Allied forces at Nettuno, near Rome, on January 22 caused great excitement among the anti-Fascists in Northern Italy. The German authorities found it advisable to impose a curfew throughout the occupied territory "for the maintenance of public order and to suppress attacks by Fifth-Columnists," besides carrying out many arrests and executions, but none the less numerous acts of sabotage took place. Strikes became widespread, involving at one time hundreds of thousands of workers, and on February 12 drastic regulations were issued by the Fascist authorities for checking them. As a result of Allied bombing and German repression the condition of the population of Rome, which had been swollen to 2,500,000 by the influx of refugees, became pitiable; on March 9 it was reported that the city was without water, gas, or electricity, with the hospitals full of sick and wounded.

In the southern portion of the country Marshal Badoglio's Government co-operated energetically with the Allied forces and took vigorous steps to purge the public services of Fascist elements. On February 11 the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, in accordance with a recommendation made in December by the Allied Advisory Council, handed over to Italian jurisdiction the territories south of the northern boundary of the provinces of Salerno and Potenza, together with Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that central and local administration should be carried out by officials of "proven good faith and Allied sympathies." Immediately afterwards a Royal decree was issued abolishing all anti-Semitic laws in the liberated territory. On March 13 diplomatic relations were established between Italy and Russia.

On January 28 and 29 the six political groups represented on the Committee of National Liberation held their congress at Bari, permission for which had been given in December on condition that the number of delegates did not exceed ninety. It was described as the first free political meeting in Italy since the advent of Mussolini. A Council of six members was elected as

permanent executive, and the abdication of King Victor Emmanuel was unanimously called for, and made a condition for the Committee's co-operation with the Badoglio Government.

A change in the Committee's attitude on this point was brought about soon after by the Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti, commonly known as Ercole Ercoli, who at the end of March arrived in Southern Italy from Moscow, after an exile of fifteen years. To the general surprise Togliatti—inspired, it was thought, from Moscow—strongly advocated co-operation with the Badoglio Government, while leaving in abeyance the question of the abdication of the King. He had no difficulty in persuading the Communist Party to accept this policy, and the other parties in the Committee of Liberation, with the exception of the Action Party, gradually came over to the same view, especially when they were informed by Count Sforza and Signor Benedetto Croce that the King had given them a promise to retire from public life and appoint his son, the Prince of Piedmont, Lieutenant of the Realm, as soon as Rome was freed. A broadcast statement to this effect was made by the King on April 12. The Council thereupon consented to co-operate, and on April 21 Marshal Badoglio formed a new Government in which Signor Croce, Signor Togliatti, Count Sforza, Signor de Rodino, leader of the Christian Democrats, and Signor Mancini, a leading Socialist, became Ministers without Portfolio. On April 24 Ministers took the oath of allegiance to the King, and on the 27th the prosecution of the war was declared to be the Government's primary policy. Steps were also taken to improve the machinery of food distribution in Southern Italy.

On June 4-5 the Allied Armies entered Rome amid scenes of wild enthusiasm. Amgot officials who came with them to restore civil administration found that the damage was much less than at Naples, and by the end of June the city had a rationed electric current for lighting and cooking and a skeleton service of trams and trolley-buses. The bread ration which, under the Germans, had been only 100 grammes a day, was increased immediately to 150 grammes, and on June 28 to 200 grammes. 3,000 carabinieri were brought from Naples for police purposes, under the command of Allied officers. On June 13 Prince Filippo Doria-Pamphili was installed Mayor of Rome. Energetic steps, estimated to affect 30,000 persons, were taken to remove Fascists from all positions of trust, and efforts—not very successful—were made to control the black market.

On June 5 King Victor, in accordance with his promise, appointed his son Umberto his Lieutenant-General, with power to exercise all royal prerogatives without exception, though he did not formally abdicate. Immediately afterwards a number of members of the Government refused to serve any longer under Marshal Badoglio, who accordingly, on June 8, resigned. A new all-party Government was formed on the next day by Signor

Bonomi, who had been Premier in pre-Fascist days and had retired from public life in 1922. Signor Bonomi made it a condition of accepting office that the Lieutenant-General would promise to summon a constituent assembly on the conclusion of hostilities, and that the oath of allegiance should be of a form which would not commit Ministers to support the Dynasty. Count Sforza, Signor Croce, and Signor Togliatti remained members of the new Government, which had to wait till June 18 before it obtained Allied approval.

With the advance of the Allied forces northwards the Resistance Movement in Northern Italy became more and more active. On May 22 it was reported that a military council had been formed in Naples of representatives of General Alexander and members of the Italian staff to guide the operations of patriots in North and Central Italy, and it was officially announced that 6 of the 25 German divisions in Italy had been sent north to fight against Italian patriots or Yugoslav partisans in the frontier areas. A warning was issued by the Germans that patriots who did not give themselves up and surrender their arms by May 25 would be treated as outlaws and shot. This resulted, according to Fascist reports, in the surrender of 39,995 "outlaws," but a much larger number than this remained active.

On July 15 the Bonomi Government transferred its headquarters from Salerno to Rome, and Signor Croce resigned, preferring to remain at Naples. It was decided formally to incorporate the partisans in the Army, in recognition of their heroic resistance in Northern Italy. The purge of Fascists was energetically prosecuted by Count Sforza, who proposed that out of 420 Senators 309 should be deprived of office. On September 11 an order was issued for the seizure of the property of several notorious Fascists—Farinacci, Grandi, Rossone, Starace, and others. On October 14 Azzolini, former Governor of the Bank of Italy, was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment. When the trial of Pietro Caruso, who had been Chief of the Police in Rome during the last three months of the German occupation, opened on September 18, a violent riot took place, and the mob, not being able to get hold of Caruso, seized Dr. Donato Carretta, Director of the Rome Prison, and lynched him. Order was only restored by the efforts of Colonel Pollock, head of the Allied Police. This incident was adversely noted in a statement issued by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill from Quebec on September 25, and the Italian people were urged to prevent a recurrence of such acts. Caruso was found guilty on September 21 and shot the next day.

On July 20 the Allied Control Commission announced the transfer to Italian jurisdiction of the provinces of Foggia, Campobasso, Benevento, Avellino, and Naples, with the exception of the commune of Naples, which was to remain under direct control of the Allied authorities. On August 15 Rome and its province,

together with the provinces of Littoria and Frosinone, were likewise transferred. This was followed on October 16 by the transfer of Viterbo, Rieti, Aquila, Chieti, Pescara, and Teramo. On July 27 control of the Press was transferred from Allied to Italian authority. In the Quebec statement of September 25 it was announced that the Allied Control Commission would be known as the Allied Commission to mark the handing over of greater authority to Italy, that the British High Commissioner would assume the title of Ambassador, and that the Italian Government would be invited to send representatives to London and Washington. Similar recognition was accorded by other States, and on October 27 Signor Bonomi was able to assert that Italy was no longer isolated from the world diplomatically.

The Government had not been long in office before the six parties represented in it commenced to quarrel among themselves. At a Cabinet Council on September 26, in response to an appeal from the Premier, Ministers pledged themselves to observe the political truce and suspend agitation for far-reaching social changes till the whole country could be consulted. Before long, however, dissensions broke out again, especially over the methods used in cleansing the Administration of Fascists and the control of the Ministry of the Interior. On November 26 Signor Bonomi resigned, but was persuaded by his colleagues to reconsider his decision. He offered the post of Foreign Secretary to Count Sforza, but the British Government expressed disapproval of this choice, and Count Sforza resigned. The Action, Socialist, and Communist Parties thereupon refused to take office under Signor Bonomi. Later the Communists reversed this decision for the sake of national unity, and they entered a Cabinet formed by Signor Bonomi on December 10 along with members of the Labour, Democratic, and Liberal Parties. The Government contained a new Ministry for dealing with territories occupied by the enemy, who was still in possession of the Po valley.

Economic conditions in the liberated areas continued to be very bad. A memorandum drawn up by the Italian General Confederation of Labour declared that the plight of the workers and their families was unbearable, that they were suffering from hunger, and in danger of "utter moral and physical ruin." The Confederation made a number of proposals on their behalf, of which the chief was that a cost-of-living allowance of 50 lire a day should be given to all male workers where earnings were less than 3,000 lire a month. This was approved by the Cabinet on September 4. Outside help was also forthcoming. On September 8 President Roosevelt stated at Washington that already fuel had been sent from Britain and agricultural material and food from the United States to the value of 100,000,000 dollars. On September 23 the U.N.R.R.A. Council in Montreal agreed to allot 50,000,000 dollars to Italy for medical care and for

displaced persons. A report issued by the Allied Commission on October 30 stated that factories in Italy had resumed the production of paper, soap, steel, silk, cement, bricks, chemicals, matches, fertilisers, textiles, hemp, and other things, and the Allies were doing all they could to help them to procure raw materials. Great hardship still prevailed, however, and food riots took place in Rome in December.

The liberation of Sicily was followed by a strong separatist movement in the island. On August 31 the Cabinet of Signor Bonomi, while opposing separation, pronounced in favour of a policy of decentralisation and regional autonomy. On October 19 and 21 serious bread riots, for which Sicilian separatists were held to be largely responsible, took place at Palermo. On October 30 the Cabinet allotted further sums to develop Sicilian industry and agriculture, bringing the total up to 2,000 million lire. In December demonstrations took place at Catania and other Sicilian cities against the calling up of the 1921 and 1922 classes. On December 21 the Government announced that it intended to introduce a "great experiment of regional independence," but there could be no question of dividing the country into separate States, and it would continue, therefore, to fight Sicilian separatism.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY

FOUR outstanding events marked the year 1944 for Germany: decisive military defeats in the East and the West, the attempt on Hitler's life, the domination of the Army by the Nazi Party, and the slow but sure disintegration of the home front.

The Military Defeats.—The progress of the war smashed the walls of the Nazis' "Fortress of Europe" and forced Germany to be on the defensive. [For the German reverses during the year, see under English History and U.S.S.R.] Nor was this all. The liberation of France, Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, all the occupied Soviet territory and parts of Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Holland was a grievous blow to Germany in that her supplies of raw materials and food were seriously diminished. It was not surprising that discontent was rife and began to show itself. Long before D-Day a tense atmosphere in the leading quarters in Germany could be felt which was reminiscent of the weeks preceding the purge of June 30, 1934.

In February, Lieutenant-Generals von Heyking and Graf Sponeck and Major-General Voelk were sentenced to death by a Court Martial. Heyking and Voelk were shot whilst Sponeck

was reprieved but reduced in rank. It became known that these three commanders refused to sacrifice their troops amid hopeless conditions on the Eastern Front, as demanded by the gang of extreme Nazis who were resolved to fight to the last man wherever and whenever they deemed it necessary.

Conflicts with responsible military leaders, particularly of General Staff education, were unavoidable. Matters slowly came to a head. A move in the direction of merging the Army and the Nazi Party was the appointment of an Inspector-General for the education of Army officers in order to increase the grip of Nazi ideology on the officer class. The creation of this new post was an indication that the political reliability of officers was not considered satisfactory.

Those Generals who were promoted on Hitler's birthday were in no need of education in Nazi philosophy; the promotion of Colonel-General Model to the rank of Field-Marshal and that of Generals Hube, Harpe, Schoerner, and Rendulic to the ranks of Colonel-Generals showed more than ever that adherence to the Nazi creed was more important for promotion than military ability.

But suspicion was not abated. About the middle of May Dr. Goebbels wrote that the vigilance of the party "precluded the danger of a formidable opposition being formed." Goebbels' warning was given about three weeks before D-Day. After June 6 a remarkable number of changes and of deaths occurred within the ranks of German army commanders. The supreme command in the Western theatre of war had been given to Field-Marshal von Rundstedt, under whom Field-Marshal Rommel, remembered for his part in the North African campaign, and Colonel-General Blaskowitz acted as Group Commanders. Rundstedt and Blaskowitz represented the highest category of General Staff Officers. Rundstedt was in the mind of General Groener, in 1933, the then Minister of War, when he declared that Germany was unable to wage war owing to the lack of capable army chiefs except two—one of whom was Rundstedt. Rommel, although far from being an outstanding strategist, was renowned for his daring spirit. Under this triumvirate a number of high-ranking officers was employed, such as Colonel-General Dollmann, and the notorious gangster Sepp Dietrich as Commander of the Waffen-S.S. units.

Three weeks after the beginning of the Anglo-American offensive, Colonel-General Dollmann died suddenly, and a week later Field-Marshal von Rundstedt was replaced by Field-Marshal von Kluge. Rundstedt's dismissal was difficult to explain, and Dollmann's death remained a mystery. According to the official version he had a seizure during a meeting with Rommel and Dietrich.

About the same time, on June 23, Colonel-General Dietl,

a devoted follower of Hitler's, the commander of the German forces on the northernmost section of the Eastern Front, was killed in an aeroplane accident. His funeral provided Hitler with an opportunity of uttering a stern warning against any opposition within the Army—so stern that the official *communiqué* left out Hitler's admonition: "May they (Officers and Generals) learn above all, particularly in times of crisis, to cast out any idea that the end of the war can be achieved by anything but German victory."

The Attempt on Hitler's Life.—The public learnt what Hitler had in mind when the explosion occurred on July 20—an explosion in more than the literal sense.

On Thursday, July 20, at 6.30 P.M., an official *communiqué* was read over all German Broadcasting Stations that a dynamite attack had been made on Hitler. He was only slightly hurt, whereas a man called "Collaborator" Berger (known to be Hitler's double) and twelve officers were more or less severely wounded. The *communiqué* added that Hitler went on with his work "at once." Within the following three days Berger and two officers died, one of them General Korten, Chief-of-Staff of the Luftwaffe; some weeks later General Schmudt, Head of the Personnel Office of the Wehrmacht, also died.

The second official *communiqué* followed at 10 P.M. It contained a new item: "the attempt is proof of the vile character of the enemy."

Three hours later, on Friday, July 21, at 1 A.M., a Broadcast Address was given by Hitler trembling with emotion. He accused a "very small clique of ambitious, unconscientious, and at the same time criminally foolish officers." He insisted that no civil or military office-holder should carry out orders given by any of the "usurpers." Furthermore, he announced the appointment of Himmler as Supreme Commander of the Home Army and of Colonel-General Guderian as Chief of the General Staff to succeed General Zeitzler who—according to Hitler—had fallen ill. Zeitzler's name was not mentioned; nor was that of Colonel-General Fromm, the former Chief of the Home Army.

Hitler was followed on the microphone by Admiral Doenitz, who addressed the Navy, and later by Field-Marshal Goering, who, for the first time, revealed a name. Goering accused Colonel Graf von Stauffenberg of having thrown the bomb, "on the orders of a base clique of former Generals who had been cashiered owing to cowardly and miserable conduct."

The second announcement told a story different from the first. Instead of connecting the deed with the "vile character of the enemy," it was now described as a "cowardly attempt of treacherous elements." At 3.15 A.M. the public was assured that the conspiracy had completely collapsed and that the ring-leaders had committed suicide or had been shot, as was Count Stauffenberg.

In the early afternoon of Friday, an official spokesman revealed that the conspirators were "two Generals and their aide-de-camps or collaborators"; another official spokesman further mentioned Colonel-General Beck, Chief of the General Staff until 1938, probably the most brilliant officer of Hitler's Army.

During the next two days these statements were the basis of official explanations. The "small clique" varied between "a handful of traitors" and "some few, partly retired officers." Yet, on Saturday night the curious fact was published that this group "was sand in our war machine and this sand will now be washed away." This dark saying was explained on July 26 when the complete militarisation of Germany was announced.

Another consequence of more symbolic yet very significant character was the replacement of the military salute by the Hitler salute. It was clear that the Prussian military tradition was finally thrown overboard.

When making the announcement on July 26, Goebbels characterised Hitler's escape as nothing short of a miracle. This theme was taken up by thousands of Nazi agents and served in subsequent months as proof that, despite alarming reverses, Providence would not forsake the Germans.

"At the request of the Army" Hitler set up a "Court of Honour," presided over by Rundstedt, to deal with the conspirators. The task of this Court was "to expel" the culprits from the Army. Thirteen officers, among them General von Hase, Commandant of Berlin, Field-Marshal von Witzleben and Colonel-General Hoepner—both temporarily retired although formerly praised and honoured by Hitler for their part in the campaigns of 1939-41—were cashiered and handed over to the People's Court which, under its President, the notorious lunatic, Roland Freisler, sentenced all the defendants to death. Such was the mean spitefulness of the Nazi bosses that they refused the request of the accused to appear before their judges properly dressed. Not even collars and ties were allowed them. The accused were hanged two hours after promulgation of the sentence—so the official announcement exultingly told the world. The gallows with the bodies still hanging on them were mounted on lorries and carried through the streets of Berlin, followed by the relatives of the victims who, after this abominable spectacle, were themselves shot. Two other culprits, Colonel-General Beck and General Olbricht, escaped this fate, unique in the history of the Prussian Army. As soon as their failure was obvious, Olbricht committed suicide, but Beck's attempt failed and he received the *coup-de-grâce* from Colonel-General Fromm.

A second group of officers, mostly members of the General Staff, were likewise to be dealt with by the "Court of Honour," but nothing was heard of their trial or their fate. Among them was the well-known General Feilgiebel. There is little doubt, however, that they too were shot.

Yet, even before the first group was sentenced, the Nazi authorities revealed that the events of July 20 were by no means confined to the alleged "handful" of retired officers who in fact numbered about thirty, all but two having held responsible posts. On July 31 the extraordinary reward of a million marks was offered for the arrest of Karl Goerdeler, former Oberbürgermeister (Mayor) of Leipzig. Goerdeler, a competent Civil Servant, member of the German Nationalist Party, Reich Commissioner for Price Control in 1931-32, and again in 1934-35, was known as an opponent of the Nazis ever since 1933. So far there has been no proof that Goerdeler was involved in the conspiracy. It took nearly four weeks to apprehend Goerdeler, and the circumstances of his arrest, as officially published, gave ground for rumours that in fact he had not been caught. Whilst the trial of the Witzleben group was broadcast and published by the newspapers in all details, in the case of Goerdeler and his associates only the mere fact of the death sentence was announced. They included Wilhelm Leuschner, the former Minister of the Interior of Hessen, a prominent Socialist and a powerful and popular personality, and Ulrich von Hassell, the former Ambassador to Rome, an outstanding Diplomatist who never concealed his dislike of the Nazi regime. The fate of Goerdeler, Leuschner, and von Hassell was shared by Lejeune-Jung, a former Conservative member of the Reichstag; Wirmer, a lawyer and former member of the Roman Catholic Party; von Trott zu Solz, a councillor in the Foreign Office and at one time a Rhodes Scholar who had been associated with the Left Wing of the Democratic Party, and Graf von Helldorff, a strange figure in this group of honourable men. Helldorff was among the first members of the party, a professional Jew-baiter and blackmailer, at one time Police President of Potsdam and later of Berlin, the model of the perfect Nazi gangster, who may have attempted not "to miss the bus."

Arrests were made among high and low ranking members of all former political parties all over Germany, and many were executed. Thus the view which had long been obtaining support seemed to be borne out by events—that before the final debacle Himmler would wipe out all possible successors in order to facilitate his own rise to supreme power.

Gradually the facts about the attempt of July 20 became known. It appeared not to have been a spontaneous act, and was not caused by the success of the Allied invasion in France. The driving forces seemed to have been Colonel-General Fromm and General Olbricht, Chief of the Army Supply Office. His aide-de-camp was Graf von Stauffenberg, who deposited the time-bomb in Hitler's headquarters and left by plane for Berlin before the explosion occurred. As it was assumed that Hitler and all members of the Army Command had been killed, Olbricht and the officers involved gave orders from the War Ministry in Berlin

to all commanding officers of the Home Army to arrest party and S.S. leaders. The failure of the plot was due chiefly to the weakness of Fromm, who lost his nerve and refused to proceed when these orders were given. In Vienna and Hamburg it took a day or two before the Nazi regime was fully restored. In most other places the orders of the rebels were not obeyed; above all in Berlin the attempt was abortive. Thus ended the first attempt at the overthrow of the Nazi regime.

The S.S. and Gestapo let loose their indiscriminate beastliness against countless people whether involved in the plot or not. It is estimated that altogether some 20,000 people, including many women, were executed, and it was reported that arrests were still being made as late as November.

The turn of events placed Himmler in supreme control of the State. He was made Supreme Commander of the Home Army and also Supreme Controller of the Munitions Industries. Himmler wielded all power, with Goebbels as an important second. The sinister Bormann, Chief of the Party Chancellery, remained in the background, whilst Goering receded from the limelight once more after several ups and downs during the war.

Himmler's power showed itself when he ordered a radical comb-out of the Home Army; all able-bodied officers and soldiers were to be sent to the front and those physically unfit to war factories. The task of increasing industrial personnel still further was entrusted to Goebbels, who was made "Reich Plenipotentiary for total mobilisation." It appeared to have been forgotten that "total mobilisation" had already been proclaimed before—after the Stalingrad disaster, early in 1943.

Goebbels' first act was to raise the age-limit of women liable to industrial conscription from 45 to 50, to terminate faked labour contracts, and to close all schools of acting. Cinemas with 400 seats were ordered to introduce one-price tickets so as to dispense with usherettes. Later, Stock Exchanges were restricted to business for two hours on two days a week. No great results could be expected from these measures. Yet, a reshuffling of public administration staffs was well worth while. A local Labour Exchange reported that until November 15, 484 men and women out of 489, victims of total mobilisation, who had been combed out of public administration, households, and the catering trade, had been placed in "essential jobs." Later, in August, working hours were increased to 60 per week throughout public offices and industry; while production in a number of industries was stopped entirely.

In the second half of September the results of the second "total mobilisation" became manifest. The output of war material increased. New Army units called "The People's Grenadiers" appeared in the defence of Western Germany. These units consisted of Nazi Stormtroopers, soldiers left over

from formations routed in France, and civilians who had proved "excellent rifle-men."

The Domination of the Army by the Nazi Party.—A month later, on October 18, the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig in 1813, Himmler, at a public meeting in East Prussia, inaugurated another new unit, the "Volkssturm." He read out a proclamation by Hitler that every male German between 16 and 60 became liable to service in the "Volkssturm."

Two facts, however, emerged on October 18. Although the "Volkssturm" was to be considered part of the Army, it was under the orders of Himmler, assisted by a triumvirate of high-ranking party men (among them Bormann) to exercise commanding power. Furthermore, it was announced that anybody holding a commission in the "Volkssturm" who, in a given set of circumstances in the field, considered the military situation hopeless, must hand over his command to "any soldier, be it the youngest," who was willing to continue the struggle. This was not only contrary to the Leader principle—a pillar of Nazi doctrine—but was yet another indication of the break with the Prussian Army tradition.

In November, the final result of the protracted struggle for power over the Army became apparent. On November 15 an amendment to the Wehrmacht Act was promulgated. Prior to that soldiers were forbidden to engage in political activities; membership of the Nazi Party was suspended during military service. This was now cancelled. Members of the Army were ordered to profess Nazi principles inside and outside the barracks. Officers and N.C.O.'s were bound "to lead and educate" their troops in the Nazi spirit. On November 16 a new military oath was introduced which contained these sentences: "I believe in the German people united in National Socialism. . . . I believe as a National Socialist soldier in my Leader, Adolf Hitler."

The wheels had turned full circle. Ten years before, on June 30, 1934, Roehm, Hitler's friend and Stormtroop Leader, as well as many others, had been murdered at the instigation of the Army Command because Roehm was in favour of the merging of Party and Army. At that time the Generals believed that they, in fact, held power over Germany. Yet, on June 30, 1934, the Generals helped Himmler to seize power, and he did not stop short of the traditional military caste. In October Rundstedt, the foremost representative of the old Prussian school, was back as Supreme Commander in the West (Kluge had died in August, and Rommel in October—from wounds said to have been received in July, but indications were not wanting that Rommel was involved in the plot of July 20, and his death was due in all probability to a Nazi bullet, after the short-lived Command of Field-Marshal Model). There can be no doubt that the last barriers between the Nazi Party and the German Army were swept away in 1944.

The Disintegration of the Home Front.—In January, 1944, Himmler had convened a meeting in Breslau of high Civil Servants from all over the Reich and explained "new methods of administration." The aim was to adapt the State administration to that of the Party. This lesson, however, seems to have yielded no satisfactory results; at the end of the year the Nazi Press urged with that uniformity which reveals official direction, that "an overhaul of the whole State machinery" was called for, and was actually being carried out. No increase was needed in the iron grip by which the public was held by Himmler. The terror went on along the usual lines. Much prominence was given to the death sentence on a high official of the Reich Railways who was executed for calumnies against the Government and attempts to influence others. The draconian sentences for offences against war economy, listening to foreign broadcasts, slanders on Party officials became legion, to say nothing of the quiet indiscriminate extermination of all those who were suspected of defeatism or approval of the attempt of July 20.

The air war produced many problems for the German Home Front, particularly in Berlin, of which Goebbels was appointed "Stadtpräsident". The evacuation of those who had been bombed out of their homes, and of the inhabitants of towns which were potential targets created growing difficulties, to say nothing of the problem of compensation for bomb damage. A new kind of economic activity appeared in the Nazi Reich: "ruin hunting," i.e., the acquisition at low prices of demolished houses for the purpose of speculation. An order issued by Himmler in March laid down new rules for registering births and deaths "owing to the air war." The reason was that air raids were frequently used by all sorts of people—anti-Nazis, deserters from the Army, conscripted workmen—"to disappear underground" and then come to the surface as someone else in possession of identity papers which were traded by agencies in several large cities.

The troubles caused by the air war were augmented when the Russian advance threatened East Prussia in the summer and when the Allied approach to Western Germany upset life in the Rhineland and Westphalia. The retreat of the German armies, or what was left of them, from France and Belgium coincided with mass evacuations from Western Germany and military reinforcements moving westward. There is little doubt that civil and military conditions in Western Germany were near to breaking point in September.

During the year the much vaunted German cultural activities were thrown overboard altogether. Activities at the Universities were reduced mainly to subjects useful in the war effort, and only a limited number of students were allowed to continue with their courses. Theatres were closed throughout the Reich in August and actors and actresses were directed to war industries. More

newspapers and periodicals ceased publication, but care was taken not to interfere with genuine Nazi organs.

How did the people live during 1944? As clothing coupons were suspended in August, 1943, special permits were issued to meet special emergencies. Yet, the Gauleiter in Bremen admitted that even holders of such permits could not rely on obtaining commodities. It became increasingly difficult for bombed-out people to have their losses replaced. In Frankfurt on the Main, it was announced after a heavy raid that permits would only be granted to those who were without a suit of clothes or a pair of boots.

In January the butter ration was reduced and dripping given instead, while in January and February an additional ration of pork was issued. Since October the fat ration was 870 grammes for four weeks—that is, on paper; in fact, only 620 grammes were obtainable, and beef and mutton in substitution for the remainder. The additional supply of meat was not caused by a corresponding increase but by emergency slaughtering owing to lack of fodder. The expectation that the number of pigs and cattle would increase to the pre-war figure was disappointed. The 1943 potato harvest was much below the estimate. Consequently the potato ration was reduced at the beginning of 1944; the cut amounted to one-third for households, and to 50 per cent. for restaurants. This was a bitter blow, since other vegetables were also on short supply.

In October the bread ration was cut, including the allocation for heavy industrial workers. At the same time beer production was curtailed and the ersatz coffee ration lowered for the second time in 1944. Likewise in October sugar supplies for bakeries ceased and cakes disappeared altogether, after chocolate production had been forbidden as from January 1, 1944.

Foreign Policy.—The range of German foreign policy dwindled further in 1944. Relations with what was left of the Italian ally had of necessity only a "token" character. The Japanese alliance mainly served propaganda purposes; every now and again when events in the European theatre of war took a bad turn for the Nazis, much prominence was given to Japan—either to alleged Japanese victories or to the Japanese "contempt of death" as a model for German soldiers and civilians.

Of the minor German allies Rumania broke away in August, Bulgaria and Finland in September, the latter after several abortive attempts. The last, in June, was checked by Ribbentrop, who hurried to Helsinki with promises of additional German aid which never came. The Nazi hold on the quisling Governments of Croatia and Slovakia increased as their territories were reduced in size by the advance of Tito's units and of the Red Army. German policy in those countries went on as before; the most noticeable event occurred in Denmark, where the occupying

authorities were defeated by a general strike. [See under Denmark.]

Nazi foreign policy—if the term can be applied to the disgusting mixture of diplomatic, militarist, and underworld methods—celebrated its last triumph over against the semi-ally, Hungary. When German troops occupied Hungary in March, the procedure was familiar, and the Kallay Government was replaced by an administration presided over by Sztojay, the former Minister in Berlin. The real master, however, was Veesenmayer, the newly appointed German Minister in Budapest and “Plenipotentiary of the Reich,” a proved S.S. man. Nevertheless, Sztojay was followed by the Lakatos Government which, although subservient outwardly, tried to pave the way to the Allied camp. In October, after a previous warning by the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, the Nazis swept away the façade of Hungarian independence.

Of the neutral States Argentina broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in January, and Turkey on August 2, after Turkish supplies had ceased earlier in the year. Sweden, too, stopped her supplies, and Spain considerably curtailed hers. The anti-German trend of public opinion increased both in Sweden and Switzerland. In both countries several members of their respective German Legations, as well as a number of German newspaper correspondents, publicly turned their backs on the Nazi Party.

Germans abroad who had been such an asset to Nazi policy in previous years became a growing liability to the German Home administration. The loss of widespread countries where so-called “re-settlers” had been established, entailed their withdrawal to Germany proper when German armies were forced back to their frontiers. In August it was announced that 908,000 Germans had been “brought back” to the Reich since 1939. The bulk of the migrants was temporarily or permanently settled in the annexed Western Polish territories, and it is fair to assume that the great trek westward was by no means concluded by August, 1944.

Nazi Propaganda.—It was hard going for Nazi propaganda in 1944. The psychological preparations for an unfavourable outcome of the war increased as the military situation became worse. People in distress as a result of air raids were comforted by Goebbels with the reflection that those who have lost everything are free from undue worries and should devote their whole energy to the national effort. The disappearance of public belief in victory was admitted in an article in Himmler’s weekly, *Das Schwarze Korps*. To bolster up the doubters, a new series of air raids on London was begun in February. The manner in which they were utilised by German propaganda revealed clearly that their purpose was purely propagandistic. But they failed of their purpose. In May, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reported in detail the grave inroads on psychological resistance in Germany caused by air raids, and the glowing pictures of devastations in Great

Britain produced by the flying bombs made little impression on a public which had ceased to care.

The Anglo-American invasion on June 6 revealed that Goebbels had lost his grip on the propaganda machine, or that this machine had not been provided with proper instruments for encountering foul weather. The immediate results of D-Day in the propaganda field was a colossal muddle which produced some twelve different explanations within forty-eight hours.

The progress of the war in France and in the East increased the feeling of hopelessness in Germany which was nourished by the silence of Hitler. The events of July 20 were a diversion from gloomy news. By the middle of September Hitler's silence became so conspicuous that newspapers all over Germany were at pains to answer the question, "Why is the Führer silent?"

The moral disintegration following the summer campaign in France was admitted, even by Nazi newspapers. What then was the reason of the recovery after the far-gone dissolution in September? It cannot be assumed that terror only provided renewed strength. It must not be assumed that it was belief in Nazi ideas or German victory. The simple fact seems to be that failing all hope, a sort of Nihilism of despair gained ground which inspired the people to fight on in spite of growing food difficulties, lack of fuel, and utterly disorganised transport.

Those who expected a Hitler speech on November 8, the anniversary of the beer-cellar *Putsch* of 1923, were disappointed. Nothing happened on that day. The following Sunday, Himmler read a message from Hitler which did not reveal any new facts or ideas, and did not offer any ground for optimism. The way in which Himmler performed his task showed clearly how much he had become the master of Germany.

The believers in Hitler had to wait until New Year's eve—to be precise until five minutes past midnight—before they heard the voice of their Leader. Again, the address contained nothing but familiar phrases. But perhaps the time selected for the broadcast was significant. Hitler has often declared that he would fight on "until five minutes past twelve." Was it intended to indicate that that time had arrived?

CHAPTER IV

SOVIET RUSSIA—THE BALTIC STATES—POLAND—CZECHOSLOVAKIA
—HUNGARY — RUMANIA — YUGOSLAVIA — TURKEY — GREECE
—BULGARIA—ALBANIA

SOVIET RUSSIA

At the beginning of the year the failure of the Western Powers to open a second front caused some irritation in Russia, and disparaging rumours were circulated against them and found rather

ready credence. Another ground of complaint was that in spite of the fact that Spanish divisions were fighting against the Red Army on the Eastern front, the United States and Britain early in the year made an agreement with Spain which appeared to show undue consideration for General Franco. On the other hand, the one-sided recognition by the U.S.S.R. of the Badoglio Government without previous agreement, or even consultation, with the British and the United States Government created some perplexity among the political leaders of these countries. The discord between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government in London supported by the British Government was another difficulty, while the relations between the Soviet Union and General de Gaulle—with whom it concluded a Treaty of Alliance on December 10—seemed to be out of step with the policy of the British Government. However, the heads of the Governments made valiant efforts to maintain unity among the Allies and to prevent any weakening of public patience and confidence ; and the landing in Normandy which, in the eyes even of the most exacting Russians counted as a real second front, aroused great enthusiasm and brought about much closer co-operation and understanding in the diplomatic field.

Military operations were carried on by the Soviet forces throughout the whole year almost without a break, and a number of blows were inflicted on the German Armies which compelled them to abandon one area after another.

In January a clearly marked offensive began on the Leningrad and Novgorod sectors. The German positions were broken up and the German Armies, skilfully driven into pockets and suffering heavy losses, were compelled to retreat to the Baltic provinces. In February and March the Germans were driven across the Bug and the Dniester and a considerable part of Western Ukraine was liberated.

In April and May the Crimea was liberated along with Odessa and Sebastopol, the capture of which provided bases for further operations in the area of the Black Sea.

Whilst the troops in these areas were regrouping and reorganising, the Northern Russian Armies struck in Karelia in June. Petrozavodsk was liberated and the Red Army entered Finland and occupied Vyborg. The threat to the capital continued until Finland surrendered later in the year.

In June and July severe blows were inflicted on the German Armies in White Russia—the central sector of the Eastern front—in the areas of Vitebsk, Bobruisk, and Moghilev. In the course of these operations the Red Armies encircled nearly 30 German divisions near Minsk. The outcome of these months of fighting was the complete liberation of White Russia ; the Red Army reached the Vistula, reached and crossed the Niemen, and advanced into Lithuania and to the eastern borders of Germany.

In July the Curzon line was crossed and the Ukrainian Armies succeeded in occupying Lvov and crossing the upper reaches of the Vistula and the San. Warsaw was attacked in August but not taken. It was also in August that the Red Army crossed the Dniester and reached the Kishinev area (Bessarabia) and Jassy (in Rumania). Near Kishinev 22 German divisions were encircled and a number of Rumanian divisions were annihilated. Bessarabia was liberated and a considerable area of Rumania occupied. Rumania was compelled to ask for an armistice and to allow the passage of Russian troops into Bulgaria, which also was forced to surrender. This success opened to the Red Armies the roads to Hungary and Yugoslavia.

In September and October the Baltic Armies struck again. Tallinn and Riga were liberated, together with the whole of Estonia and a considerable area of Latvia. This operation placed the Gulf of Finland under Russian control and made it impossible for Finland to rely on German help promised earlier in the year. Russian detachments pursuing the Germans as they retreated from Northern Finland forced them out of the Pechenga region and followed them into Norway, a part of which (Finnmark) was liberated in October. The successes of the Baltic Armies further cut off 30 German divisions in the Baltic provinces and prevented their withdrawal to East Prussia. By the end of the year these divisions were still within the Russian ring and were being gradually compressed and eliminated. It was also in October that the Red Army advanced deep into Hungary, occupying nearly four-fifths of the country; by the end of December Budapest was nearly surrounded and on the brink of surrender. In the course of this operation important areas of Czechoslovakia were also liberated, and a Czechoslovak civil administration set up in accordance with a Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement concluded earlier in the year.

In these campaigns according to Russian computation 120 German and other Axis divisions were put out of action. In certain parts the Russian front line moved forward nearly 700 miles and the Red Armies passed through thousands of towns hardly any of which were surrendered by the Germans without the most bitter resistance, with the result that the destruction in the path of the retreat in most of the large inhabited places was literally terrific. The Russian losses in men and material must have been almost as heavy as those of the Germans.

It was freely acknowledged in Russia that the great successes of the Red Armies were largely due to the abundant stream of supplies from the Allies. These included hundreds of thousands of lorries, thousands of aeroplanes, tanks, and armoured troop carriers, millions of shells and cartridges, anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns, and large quantities of rubber, aluminium, copper, tin, lead, foodstuffs, and other materials. Between October, 1943,

and April, 1944, Great Britain sent 1,250,000 tons by the Arctic route, and Canada 355,000 tons, while during the rest of the year, when the submarine menace had been largely eliminated, deliveries were on an even greater scale. American supplies exceeded even those from Britain and Canada.

The Soviet Government's attitude to the smaller neighbouring States, as illustrated by the armistices dictated to Finland, Rumania, and Bulgaria, by the treaty with Czechoslovakia, and by statements made at various times with regard to the Baltic States, Poland, and Turkey, were closely watched and freely commented upon in the Western democracies. In some cases (Finland, Rumania) the Press of those countries considered Russian policy "reasonable" and considerate, in others (Poland, the Baltic States) harsh and oppressive. More than once it charged Russia with playing power-politics, with staking out a sphere of her own influence in Europe, with ignoring the Atlantic Charter, and so forth. Apparently as a reply to such suspicions expressed in American and English newspapers the Russian Press published a statement of the principles governing the foreign policy of the Union, which were summarised as follows :

1. Peaceful relations with all States irrespective of their political system.
2. Economic and political co-operation with all States on the basis of the sovereign equality and independence of the contracting parties.
3. Alliance with any State for the purpose of protecting both parties from aggression.
4. Renunciation of imperialist expansion at the expense of other nations.
5. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the strengthening of the coalition of freedom-loving nations in the fight against Fascist aggression.

In the first half of the year repeated attempts were made by Great Britain to heal the breach between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government in London, but without success. The Soviet Government insisted that the Curzon line should be recognised as Poland's eastern border, and to this the Polish Government could not bring itself to agree. On July 23, when the Red Army was approaching the Curzon line, a Polish broadcast from Moscow announced the formation of a Polish Committee of National Liberation which described itself as the Provisional Executive of the Polish State, and announced that it would take charge of civil administration in the liberated areas of Poland. This body—generally known as the Lublin Committee—was on July 26 formally recognised by the Soviet Government as the authority responsible for the internal administration of liberated Poland. As meanwhile the British and American Governments continued to recognise the Polish Government in London, a situation of some delicacy was created between these Governments and Soviet Russia.

Notwithstanding the close co-operation between the Soviet Union, Britain and America and the intensification of the military

efforts of these Allies against Japan, the Soviet Union adhered to its non-aggression agreement with Japan, which expires at the end of April 1945. At the same time the growing strength of the Soviet Union compelled Japan to make concessions to the Soviet Union in other agreements concluded on March 31. By these Japan transferred to Russia (26 years before their expiration) her ore and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin and accepted a number of restrictions in her fishing rights in Russian waters, including the prohibition for Japanese subjects to engage in fishing in the area of Vladivostok.

By a decree issued on February 1 the constituent Republics of the Soviet Union were allowed to have their own Foreign Commissariats and to conduct their own foreign affairs. A number took advantage of the permission, but they were not represented at any of the conferences at Moscow during the year or at Dumbarton Oaks, or even at the conference of U.N.R.R.A. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Republic concluded an agreement with the Provisional Government of Poland (regarded as a foreign country) concerning the exchange and transfer of their populations—Poles from the Ukraine to Poland and Ukrainians in Poland to the Ukraine.

The internal development of the Union during the year was powerfully affected by the rapid progress in the liberation of the country and by the general confidence, almost daily confirmed by the saluting guns of Moscow, that this was the last year of the war, and that in any case the lands liberated would not come again under enemy rule. The friendly and encouraging attitude of the Allies gave an assurance that Russia was not isolated and that the work of reconstruction would be allowed to go on without hindrance. Russia made a remarkable spiritual recovery, and though there was still very little freedom in the Western sense of the word, life became distinctly brighter. Great strides were made during the year in the reconstruction of the ruined coal and iron-mines and in the resumption of agricultural work in the vast areas liberated from the Germans. A good beginning was made at the Dnieprostroi, Krivoi Rog and other industrial centres. Increased activity was noticeable in the sphere of technical education and an extensive reform of the secondary schools was introduced, including improved curricula, better discipline, and the teaching of boys and girls in separate classes, with more training in domestic subjects for girls and in technical subjects for boys.

The terrific losses in man-power caused by military operations, slave labour in Germany, and German atrocities (a number of reports on which were published towards the end of the year) compelled more attention to be given to problems of population and protection of family life. More care was devoted to child welfare and divorce was made less easy. The Orthodox Church

was allowed more freedom in disseminating its tenets and training young priests, after having itself adopted a more sympathetic attitude towards the national interests of the Soviet State. A special Council for acting as a liaison between the Government and the representatives of the numerous non-Orthodox Christian and non-Christian denominations was set up on June 30.

LATVIA

It was reported in the Swedish Press on February 9 that the 1910-14 Classes had been called up in order to reinforce the Latvia S.S. Legion and defence battalions on the eastern frontier. In June the Latvian forces, under the command of General Bangerskis, were stated to number about 75,000, equipped with field and anti-aircraft artillery. On April 14 the Latvian Legation in Washington published the text of the "political platform" of the Latvian Underground Central Council, founded in the summer of 1943, which called for the creation of a free Latvia independent of both Germany and Russia.

Towards the end of July the Russians invaded Latvia from Lithuania, and made very rapid progress. On July 27 they took Dvinsk, in the south-eastern corner, and on the 31st Mitau, south of Riga. Heavy fighting thereupon took place for some weeks east and south-east of Riga, the Germans in vain trying to break through in the direction of Lithuania and Prussia. In the meanwhile strong Russian forces had penetrated into the country from Pskov, in the north-east. On September 23 they broke through the German defences east of Riga, and after a siege took that place itself on October 13. The coast south of Libau was reached early in October, but that port was still holding out at the end of the year.

LITHUANIA

After the Germans in 1943 had made ineffectual attempts to conscribe a large force of Lithuanians for military and labour service, General Plechavicius organised a force of fourteen battalions for self-defence inside Lithuania, on condition that the Germans refrained from using them elsewhere and organised no mobilisation of their own in Lithuania. In spite of this the German civil authorities, on April 28, proclaimed the mobilisation of ten classes of Lithuanians. This order was met by a national boycott, and the Germans thereupon demanded the enrolment of the fourteen battalions in the Waffen-S.S. On General Plechavicius refusing to comply he was arrested, along with his chief-of-staff, on May 14 and sent to Germany. The staff quarters of the Lithuanian military headquarters in Kaunas were at the same time surrounded and many officers were killed and the remainder overpowered. The Lithuanian training battalion of

1,800 men and the cadets of the officers' training school, numbering 1,200, were also disarmed after stiff resistance. Of the fourteen defence battalions, seven in the Vilna district were disarmed, but the other seven withdrew with their arms and ammunition into the forests.

The Underground Movement in Lithuania continued to be active during the summer. It aimed at liberating the country alike from the Germans and the Russians, and Communists were not represented on its Supreme Committee formed in Vilna in December, 1943. Mgr. Romuald Jalbrzykowski, the Catholic Archbishop of Vilna, refused an offer of release from a German prison, saying that he did not wish to be at liberty so long as a single priest of his arch-diocese was in prison. On the other hand, the Catholic Bishop of Kaunas stated that he could not sufficiently express his indignation when the rulers of Russia declared that they wished to "liberate the Lithuanians." On April 28 Sergius, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Vilna and Exarch of Lithuania and Latvia, an outspoken opponent of the Soviet regime, was assassinated—according to the Germans, by "Bolshevik bandits."

On July 4 General Kubiliunas, the head of the Native Self-Administration, decreed a general mobilisation. Soon after, the Russians invaded the country, both on the east and on the north-east. Advancing from Minsk, they took Vilna on July 13, after a five-day siege, and continuing westwards took Alytus, south of Kaunas, on the 15th and crossed the Niemen. On July 27 the important junction of Shavli, midway between Riga and Kaunas, was taken, and the Germans in Latvia and Estonia were cut off from those in East Prussia. Kaunas itself was captured on August 1. The Germans then made desperate efforts to recapture Shavli, but without success. From Shavli the Russians began to advance towards Tilsit, and from Kaunas towards Königsberg, capturing Vilkaviskis on August 2. On October 7 a new attack was launched from Shavli in the direction of Memel, and before long the whole right bank of the Niemen, from its estuary up to Jurburg, was cleared, with the exception of Memel itself. On October 10 the Russians took Taurogen, near Tilsit, 12 miles from the East Prussian frontier, and on October 18 Wirbalis, the frontier town on the road to Königsberg.

ESTONIA

At a conference of the highest German and Estonian civil and military officials at the end of January, the General Commissioner Lietzmann stated that, in view of the Russian approach to the northern frontier of Estonia, the position had become serious, and it was necessary for the Estonians to join with the Germans in defending their country. Already in 1943 conscription had been applied to the 1925 and 1924 classes. Now, on

January 31, Dr. Mae, the head of the Estonian "Self-Administration," proclaimed a general mobilisation by which all men of the 1904-23 classes were to be conscripted, the older age groups for military service, the younger for training. All between 17 and 60 who were not thus mobilised would be liable for service in the "Selbstschutz" (Home Guard), and all boys between 14 and 16 and girls between 17 and 21 were mobilised for work of national importance, such as civil defence or police duties, and the requisitioning of horses and vehicles. Trial by court martial was also introduced for such offences as spreading panic, evasion of service, or sabotage.

To make these measures more palatable, the widespread dread of a Russian occupation was fully exploited by German and native propaganda. Thus, while the calling-up was going on, a report was published by the Estonian Statistical Office containing the names of 59,317 Estonians alleged to have been murdered or deported during the Russian occupation in 1940-41. In a broadcast on February 7 Professor Uluots, who had been Premier at the time of the Russian occupation in June, 1940, and who had hitherto steadfastly declined to collaborate with the Estonian "Self-Administration," asserted that a re-occupation of the country by Russia would mean the destruction of the Estonian people, and the final devastation of the country. Similar views were expressed in a Pastoral Letter by Dr. Kopp, Bishop of the Estonian Lutheran Church, and by leading personalities of the Orthodox Church. These appeals for a fight against Bolshevism were apparently not without their effect, and it was stated in Berlin that the results of the recruitment—which was carried out between February 3 and February 15—had considerably surpassed expectations.

The willingness of the Estonians to fight against Russia did not mean that they were any better disposed to the Germans. A Swedish newspaper, on April 24, published reports from Tallinn of the arrest of 120 well-known Estonians, including many scientists and Social Democratic leaders. By May 1 it was estimated by the Swedish Press that 600 persons had been arrested, including doctors, teachers, lawyers, engineers, and officials working for the German administration. An official announcement stated that the arrests were on account of "activities directed against the defensive forces and the resolution of the Estonian people to participate in the European struggle," and that more explicit grounds could not be given for reasons of military security.

At the end of July the Russians, after taking Pskov and Narva, commenced to advance towards Estonia. The Germans made frantic efforts to enlist the support of the native population. On August 6 Dr. Mae, in a broadcast appeal for collaboration, stated that Hitler had promised that the political and economic status of Estonia would be guaranteed, and that she would be an

equal member of the European family of nations. He also announced the immediate calling-up of the 1926 class for service at the front, and of the 1927 class for anti-aircraft defence. On August 14 it was estimated that there were 140,000 Estonians under arms, including 40,000 Home Guards. By this time the Russians had penetrated deep into Latvia and Lithuania, and they were soon equally successful in Estonia. On August 25 they took Tartu (Dorpat) and on September 19 Velga, between Dorpat and Riga, on the Latvian border. In conjunction with Estonian forces organised in Russia, they took the capital Tallinn on September 22, Pernau on the next day, and Baltiski on the 24th, thus gaining possession of the whole of Estonia except the islands of Dago and Oesel, which also eventually fell to them. It was reported that when the Red Army reached Klooga, near Tallinn, they found 86 survivors of some 3,000 Jews, Estonians and Russians, who had been interned in a concentration camp there; all the rest had apparently been murdered by the Germans.

On September 21, just before the Russians took Tallinn, a Nationalist Government was proclaimed there by a leader of the Underground Movement named Otto Tief, who had been a Minister in various Estonian Governments in the 'twenties. He appealed to the Russians to recognise Estonian independence, but they refused and recalled the Government which had been in exile for the past three years. This Government restored the 1940 regime, which made Estonia a satellite of Russia, but at the same time took steps to form an Estonian Army in which most of the officers were Estonians.

POLAND

The year 1944 was memorable for the achievements of Polish sailors, airmen, and soldiers. Polish naval craft effectively co-operated with Allied navies; and Polish airmen not only fought successfully against the *Luftwaffe*, but also assisted in combating the flying bomb menace. On September 7 it was officially announced that Polish fighter pilots had destroyed 223 flying bombs. Poles were also able to furnish information as to the whereabouts of the sites from which flying bombs were launched. Since many Poles were employed in both France and Germany in the manufacture of these weapons, they were able to pass information through devious routes to this country. Polish sabotage units recruited among the Poles who lived in France were active against the enemy flying bomb sites and, as was revealed by *The Times* in November, 1944, they helped considerably in locating and destroying many of those sites. Nor was this the only intelligence furnished from Polish sources in Occupied France, Belgium, Holland, as well as in Germany proper.

Polish soldiers likewise were active in the Allied cause. By

January 10 Polish Commandos appeared on the Sangro and Garigliano rivers. On May 18 the 2nd Polish Army Corps under General Anders took Cassino Monastery and later Monte Cairo and Piedimonte. By this daring action which witnessed some savage fighting, the stalemate on the Italian front was broken and the Gustav Line pierced. On July 17 the town and harbour of Ancona were captured by Polish troops. On August 31 a Polish Corps captured Pesaro. On November 22 Poles recaptured Monte Fortino. The losses of the Polish Army Corps (mostly composed of soldiers coming from the Eastern provinces of Poland) were heavy.

Even more spectacular than the achievements of the Polish Army Corps in Italy were the operations of the 1st Armoured Division, commanded by General Maczek, in Normandy. On August 8 they struck north of Falaise, and after four days of heavy fighting scored considerable successes. On August 14 they began the operation of closing the "Falaise gap," sustaining desperate counter-attacks by the remnants of the encircled 7th German Army and of the two German Armoured Corps attempting to break through. This battle in the Chambois-Champeaux district was one of the bloodiest as well as one of the most vital of the whole French campaign. On September 3 a Polish Division liberated Abbeville and crossed the Somme. Next day they took St. Omer and Cassel, and on September 6 they seized Ypres. On September 13, after covering over 200 miles in hot pursuit of the enemy, Ghent was liberated by Polish and Canadian troops. On September 17 the first Polish airborne troops landed near Arnhem. At the end of the year Polish troops were in action on other sectors of the Western Front. On November 25 Field-Marshal Montgomery was awarded the highest Polish military distinction, *Virtuti Militari*, while 14 Poles, including General Maczek, Commander of the 1st Armoured Division, received the D.S.O. and other British decorations.

The Polish Home Army reported to London on March 1 that during 1943 they had fought 81 battles with the Germans and destroyed over 80 trains. In April and May Polish Home Army units, acting on instructions to co-ordinate their actions with those of the Russians, attacked the Germans from the rear and helped to capture the city of Luck in Volhynia; on July 8 and 24 they played their part in the liberation from the enemy of the cities of Vilna and Lvov respectively. On August 1 the Polish Home Army, after consulting the Polish Government in London, decided to strike at the Germans in Warsaw, hard pressed by the Russian Army advancing against Praga, the suburb of Warsaw, General Bor-Komorowski took command of the Warsaw rising, in which a considerable part of the Polish Home Army was engaged. It is estimated that some 80,000 Polish troops fought in the second Battle of Warsaw. Although the insurgents scored

some successes in the first days of the rising—their aim being to cut off the German lines of communication across the Vistula bridges—the Germans turned against the Poles with increased violence and, supported by tanks and flame-throwers, pushed the Polish units further and further towards the centre of the city. It seems that both the intelligence of General Bor's staff and his liaison with the Russians was at fault, and the Russians were defeated by the German Panzers in Praga. Whole districts of Warsaw were burned, and after 63 days of savage fighting, some of them in underground sewers, the Germans forced the remnants of General Bor's troops to surrender their arms. On October 4 General Bor (appointed on September 30 by the President of Poland C.-in-C. of the Polish Armed Forces in succession to General Sosnkowski, who was relieved of his duties) signed the terms of capitulation. Some 15,000 soldiers were taken prisoner, about 400,000 inhabitants of Warsaw were driven into a huge concentration camp at Pruszkow from where many thousands were sent to forced labour in Germany. The International Red Cross endeavoured to bring relief to the wretched evacuees; conditions in the Pruszkow camp were appalling and the death-rate high. The Warsaw rising must be considered as the greatest single defeat suffered by the Poles in this war; their losses were high and their capital almost totally destroyed. Yet their achievement was what Mr. Winston Churchill described it—"an epic of deathless memory." After the evacuation of the city, the Germans completed its destruction by dynamiting houses and buildings and by setting up gun-sites and other defence points in the ruins of Warsaw.

The tragedy of the Warsaw rising deepened Russo-Polish differences. M. Mikolajczyk, the Polish Prime Minister, used every effort to compose those differences and to heal the breach. The Polish Government in London decided to advise the Home Army to collaborate with the advancing Russians, yet an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion permeated the relations between the fighting Poles and the Russian authorities. The Russian Government resolved to transform the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow into a more representative body and, after the enemy had been driven from Lublin, a National Committee of Liberation was set up there. It comprised several members known for their active support of Communism, such as Dr. Drobner, M. Jedrychowski, M. Bierut, and M. Osobka-Morawski. The Committee of National Liberation opened a campaign against the Polish Government in London and at the same time concluded several agreements with the Lithuanian, Byelo-Russian and Ukranian Soviet Republics for the re-settlement in the Lublin area of Poles hailing from east of the Curzon Line, as well as those from Eastern Galicia (which was not embraced by the original Curzon Line). The Committee of National Liberation declared that it accepted the Curzon Line

as Poland's boundary in the east and regarded with favour the annexation of German lands stretching to the rivers Oder and Neisse, and so including the cities of Stettin and Breslau within the borders of post-war Poland. General Rola-Zymierski was appointed C.-in-C. of the Polish Armed Forces fighting on the Eastern Front. The strength of these units, composed of Poles deported to Russia in 1939 and 1940, was never disclosed, but it was assumed that some 120,000 were in the ranks of General Zymierski's army.

At the end of July M. Mikolajczyk decided to proceed to Moscow, as he was urged to do by the British Government. He left accompanied by the Foreign Minister, M. Romer, and also by M. Grabski, chairman of the Polish National Council in London. They discussed with the Soviet leaders the Russo-Polish situation, but no conclusions were reached. The representatives of the Lublin Committee arrived in Moscow at the same time, and the Russian statesmen were willing to act as intermediaries between the two Polish factions. Proposals and counter-proposals were made, but three main difficulties could not be overcome by the representatives of the Government in London: the Russian demand for an immediate solution of the boundary problem; the renunciation of the 1935 Constitution (which is the legal basis of the Government in London); and the creation of a new administration in which Poles from London and Poles from Lublin would be represented. The Polish representatives from London were of opinion that all frontier problems should be left until after the end of the war, seeing that this was an agreed policy of the United Nations. Nevertheless, they were prepared to discuss a demarcation line which would define the Russian and Polish zones of administration. M. Mikolajczyk said that he could not change the Constitution of 1935, whatever his personal attitude might be towards it, and that this could only be done by the Polish people after the complete liberation of their country. The Polish Prime Minister made some proposals concerning the composition of the future Government, stressing the fact that there was no intention of excluding Communists from the new Cabinet.

After M. Mikolajczyk's return to London a new set of proposals was despatched to Moscow through the courtesy of the British Government. During Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow in November, M. Mikolajczyk was invited to join in the British-Russian discussions. The Polish delegation was confronted with a demand that they should agree to the Curzon Line, and this they found it impossible to do. M. Mikolajczyk promised to work out a new formula after consulting the political parties in Poland and his colleagues in London. On his return to London he encountered violent opposition from members of the Cabinet, especially from the Socialists. He endeavoured

to bridge the differences within his own Cabinet and urged the Polish political parties in Poland to accept his proposals, which were to defend the Lvov district and the oil-fields of Boryslav, while ceding the Vilna district and Volhynia to Russia. When M. Mikolajczyk came to the conclusion that he could not overcome the opposition of the political parties, both in Poland and in London, he resigned, and on November 30 a new Government was formed, including three Socialists, two National Democrats, and two representatives of the Christian Democratic Labour Party. The Peasant Party in London decided not to participate. M. Arciszewski, the veteran Socialist leader, who in August, had escaped from Poland to England, was appointed Prime Minister; M. Berezowski, National Democrat, who had likewise escaped from Poland, became Minister of the Interior; M. Kwapinski, Socialist, remained Minister of Shipping, M. Tarnowski was appointed Foreign Secretary, Professor Folkierski, National Democrat, took over the Ministry of Education, General Kukiel remained Minister of War, Professor Pragier, Socialist, took charge of the Ministry of Information.

The situation was aggravated by the announcement on the last day of the year that the Committee of National Liberation in Lublin had been transformed into a Provisional Polish Government. M. Bierut and M. Osobka-Morawski retained their respective posts, the first as Chairman of the National Council of Poland, the second as Premier. Some prominent members of the Lublin Committee, like M. Wasilewska, M. Drobner, General Berling, appeared to have been dropped and some new people emerged, mostly recruited from the ranks of the so-called P.P.R. (*Polska Partia Robotnicza*, Polish Workers' Party), which reappeared in Poland after the dissolution of the Komintern. The new Lublin administration reaffirmed its desire to carry out agrarian reforms and to distribute land to the peasants, to continue with the re-settlement in central Poland of the Polish elements from the eastern marches, and to demand the inclusion in post-war Poland of the German provinces up to the rivers Oder and Neisse. They condemned the activities of the "Fascist London clique" and actually attempted to deprive of their Polish nationality M. Raczkiewicz, the President of Poland, General Sosnkowski, M. Kwapinski, and even M. Mikolajczyk.

All these alarming developments do not augur well for the future of Poland. After the liberation of the Lublin area the awful truth about the Majdanek "death camp" was fully confirmed by the findings of a joint Russo-Polish commission. The incredible reports about the almost total destruction of the Jewish population of Poland, as well as of many thousands of Jews from Austria, Germany, France, Hungary, and other countries were substantiated by those findings. The losses of Polish Jewry amounted to some 3,000,000, and only some 250,000 Jews

escaped by hiding in the woods, living a life of hunted animals. It is reliably estimated that the losses of the Poles through executions, on the battlefield in Poland, in innumerable encounters with the Germans, through deportations and hardships and starvation amount to some 4,000,000, and possibly reached even the figure of 5,000,000 victims.

In spite of these tragic facts which may cripple the Polish nation in its development, and in spite of the political gloom and uncertainty which cast a shadow on the very existence of Poland as an independent State, Poles are discharging their duties as soldiers on all fronts, and in Poland. In Switzerland (where some 15,000 Polish soldiers are still in prisoner of war camps), in the Middle East, in Britain, and in America, their cultural activities are impressive. Many new books were published both in Polish and in English by Polish authors; two, one by Madame Z. Kossak, and the other by J. Karski, an emissary of the Underground Poland, became best-sellers in America.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak Government in London.—The year 1944 saw the liberation of the eastern districts of the Republic from foreign occupation. The Government and State Council in London devoted themselves to the task of legislating for the period between military liberation and the re-establishment of normal conditions. By broadcast messages from London Dr. Benes and his Government urged the setting up of local national committees to carry on the war against the invaders and to prepare for post-war reconstruction.

Anticipating an early drive on the part of the Soviet Armies towards the extreme eastern frontiers of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak Government, on May 8, signed an administrative agreement with the Government in Moscow in order to regulate the relationship between the Czechoslovak administration and the Soviet Commander-in-Chief, on the entry of Allied Soviet troops into Czechoslovak territory. This provided for the appointment of a Government delegate for the liberated territories whose task was to be to take over the full exercise of Czechoslovak public authority, to set up and direct the administration of territory which had been cleared of the enemy, to reconstitute the Czechoslovak armed forces there, to ensure active co-operation between the Czechoslovak administration and the Soviet Commander-in-Chief, and in particular, to give the local authorities instructions in conformity with the needs and wishes of the latter.

During the year the Czechoslovak Government in London was one of the first of the Allies to endorse the resolution of the French National Assembly in Algiers; on June 12 it recognised

the French Committee of National Liberation as the Provisional Government of France. On August 22 a French-Czechoslovak joint statement was signed in London, by which the relations between the two countries were re-established as they had existed before September, 1938. The two Governments, on November 21, also signed a formal agreement concerning displaced persons. They pledged themselves to facilitate the repatriation of persons who had been displaced by the enemy, such as prisoners of war, deportees, refugees and others. Until these persons were repatriated each of the contracting parties undertook to treat them no differently from its own citizens.

In July the respective diplomatic missions between China and Czechoslovakia were raised to the rank of Embassies. Diplomatic relations were established with the Emperor of Abyssinia, and early in September the Turkish Government officially recognised the Czechoslovak Government in London. The former Czechoslovak *Chargé d'Affaires*, who remained in Ankara after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, was appointed Czechoslovak Minister to the Republic of Turkey.

Members of the Czechoslovak Government in London participated in the international conferences held during the year preparatory to the post-war settlement. In April Mr. Jan Masaryk, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, led the Czechoslovak delegation to the International Labour Office Conference. He stayed in America in order to attend the second U.N.R.R.A. conference at Montreal, and as a result of his negotiations, the Czechoslovak Government accepted the full aid of U.N.R.R.A. and invited an U.N.R.R.A. mission to Czechoslovakia. Dr. L. Feierabend, Minister of Finance, represented Czechoslovakia at the Inter-Allied Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods, and later went to France to study monetary conditions in a liberated country at first hand.

Changes were made in the Government during August and September. As Mr. Frantisek Nemec, Minister of Economic Reconstruction, who was also in charge of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, was appointed Government Delegate for the administration of liberated territory (a function foreseen in the Czechoslovak-Soviet administrative agreement of May 8), the President of the Republic, on August 3, appointed in his place Mr. Vaclav Majer, late Secretary-General to the Social Democratic Union of Agriculturists, as Minister of Commerce and Industry. In October Mr. Majer also became Acting Minister of Reconstruction in the absence of Mr. Nemec, by then in Czechoslovakia. During September the two non-civilian members of the Cabinet, Generals Ingr and Viest, relinquished their ministerial offices. General Ingr remained Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, while General Viest, appointed Commander of the First Czechoslovak Army in Slovakia, was taken prisoner by the Germans

when the Slovak rising was crushed. Mr. Jan Masaryk provisionally took charge of the Ministry of National Defence.

In October the Government issued a decree providing that on the day on which a government appointed by the President of the Republic is set up on Czechoslovak territory, the State Council in London shall cease to exist as an advisory body to the President and as an organ of control. The mandates of the members appointed for the period 1943-44 were extended until the termination of the activity of the State Council on British soil.

The Armed Forces.—The losses suffered by the German Army in 1944 brought about a notable increase of Czechoslovak armed forces in the ranks of the Allies. The main bodies of these forces, the Armoured Brigade in Great Britain and the Independent Brigades in the Soviet Union, profited from the fact that Germans and Hungarians called up Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians from the countries occupied in 1938-39. These unwilling soldiers took the first opportunity to desert from the *Wehrmacht* and *Honved* and, in most cases, to volunteer for the Czechoslovak Army. One large body to change sides in this way during the year consisted of several hundred men of the so-called "Czech Protectorate Government Army" of about 7,000 lightly armed soldiers who, in May, were transferred from the Protectorate to Northern Italy for guard duties, but deserted to the Italian guerrillas and later crossed the frontiers of liberated France.

The Czechoslovak Armoured Brigade in Great Britain left for the Continent at the end of August, and a few weeks later the news came that they were laying siege to the German garrison of Dunkirk: a hard task which kept them there until the end of the year and gave them an opportunity of inflicting losses in men and material upon the enemy.

Czechoslovak fighter and bomber squadrons of the R.A.F. took part in the long preliminary air bombardment of Occupied Europe and were among the forces covering the actual landing. Later they took part almost daily in attacks on V1 flying bomb sites and also scored many hits on the projectiles themselves over the English Channel.

Owing to the growth of the Czechoslovak forces in the Soviet Union a reorganisation was carried out by agreement between the Czechoslovak Government and the Soviet High Command. Besides the two existing independent brigades, the second of which received its colours in April, new units were formed mostly of Slovak soldiers and Czech as well as Ruthenian deserters from the German and Hungarian armies, and the whole force organised into an Army Corps under the command of General Kratochvil who, later in the year, was replaced by General Ludvik Svoboda, until then commanding officer of the First Independent Czechoslovak Brigade. This Army Corps was among the troops of the

First Ukrainian Front which reached the boundaries of Czechoslovakia and Rumania on Easter Saturday, and later in the year entered Czechoslovak territory at the Dukla Pass between Poland and Ruthenia.

Early in June there was formed in the Soviet Union a Czechoslovak Air Force Regiment of parachutists who played an important role in the Slovak rising (see below).

Czechoslovak formations were reported fighting with the Yugoslav National Army ("Brigade of Jan Zizka") and the French Forces of the Interior. The latter fought against the Germans in the inner districts of Paris.

The Liberation of Carpathian Ukraine.—Carpathian Ukraine (Subcarpathian Ruthenia) was the first of the provinces to be liberated by Soviet and Czechoslovak troops. Early in October, shortly after the collapse of Rumania, Soviet forces which had stood on the eastern slopes of the Carpathians since early April, were able to press their attack against the German-Hungarian armies from a southerly and south-easterly direction. Three well-prepared Hungarian defence lines were over-run and on October 28, Czechoslovak National Day, Mr. Nemec, the Government Delegate, reported to President Benes in London that he had taken over from the Soviet military authorities the civil administration of the four easternmost districts of Carpathian Ukraine.

As the Axis military situation further deteriorated in the East at the beginning of the year, the Hungarian authorities in Carpatho-Ukraine put the province under military administration. All political and cultural activities ceased and the remaining native *intelligentsia* were deported. Anti-Jewish measures were as severe as those in Germany even before the Hungarian "upheaval" of March 19.

The German military which took over administration in March remained as helpless before the increasing guerrilla activities of the native population as had been the Hungarian police and army since 1941. The number of armed guerrillas in the inaccessible mountains, reinforced by Ukrainian partisans from over the Carpathian passes, increased every month. Early in March contact was established between the Soviet Air Force covering the Red Army's advance towards the Carpathians and guerrillas operating south of the Carpathian passes. The activities of these guerrillas extended as far as Central Slovakia.

Whilst the ensuing fighting between Germans and Hungarians and Soviet regular troops caused relatively little damage outside the main roads, the Germans and Hungarians left behind them nothing but wrecked towns and villages. Bridges, roads, railway tracks and station buildings were destroyed and the rolling stock taken away or wrecked. The problem of the distribution of supplies for immediate relief thus became acute. Moreover, most

of the adult male population of military age was out of the country, and of the Jewish population, which played a great part in the agriculture of the province, only about 5 per cent. (mostly in hiding with the guerrillas), survived the ordeal of Hungarian-German massacre.

The Government Delegation, which consisted of administration and welfare staff, found some local national committees already working and by the end of November, despite transport difficulties, it was possible to proceed with the election of district committees. In many places the People's Militia secured traitors and German and Hungarian war criminals and handed them over to the National Committees for later trial in the courts. Czechoslovak currency, postal service and customs were restored, elementary and secondary schools re-opened throughout the liberated areas, and children were again being taught in Ukrainian and Russian.

Rising in Slovakia.—In February and March the activities of guerrillas in the Eastern Slovakian mountains, mostly supported by Ukrainian partisans as well as by escaped prisoners of war, forced labourers and deserters from the German and Hungarian armies, made the Government of Father Tiso in Bratislava conscious of the approaching danger. German pressure on the Government to send more labour and more foodstuffs to the Reich became stronger. Political power within the Government rested with A. Mach, the Minister of Interior, because Dr. Tuka, the Premier, owing to his age and ill-health, had to retire. Economic conditions deteriorated. The national debt increased by leaps and bounds and the prevailing inflation could no longer be hidden from the public.

Under the surface preparations for a rising against German domination increased steadily. A political delegation which left Slovakia clandestinely got in touch with President Benes during the latter's visit to Moscow (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 213) and the tactical organisation of the rising as agreed upon. The Slovak Army was to rise and the civil authorities were to restore the Czechoslovak Republic on Slovak soil as soon as the Soviet Army reached the Carpathian passes leading into Eastern Slovakia.

Members of the puppet Bratislava Government themselves appear to have been involved in the plot. It was alleged that General Catlos, the Minister of National Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, transferred the best equipped Slovak troops to Eastern Slovakia and replaced the Nazi sympathisers among the staff officers by reliable patriots. Great quantities of ammunition and other war material were concentrated in the mountains of Central Slovakia. Even the gold reserves of the National Bank were brought there after Allied air raids from Italy had caused panic and heavy damage in the capital.

After the collapse of the Antonescu regime in Rumania, the

Germans brought pressure to bear on the Bratislava Government in several directions. On August 7 a total mobilisation decree was published which enabled the Central Labour Office to impose labour duty on all fit persons between 18 and 60. Working hours in some industries were increased by 12 weekly. On August 12 the Minister of National Defence was ordered to proclaim a modified form of martial law throughout the country against "groups of parachutists" (in fact, an entire air force regiment of the Czechoslovak Army) who were dropped in several mountain regions of East and North-East Slovakia. It became known in Bratislava that clashes between guerrillas and parachutists on the one hand and German S.S. security battalions on the other, took place during the whole summer, the heaviest in the Topola Valley during the night of August 1.

At the end of August the German High Command notified the Slovak Government that the occupation of the country by German military forces, as provided in the German-Slovak Treaty of March, 1939, would be carried out within a few hours. At this the Slovak National Council, established in Banská Bystrica and composed of representatives of all political groups, gave out the order for armed resistance against German military occupation, regardless of the fact that only spearheads of the Soviet Army were anywhere in the neighbourhood of the North-Eastern Slovak frontier. Simultaneously, the National Council proclaimed the puppet Slovak State to be abolished and the Czechoslovak Republic restored on Slovak territory.

Although two Slovak divisions in the Banská Bystrica-Presov area were disarmed by the Germans within a few hours, other regular troops, partisan formations (including escaped French, Polish, Russian, Yugoslav forced labour and inmates of a Jewish internment camp), gendarmerie and customs officials kept up resistance. All these forces were declared at once to be part of the Czechoslovak regular army and the Czechoslovak Government in London claimed for them the protection of the Hague Convention. These regular troops and guerrillas succeeded in hindering the occupation of the country by the German Army, thus leaving a flank of the Reich open to Allied attack from Poland and Rumania. By destroying railway and road bridges on the Váh and Hron rivers, by demolishing a railway tunnel on the Bohumin-Košice railway which joins Moravia and Silesia with Eastern Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine they succeeded in barring communications between Eastern Germany and the Danube basin, and paralysed supply routes leading to the Carpathian passes. They diverted four complete German divisions and the elements of a further two divisions from other and more important tasks.

In the central zone, where most of the fighting took place, the German Army and police behaved with utter ruthlessness.

Villages were burnt down and plundered and their population slaughtered. Hundreds of death sentences were passed on guerrillas by military courts and executed on the spot. Bratislava estimated the loss of life during and after the rising at between 20,000 and 30,000. Such members of the Slovak Army as were unable to reach Banská Bystrica were disarmed, officers shot and men transported for forced labour to Germany.

Regular daily war communiques were issued during the whole period of the fighting by General Golian, the Commander-in-Chief of the Slovak forces in Banská Bystrica, and published by the Commander-in-Chief of the Czechoslovak forces in London. At the end of October the Czechoslovak forces, under pressure of superior enemy armour and infantry, had to withdraw from the area of Banská Bystrica into prepared positions in the mountains, where organised fighting continued until contact could be established with the Soviet forces approaching from occupied Hungary in the south.

The Slovak National Council in Banská Bystrica sent a delegation of three to London, where they arrived on October 13. The delegates, representing the Liberal, Communist, and military groups, submitted detailed reports to the President and Government of Czechoslovakia. Conversations took place on different problems of principle and procedure, and an agreement was reached on all fundamental questions, both as regards the struggle for liberation and the post-war period. The agreement, which is to be applied to the whole territory of Slovakia as and when it is liberated by Allied military force, recognised the National Council as the leading political body in Slovakia into whose hands the administration of the country was to be placed by the Government delegate, Mr. Nemec. The National Council, for its part, recognised the President and the London Government of the Republic, the latter until such time as it is possible to form a new government at home. Relations between Czechs and Slovaks will be determined by freely elected Czech and Slovak representatives.

The rising had deprived Father Tiso's puppet Government of the last semblance of authority even in those areas where there were no partisans. Control passed out of their hands, and it was regained only after German troops had moved in strength into the disputed areas. But the Germans left no proper authority with the Government. A few days after the outbreak of the rising Father Tiso was allowed to reconstitute his much battered Government. Dr. Josef Tiso, a namesake of his, became Prime Minister, General Catlos, who fled to the partisans and later reached the Soviet Union, was cashiered and many hundred other public functionaries dismissed from their offices for having participated in the rising. All the Jews who were still permitted to live in Slovakia at the outbreak of the rising (about 8,000 to 10,000 altogether) were sent to German-occupied Poland, probably for extermination, and many Czechs were expelled.

The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.—Although the war was carried into Czechoslovak State territory early in the year, the Protectorate, even after the Soviet push through Hungary at the end of the year, remained more than a hundred miles away from the battlefields. About a dozen heavy air raids by Allied aircraft, however, caused damage to the Skoda Works at Pilsen and the giant synthetic oil plants at Brux (Most) and about four thousand casualties occurred in the Brno-Adamov district, where a huge armament combine was raided.

Political power during the year rested virtually with K. H. Frank, the Minister of State, while "Reichs Protector" Dr. Frick, as Hitler's representative to President Hacha, remained only a figurehead.

After the Allies' invasion of the Continent unrest grew among the population, and K. H. Frank specially warned the Czechs that the Fuehrer's decree of March 16, 1939, was not an agreement between two countries, but a law laid down by the Reich, so that the Reich might change the legal position of Bohemia and Moravia, if it so thought fit, and might incorporate both territories into Germany. Steps in this direction were gradually taken even before the attempt on Hitler.

With the loss of vast resources in the East and the Balkans, the German grip on the economic resources of the country tightened. During the year, by drastic nationalisation, many more of the smaller and medium-sized firms were absorbed by the large enterprises, wholly or partially German property. Iron, cement, glass, china and other important industries had their production controlled by their competitors in the Reich, without mediation of the Protectorate's administration. The coal resources of the country were drastically exploited, partly for the manufacture of synthetic petrol.

After the conspiracy of the German generals, total mobilisation of man-power was ordered in the Protectorate; this had a greater effect on general conditions than in the Reich proper. The number of Czechs forced to work abroad, which was estimated at about 300,000 at the middle of 1944, rose to over 500,000 at the end of the year. It is assumed that one-third of Czechoslovak skilled man-power was sent to Germany or German-occupied territory.

Home administration of the Protectorate was simplified by the closing down of a number of central and local administration offices and some law courts. Cultural life was much more curtailed than in Germany. Many primary schools, almost all secondary schools, nearly all theatres and concert halls were closed, the number of daily newspapers reduced to ten, and of other periodicals (including trade papers) to well under one hundred. (The corresponding figures of 1938 were 50 and 2,000 respectively.) The forced amalgamations of banks diminished

their number to 10 with 81 branches as against 16 with 159 branches in the previous year.

The internal indebtedness of the Protectorate increased enormously owing to the peculiar clearing system which exists between Germany and the Protectorate. Up to the beginning of 1944, Protectorate loans amounted to 22,850,000,000 crowns, so that together with the loans taken over from the Czechoslovak Republic, the total of loans amounted to 64,500,000,000 crowns. The note circulation in the Protectorate reached 24,000,000,000 crowns as against 7,000,000,000 in the whole of Czechoslovakia before 1939.

The printing office of the National Bank was not able to keep pace with the German demands for currency, and a considerable number of private printing firms were engaged in producing bank notes. The indebtedness of the Reich to the Protectorate cannot really be estimated in full, since no figures are available of credits extorted by means of worthless German State securities. Czech banks and financial institutions were still not allowed to publish details of their accounts. The statements of the Czech National Bank did, however, contain a clue which attracted the attention of experts. The item "other assets," in pre-German times a very modest one, representing real assets such as buildings, rose from 845,000,000 crowns at the end of 1938 to 56,851,000,000 crowns on December 31, 1944. The new "other assets" consisted of Reich Treasury bills and Reichsbank bills of exchange handed over in payment for goods and services.

The population did not starve, since rations were distributed regularly, but as they were insufficient public health deteriorated, particularly in the larger towns. Vitamin deficiencies caused a general lowering of vitality and undermined resistance to disease.

Police rule remained severe. Although there were no signs of open revolt anywhere, acts of resistance, though on a small scale, were frequent and German reprisals were savage; 332 more Czech patriots—among them 48 women—were sentenced to death by German courts in Prague and Brno during the year, some for forming national committees, others for alleged misuse of ration cards, others again for harbouring prisoners or Jews.

Whilst guerrilla warfare went on in the Moravska Ostrava district and along the Slovak border, the approach of Soviet armies to the Czechoslovak frontier at Easter unleashed another Nazi wave of terrorism. When the Slovak Army rose against German domination in the summer, numbers of Czech youth were put to death for having tried to cross the border into Slovakia in order to join the Czechoslovak fighting forces there.

Owing to the tension caused by the Slovak rising, the Czech police were sent on duty to various places in Germany. Czech gendarmerie were removed from the border districts and both

bodies were replaced by German police and military. Throughout the year the Germans intensified the process of confiscation in favour of the German Reich of the property of Czech citizens.

HUNGARY

The rapid advance of the Russians in the direction of the Carpathians at the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 threw the Hungarian Government into great perturbation. On January 20 the Premier, M. Kallay, declared that a great flood was approaching the frontiers of Hungary and that all Hungarians must unite and man the dykes. Another Minister a few days later said that Hungary must prepare to defend her frontiers against any enemy, from whatever quarter he might come. The Premier had already, on January 11, taken over from the Finance Minister the supervision of rearmament, as being too important to be left to a subordinate.

The Nazi authorities, not without reason, suspected the loyalty of the Hungarian Government, and took drastic measures to ensure that Hungary should not break away from the Axis. On March 16 the Regent, Admiral Horthy, was summoned to a conference with Hitler, and left the next day for Obersalzburg accompanied by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and National Defence and General Szombathely, the Chief-of-Staff. There he was forced to consent to the entry of German troops into Hungary and the dismissal of M. Kallay and his Government. On his return to Budapest on March 19 he found that German troops had already entered the city. M. Kallay was replaced as Prime Minister by M. Sztojay, the Hungarian Minister in Berlin, who formed a Ministry drawn mainly from the "Party of National Renewal," the Right wing of the "Party of National Life." M. Kallay took refuge in the Turkish Legation in Budapest and was ultimately allowed to leave the country. The Hungarian Ministers in Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal refused to recognise the Sztojay Government.

The new Government immediately set itself energetically to eliminate whatever relics of freedom and Liberalism were still left in the country. At the end of March the Social Democrat and Smallholders Parties and the Peasant Union (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 213) were dissolved, and the dissolution of the Liberal Party and minor Left-wing groups soon followed. A Government Commissary for Labour was appointed and Trade Union funds were confiscated. A number of the more important opposition newspapers, including the *Pester Lloyd*, were suspended. A large number of associations and clubs were dissolved, including most political associations not of a definitely Right-wing character. On April 23 an amnesty was declared covering all offences committed in connection with any political movement of National

(i.e., Right-wing) character and with illegal enlistment in the German Army.

But the chief energies of the new Government were devoted to the persecution of the Jews, who, in spite of all the decrees already issued against them, were still playing an important part in the economic and cultural life of the country, chiefly owing to the lax administration of the law. Under German supervision the job was now done more thoroughly. By a series of decrees issued at the end of March and in April and May Jews were forbidden to employ Christian domestic servants, they were to be dismissed from all branches of the public service, and were to be expelled from the Chamber of Advocates, the Press, and the theatre. It was calculated that about 2,000 lawyers, 250 actors, and 130 journalists would be affected by these decrees. Two Jewish papers, however, with nine journalists, were allowed to remain in existence. Jewish doctors were retained, as there was a shortage of doctors in Hungary, but Jewish chemists were deprived of their licences. Another series of decrees excluded Jews from all participation in business. On April 22 all Jewish shops were closed, or, if their existence was deemed desirable in the national interest, they were placed under Christian management. On April 25 it was announced that no Jew was henceforth to be a salaried employee in industry, trade, agriculture, or otherwise; 25 per cent. of the existing staffs had to be dismissed by April 30, 25 per cent. by May 20, and the rest by September 30. No Jew could be the director of a firm. On May 20 an order was issued closing down all Jewish businesses not affected by earlier decrees. Communes with a population of 10,000 or more were empowered to create ghettos, and smaller communes to remove their Jews to larger centres. Several towns took advantage of this measure, and the Ujpest ghetto in the capital was placed in a factory area, so that if the area was bombed the Jews should be the sufferers. In July reports were circulated that large numbers of Hungarian Jews were being deported to Poland; in fact about 120,000 were deported, not however, from Hungary, but from Transylvania.

This barbarous treatment of the Jews evoked strong protests from the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches in Hungary. In other countries, too, influential voices were raised on behalf of the Jews. On July 4 the King of Sweden telegraphed to the Regent appealing to him "in the name of humanity" to save the Jews from further persecution. On July 5 Mr. Eden protested in the British House of Commons, and on July 14 Mr. Hull expressed the horror and indignation of the American people at what was being done and planned. At the end of July Admiral Horthy promised the International Red Cross that no more Jews would be deported to Poland, and a little later he offered to allow Jews to leave the country if Great Britain and America would

arrange to find temporary havens of refuge for them. In accepting this offer on August 17 these Governments emphasised the fact that they in no way condoned the action of the Hungarian Government in forcing the emigration of the Jews as an alternative to persecution and death.

By this time the persecutors of the Jews had to think about the safety of their own skins. The Russians were already in Eastern Hungary and making rapid progress. The defection of Rumania from the Axis at the end of August led to a strong movement inside Hungary for coming to terms with the Allies. On August 29 M. Sztojay resigned the Premiership, and was succeeded by General Latakos, a strong supporter of Admiral Horthy. The announcement that Transylvania had been promised to Rumania determined the new Government to continue the war, and General Latakos declared in Parliament on September 22 that Hungary "had no way open to her except to defend her frontiers resolutely."

A few days later Russian and Rumanian troops crossed the Rumanian frontier into Hungary, and the military situation became very threatening. On October 8 they were over the Tisza and soon after took Szeged, the second largest town in Hungary, while further west they advanced to within 65 miles of Budapest. In the northern part of the country, too, the Russians on October 10 reached Debreczen, after a great tank battle with the Germans in the plain. The Regent now regarded the situation as desperate, and asked for an armistice. Thereupon Szalasy, the leader of the Arrow Cross organisation, with the help of the Germans, carried out on October 15 a *coup d'état* by which the Regent was forced to resign and power was seized by Szalasy as acting Regent. The Commander-in-Chief, General Miklos, and his Chief-of-Staff went over to the Russians with the Hungarian First Army.

On October 19 the Russians occupied Debreczen after another fierce battle, and in spite of stubborn resistance continued their advance on the capital both from that direction and from the south-east. On November 4 one section reached Ujpest and began to shell the city. Soon after, Pest, on the eastern side of the Danube, was regularly besieged, and Szalasy's Cabinet left the capital for a place near the Austrian frontier. Meanwhile another Russian force had commenced to advance up the Danube from the direction of Yugoslavia. This force reached Lake Balaton on December 5, and fierce fighting took place in this neighbourhood till the end of the year. By that time Russian forces advancing from different sides had occupied about four-fifths of the whole country, and the capital was closely invested on both sides of the Danube, and fighting was going on in the streets of Buda. On December 30 two Russian envoys who entered the city under the protection of the white flag to demand its surrender were shot by the Germans.

From December 13 to December 20 elections were held in liberated territory for delegates to a Provisional National Assembly, which met at Debreczen on December 21. Professor Bela Zsedenyi was elected President. The Assembly, "as a body expressing the national will and possessing the State sovereignty," took into its hands the administration of a country left without leadership. General Bela Miklos was appointed Premier and formed a Government. A declaration of policy was issued of which the main points were that an armistice would be concluded with Russia and the other countries with which Hungary was at war, that the armed forces would assist in the destruction of Hitlerism, that the German anti-Jewish laws were abolished, and that democratic laws and institutions would be introduced. On December 29 the Provisional Government declared war on Germany.

RUMANIA

The westward advance of the Russian armies at the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 deprived Rumania of the whole province of Transdnistria which she had acquired two years before, and threatened her hold on Bessarabia. The Rumanian troops on the Russian front were thoroughly demoralised, and took no interest in the war. In the middle of January thousands of refugees from Bessarabia and Bukovina began to stream into the Old Kingdom (Regat), and Government Departments were removed from there in February. A similar movement, on a smaller scale, was also in progress in Moldavia. On February 2 the Government ordered the mobilisation of all men of military age as soon as the Red Army should reach Odessa. In March the reservists were ordered to report, and preparations were made for evacuating large numbers of people from Bucharest and other cities.

The mass of the people, including the King, had long been weary of the war; and now even the Conducator, Marshal Antonescu, became anxious to come to some sort of accommodation with the Allied Powers. Early in March he allowed Prince Stirbey, a former Prime Minister and an associate of Dr. Maniu, the Peasant leader, and Dr. Bratianu, the Liberal leader, to leave Rumania for Turkey and Cairo in order to put out peace feelers, though he denied that the Prince had any official status. Whatever hopes the population may have built on this mission proved illusory. The Germans strengthened their hold on the country, and on March 23 Marshal Antonescu was summoned to visit Hitler at his headquarters. On April 2, after the Russians had crossed the River Pruth and entered Rumanian territory, M. Molotov, the Russian Foreign Minister, held out an olive branch by stating that Russia had no desire to acquire any part of

Rumanian territory or to alter the existing social structure of Rumania; but Antonescu, acting no doubt under Hitler's instructions, gave no reply.

Immediately afterwards the Russians invaded the country in force, and for some months Rumania was a theatre of war. The Russians made rapid progress for a time, crossed the River Sereth, and reached a point near Jassy. Here they were held up by stubborn German resistance. Meanwhile American aircraft carried out frequent raids over the country. Bucharest was heavily bombed on April 4, when, according to a statement of the High Command, 2,942 persons were killed, and 2,126 injured, 905 houses were destroyed and 1,375 damaged. As a result of the raids transport, both inside Bucharest and with the outside world, was thoroughly disorganised. After the raid of April 4 a decree was issued imposing the death penalty on looters and on persons causing panic by false alarms, and also forbidding owners or staffs of food shops, restaurants, pharmacies, and shops selling footwear or clothing to leave Bucharest. Persons with no essential work were, however, advised to leave the city, and a great exodus took place.

The great deterioration of the German military position on the east and the west fronts in the summer strengthened the hands of those elements, both civil and military, which were demanding an agreement with the Allies, and especially with the U.S.S.R. Matters were brought to a head by the resumption of the Russian offensive in Rumania in the middle of August. On August 23 King Michael, now 22 years of age, took matters into his own hands, deposed Antonescu and commissioned General Senatescu, a Marshal of the Royal Court, to form a Government containing representatives of the four principal parties—the Peasants, the Liberals, the Democrats, and the Communists. He then issued a proclamation stating that he had decided, for the "salvation of the Fatherland," on the immediate cessation of hostilities with the United Nations. On the next day the new Government broadcast a declaration announcing that the dictatorship had been overthrown and the people had entered on their rights, and promising that they would follow a democratic policy in which public freedom and the rights of citizens would be guaranteed and respected. In order further to win over public opinion, both the King and the Government stated that the Allies had offered an armistice recognising Rumania's right to Transylvania, though in fact all they had to go on was Mr. Molotov's statement of April 2. The new regime was accepted by the public with enthusiasm.

The first act of the new Government was to arrest Marshal Antonescu and Mihai Antonescu, the Foreign Minister, and their chief associates, and to intern the German Military Mission and other Germans in the capital, including Dr. Clodius, the

well-known financial expert. They then informed the German Legation and the German Army Command in Rumania that they desired "to liquidate in good understanding" Rumania's relations with Germany, and that they would allow the orderly withdrawal of German troops which were ready voluntarily to leave Rumania, and that the Army, if not attacked, would not of its own initiative undertake any hostile act against Germany. German units, however, disregarding assurances given by their commanders, attacked Rumanian units and machine-gunned the population in Bucharest and elsewhere, and the German Air Force bombed Bucharest and other towns. The Government thereupon ordered the Army to turn its arms against all German forces on Rumanian territory, and they were rapidly driven out of the capital, while heavy fighting took place at Ploesti.

On August 26 the Rumanian Minister in Ankara opened negotiations with the Soviet Minister there. The Rumanian Armistice Delegation arrived in Moscow on September 3, and the armistice was signed on the 13th. Rumania undertook to provide the Allies with at least 12 divisions to assist in the war against Germany and Hungary; to disarm and intern all German and Hungarian forces and nationals on Rumanian territory; to recognise the frontier with Russia established by the Agreement of June 28, 1940; to surrender all Allied prisoners of war, and also to release all persons imprisoned for activities in favour of the Allies, or on account of their racial origin; and to rescind all discriminatory legislation. Besides handing over all United Nations vessels in her ports, Rumania promised to give all facilities to the Allied-Soviet High Command for the execution of its functions, and to pay the U.S.S.R. 300,000,000 dollars (American) worth of oil, timber, vessels, machinery, etc., spread over six years, as reparations for damage suffered. The Government further undertook to co-operate with the Allied-Soviet High Command in the arrest of war criminals and to disband at once all organisations of Fascists and others hostile to the United Nations and in particular to the U.S.S.R. The Allied Governments, on their side, agreed that the decisions of the Vienna award should be considered as null and void, and that Transylvania, either all or the greater part of it, should be returned to Rumania. An Allied Control Mission was to be set up to regulate the execution of the agreement until peace was signed. The first British members of the Commission arrived on October 12.

Meanwhile Rumanian troops had already been co-operating with the Russians in driving the Germans out of Rumania, and by the end of September the country was practically clear of them. The clearance of Transylvania was also completed with the capture of Cluj on October 11 and Sighet on October 18. On November 27 the arrest was reported of some 100 leading politicians, including Giurgiu, an ex-Premier, and Manoilescu, an

ex-Foreign Minister. On November 5 General Senatescu reformed his Government ; and on December 2 he resigned and was succeeded by General Radescu. On December 12 the anti-Semitic laws of the Antonescu régime were annulled.

YUGOSLAVIA

Heavy fighting took place in the early months of the year between the Germans, supported by Bulgarians and renegade Yugoslavs, and the Partisans under the command of Marshal Tito. According to a statement made by a member of Tito's staff on January 13, there were 36 enemy divisions fighting in Yugoslavia on seven fronts, and they were now making their third attempt in eleven months to round up or destroy the Liberation forces. These were now, he said, 300,000 strong, and in a year the liberated area had grown from one-fifth to over one-half of the country. Valuable aid was given to the Partisans by British naval forces which destroyed much enemy shipping in the Adriatic, and by Allied Air Forces based on Italy, which made frequent raids on enemy-held positions. A certain amount of war material was also supplied by Britain and America.

In the middle of January the Germans captured Jajce, Tito's headquarters, but they were soon driven out again. From this point the Partisans more than held their own, capturing several places and opening up new lines of communication. By the middle of February they controlled nearly the whole of Southern Slovenia.

The National Committee of Liberation which had been formed under Tito's presidency at the end of 1943 (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 218) constituted a focus for all who desired to throw off the German yoke. To counteract its attractions the Germans promised the Serbian Premier, General Neditch, extensive territorial concessions in Macedonia, Bosnia, Novi Bazar, and Montenegro on condition that the Serbs disowned Tito and helped the Germans to defend Albania against the Allies. They also supported the Nationalist movement in Montenegro and allowed the Croats to retain the coastal regions which they had seized in Dalmatia after the overthrow of Mussolini. How little they gained by these concessions was shown by the fact that the Gestapo in February found it necessary to arrest 480 citizens in Belgrade, including M. Stankovitch, a former Regent, and M. Uzunovitch, a former Premier.

General Mihailovitch, on his side, also sought to set up a counter attraction by convening on January 26-28 a National Congress of his own supporters, attended by 273 representatives from the "Ravna Gor" movement, which had first organised resistance under him in 1941. This Congress claimed to represent all political parties which had wide national support, and all

national, cultural, social, athletic, and other organisations. General Mihailovitch attended it as representative of the *émigré* Government in Cairo. He expressed the loyalty of his army to King Peter, and disclaimed any dictatorial aims. The Congress drew up a programme for the restoration of Yugoslav independence on a democratic and federal basis, and decided to form a coalition of all the parties and organisations represented at it, to be called the Yugoslav Democratic National Union.

The new movement was encouraged by the *émigré* Government, but the British and Russian Governments continued to give their full support to Marshal Tito, whose Liberation Committee became more and more representative of the peoples of Yugoslavia. A meeting of anti-Royalist Yugoslavs was held at Moscow on April 4 under the auspices of the All-Slav Committee, and the Yugoslav Embassy in Moscow which professed allegiance to Tito was allowed to broadcast from there. On May 15 the Marshal stated that his army contained 44 per cent. Serbs, 30 per cent. Croats, 10 per cent. Slovenes, 5 per cent. Montenegrins, and 2½ per cent. each Macedonians and Moslems. The liberation front included a great variety of parties, and if some parties supposed to be democratic were not represented on the governing body, the reason was that virtually all their leaders had either entered the service of the enemy or sought shelter in their retreats to wait for the end of the war. Although Marshal Tito had not yet sought recognition for his Liberation Committee, he had already, on April 10, entered into an arrangement with Marshal Badoglio regarding the Yugoslav-Italian frontier after the war.

On March 11 King Peter, with his Prime Minister, M. Puritch, returned from Cairo to London, where soon after he married Princess Alexandra of Greece. Here he found that his support of Mihailovitch, who continued to be denounced as a traitor by the Partisans, was still further estranging him both from the mass of his own people and from the British Government. Accordingly he changed his course. On June 1 he commissioned Dr. Subasitch, a former Ban of Croatia, to form a Government which should collaborate with the Resistance elements in Yugoslavia, and charged him for that purpose to visit the country and get in touch with them. In announcing this decision to the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, he said that it was essential that there should be unity among all of them who were devoted to the sacred task of liberation, and he appealed to his people to lay aside their differences and postpone all political issues till after the war.

Dr. Subasitch left immediately for Yugoslavia, where he had conversations with Marshal Tito between June 14 and 17. An agreement was reached between them, as a result of which, on July 7, soon after his return to London, a new Government was formed of six members, in which he was Prime Minister and

Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Marshal Tito was represented by Professor Vukoslavlyevitch, a Serb from the Sanjak, as Minister of Agriculture, and M. Marusitch, a Slovene, as Minister of Justice and Communications. In a broadcast on July 9 he commended the unity established round Marshal Tito's forces, warned his countrymen against the machinations of false patriots, and urged the people to fight and work for the creation of a democratic and federal Yugoslavia. Marshal Tito, on his side, declared on August 17 that it was the aim of the National Liberation movement to work for the establishment of a democratic and federal regime, and not, as their enemies said, with the aim of introducing Communism. The question of the future Government should be left to the free choice of the people.

The inclusion of Tito's representatives in the Cabinet meant the exclusion of Mihailovitch, who was now entirely abandoned by the King. On August 25 a decree was issued formally annulling the decree of June 10, 1942, by which the headquarters of the Yugoslav High Command under him had been established, and on September 12 Marshal Tito was referred to by the King in a broadcast from London as the fighting head of Yugoslavia's national army. Mihailovitch, however, still endeavoured to carry on the struggle against the Germans as head of the King's forces. At the end of August he ordered a general mobilisation and appealed for rigorous discipline. His supporters, however, continued to diminish, while there was a rush to the standard of Tito. On September 15 Marshal Tito issued a final warning that all Chetniks and others fighting against the Army of Liberation after September 15 would be brought before a court-martial and tried as traitors to the people. At the end of November he issued an amnesty for Chetniks and Croat and Slovene conscripts under which about 1,060 prisoners were released to fight against the Germans.

Concurrently with the resumption of the Russian offensive in Rumania at the end of August a new thrust was made by Marshal Tito which led before the end of the year to the liberation of most of the country. In September much of the Dalmatian coast was cleared. On September 28 Marshal Tito agreed to Russian forces entering the country in order to invade Hungary, an operation in which they were assisted by Yugoslav troops. On October 20 Belgrade was recovered, and on the next day Kragujevac, the chief armaments centre. Split was recovered on October 27 and Zara on November 2, while by the capture of Monastir on November 6 Tito's forces gained control of all the Serbo-Greek frontier. On November 23 it was reported that all Macedonia had been freed. By the end of the year the Germans in the country were in full retreat trying to get out by the north, and continually harassed by Yugoslav forces.

On October 5 Marshal Tito met delegates of the Bulgarian

Government and made an agreement with them for collaboration against the Germans and for solving outstanding questions between the two countries "in a spirit of brotherly and general interest." Bulgarian troops thereafter gave active assistance to the Yugoslavs in driving the Germans out of the country.

As a result of German oppression and war conditions, distress in the country reached a terrible pitch. Nevertheless, the National Liberation Committee refused an offer of supplies from U.N.R.R.A. in October, on the ground that this body desired the distribution to be made through its own organs and institutions and not through the already established organs of the people's authority. U.N.R.R.A. headquarters in London thereupon issued a statement that no such procedure as that mentioned by the Liberation Committee had ever been contemplated.

TURKEY

By the end of 1944 the war situation enabled Turkey to congratulate herself that the policy so tenaciously adhered to for five years, in spite of alarms and excursions and at the sacrifice of some complacency, had achieved the end in view—avoidance of participation in the European struggle, which had by then rolled back from Turkey's danger zone, beyond the Balkans and generally to the frontiers of Germany. During the year the first shock to the self-satisfaction with which the Turkish Government had maintained in 1943 its precarious balance on the tight-rope of neutrality, while parading the sincerity of Turkish friendship with the Allies and with Germany, came early in February, when the British Military Mission charged with the task of meeting Turkey's requirements in military equipment left Ankara, and it became known that British supplies of war material were to be discontinued. On April 14 the British Ambassador in Ankara, supported by his United States colleague, drew the attention of the Turkish Government to the substantial increase in the monthly exports of chrome to Germany in return for increased German deliveries of arms. By the terms of her treaty with Germany Turkey had agreed to deliver 90,000 tons of chrome in 1943 and the same amount in 1944. In 1943 she had sent 47,000 tons, as compared with an export of 56,000 tons to the United Nations. In January and February, 1944, however, her exports to the United Nations amounted to only 1,870 tons, while Germany had received 14,800 tons. Within a week of the delivery of the British Note the Turkish Foreign Minister stated to the Grand National Assembly that, after informing Great Britain of its intention to assist her to the extent of Turkey's material possibilities, the Turkish Government had decided that, as Turkey was not a neutral, but was an ally of Great Britain, and as chrome was a material used in the manufacture of weapons used against her

ally, it would suspend altogether the export of chrome to the Axis countries.

During the first week of June the British Government drew the attention of the Turkish Government to the passage from the Black Sea to the Aegean of German vessels which had been used for military purposes, but were being disarmed and loaded with cargo, in order to pass through the Bosphorus without overt infringement of the Montreux Convention—a procedure which had been facilitated by the perfunctory nature of the inspection accorded by responsible Turkish authorities. To the first representations the Turkish Government had insisted that it could find no evidence that the vessels in question were other than commercial vessels; but, when the British Ambassador was instructed to take up the matter with President İnönü, the Cabinet found that it could not approve of the policy followed by the Foreign Minister, M. Menemenjoglu, and the Prime Minister informed the Allied Ambassadors of Turkey's decision to prohibit the passage of German vessels through the Straits. M. Menemenjoglu thereupon resigned his post, and M. Sarajoglu, the Prime Minister, held the vacant portfolio until September 14, when M. Hasan Saka, who had held posts in previous Cabinets, became Minister for Foreign Affairs. On December 9 the appointment of M. Menemenjoglu as Ambassador to France was announced, the previous Ambassador to the Vichy Government having been recalled after the return of General de Gaulle to Paris on August 25.

By the end of June the German Government could no longer remain indifferent to the writing on the wall. On July 15 it was reported that the German Embassy in Ankara had notified members of the German colony in Turkey to be ready to leave at six hours' notice. The Ambassador, Herr von Papen, on July 31 warned the Foreign Minister against British attempts to force Turkey into the war and of the momentous consequences which that step might entail for the country. Possibly by way of pointing the same moral Turkish shipping had during this month been subjected to frequent attacks by submarine, and all Turkish traffic in the Black Sea was suspended on July 23. On August 2 the Prime Minister announced to the Grand National Assembly the Government's decision to accede to the request of Great Britain and the United States and to break off diplomatic and economic relations with Germany. The decision was not a decision to go to war. Turkey, he added, had been promised financial and material aid in return. Two days later the German Ambassador left Ankara; but the negotiations for the exchange of German and Turkish officials and business men broke down, and some 450 Germans in Turkey were interned on August 30. It was not until December 11, however, that the branches in Turkey of the Deutsche Bank and the Deutsche Orient Bank and German

insurance companies were ordered to liquidate their businesses and to transfer their outstanding accounts to similar Turkish concerns.

It was the gap between the Government's assurances and its performances that helped to cloud Turkish relations with Russia, who was less disposed than Great Britain to push toleration to extreme limits. On Turkey's side, especially in the Press, no occasion was omitted of bearing witness to Turkey's desire for friendship; but the Soviet Government showed itself unimpressed and offset the protestations of good will with the obvious facts that both when Russia joined the Allies and when Rumania and Bulgaria denounced the German alliance Turkey continued to remain outside the war; further, Turkey was supplying foodstuffs and raw material to Germany, was turning a blind eye to German breaches of the Montreux Convention, and was tolerating the continued presence of German nationals in the country. When the advance of the Red Army brought Russia into Bulgaria, the eulogies in the Turkish Press of Soviet feats of arms gave place once more to fears of Russian intentions, which, however, drew from the Soviet authorities no more attention than had been accorded to the previous overtures.

In regard to domestic affairs the situation during 1944 was almost as much a cause for heart-searching as foreign relationships. In May demonstrations in Ankara by university students led to the discovery of an organisation of a revolutionary character, that, under the guise of Pan-Turanianism, which would unite all Turkish people under Turkey's leadership, revealed strong pro-Nazi proclivities and had among its objects the changing of the Constitution and the adoption of active measures of suppression against Jews and non-Moslems. Martial law was proclaimed in Istanbul on May 18, and on the following day in referring to the trouble President İnönü declared that every means would be used to prevent agitators from gaining possession of the destinies of Turkey. A large number of arrests in various parts of the country followed, including that of General İhsan Sabis, responsible Editor of the German *Türkische Post*, who was charged with sending anonymous letters to the President, urging the Government to side with Germany against Russia. Later in the year there were signs of doubts in the minds of some Turks whether the Government was likely to keep abreast of the Liberal trend of modern thought, and the President lent colour to the reports by stating at the opening of the session of the Grand National Assembly on November 1 that the policy of the regime was to promote the development of democratic institutions in accordance with the national character and conditions, but that it would oppose any attempt to introduce regimes copied or inspired from abroad—a choice of words that would be equally applicable to Pan-Turanianism and to ideologies of the extreme Left.

The steady rise in prices since the outbreak of the war continued until the early summer, when a bumper cereal harvest and the fruit and vegetable crops brought about an improvement in the food situation. The Budget for the financial year, beginning June 1, was the highest in the Republic's history. Ordinary Expenditure amounted to 570,000,000*l.*T. and Extraordinary Expenditure to 382,000,000*l.*T., and of this total of 952,000,000*l.*T., 54 per cent., was for national defence, but 95 per cent. of the Budget was covered by ordinary taxation, which this year included a 10 per cent. tax on agricultural products. The National Debt, which stood at 620,000,000*l.*T in 1939, rose to 1,400,000,000*l.*T. in 1944; but the nationalisation of industry, mining and other activities, which became intensified as a result of war conditions and was responsible in part for the increase of the Debt, was proving advantageous to the country.

GREECE

The year 1944, which witnessed the liberation of Greece from three years of German occupation and oppression, left her in a condition sadly aggravated by the acts of her own people. During the last three or four weeks of December, as a result of the fighting between rival political groups and of attacks on the British troops sent to speed the liberation of the country and to distribute relief to the population, more damage was done to Athens and the Piræus than by the Germans themselves, while the sufferings of the inhabitants, through food shortage, at a moment when relief had begun to reach them, became intensified.

The differences of political opinion which had led early in 1943 to armed clashes between rival guerrilla bands formed to harry the German forces in Greece were continued into 1944; but during February, as a result of the efforts of British liaison officers with the National Bands, an agreement was signed between E.L.A.S. (Greek Popular Liberation Army), the military organisation of E.A.M. (National Liberation Front), and E.D.E.S. (Greek Democratic Liberation Army) for the end of hostilities and an undertaking by both to co-operate in the fight against the Germans. A third smaller organisation, known as E.K.K.A., a military non-political group, was understood to have joined in the agreement. Before the end of March, however, mutinies prompted by political causes broke out in the Greek Navy and Army based on Egypt, and caused the Prime Minister, M. Tsouderos, to place his resignation in the hands of the King on April 3. He remained in office until King George returned to Cairo on April 11, and on April 13 gave place to M. Sophocles Venizelos. The unrest in the forces, however, continued, and M. Venizelos resigned on April 24, the day on which the First Greek

Brigade, after refusing to obey the orders of the Allied Commander-in-Chief for three weeks, laid down their arms and vacated their camp. Two days earlier the three mutinous Greek warships in Alexandria harbour had been boarded by loyal parties of the Fleet, and, after a few casualties had been incurred on both sides, had been seized and the mutineers arrested.

While these events were in progress, M. Papandreou, leader of the Republican Socialist Party, had escaped from Greece and had made his way through Turkey to Cairo for the purpose of urging the cause of national unity. On April 26 he was invited by King George to form a Government and on the next day he issued proclamations to the nation and the Greek forces. His mission, he declared, was to complete the Government of national union by the participation in it of all political parties and the national liberation organisations. Its programme included the reorganisation and good discipline of the armed forces, the unification of all the guerrilla bands, and the securing of order and freedom for the people, when liberated, in such a way that they might decide with full sovereignty on the Constitution, the social order and the government as a whole. To the armed forces he stated that the Army could not belong to persons, parties or organisations, but only to the nation, and added that the reform of the Forces would begin immediately.

M. Papandreou received from Mr. Churchill a promise of all support in his supreme task and duty of directing all Greek forces against the common foe. The British position was that the Nazi tyrant must be destroyed or expelled from the country, and then, as soon as ever tranquillity was restored, the Greek nation, free from foreign interference of all kinds, would choose the form of democratic government under which it wished to live, whether monarchy or republic.

The first important action of the new Prime Minister was the summoning, for a conference held in the Lebanon on May 14, of delegates of the Liberals, the National Union Party, the Social Democrats, the Popular Party and other groups, together with one Communist delegate. The Royalists were not represented, nor were delegates of the armed forces present. As the event proved, the numerous parties of the day were subject to so many cleavages that it was difficult to determine to what extent any representative had authority to commit his party or group. On May 21 M. Papandreou announced that virtually the whole of his programme had been accepted. The Lebanon Agreement, for which the status of a National Charter was claimed, provided for (1) the reformation and disciplining of the Greek armed forces in the Middle East, and the punishment of the instigators of mutiny ; (2) the unification and disciplining of all the guerrilla bands under the orders of the unified Government ; (3) the suppression of terrorism throughout Greece ; (4) the adequate dispatch of food

and medicines ; (5) the guarantee, during the liberation of Greece in co-operation with the Allies, of order among Greeks, so that they might express their sovereign will about the Constitution, social order and government, one of the aims of the Government being to clear up the question of the Monarchy ; and (6) sanctions for those who had betrayed the country.

On the following day the King entrusted M. Papandreou with the formation of a Government of National Unity. In the new Cabinet, as completed by June 8, M. Papandreou held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and M. Venizelos was Deputy Prime Minister ; M. Kanellopoulos, head of the National Unionist Party, took the Ministry of Finance and Reconstruction ; M. Kartalis, a representative of E.K.K.A., the Ministry of Information ; and Professor Tsatsos, a member of E.L.A.S., the Ministry of Justice. The representatives of E.A.M. and the Communists in Cairo were unable to obtain from their supporters in Greece consent to their nomination as Left-Wing representatives in the new Government, and, pending this consent, some of the other parties refused to accept posts in it. The forces of Colonel Zervas, E.D.E.S., were also not represented. After keeping the final constitution of the Cabinet open as long as seemed practicable, M. Papandreou announced on June 28 that negotiations with E.A.M. and the Political Committee (representing E.A.M., E.L.A.S., and other parties of the Left), for whom he had reserved five portfolios, had broken down. Fighting between rival bands in Greece was again reported to be taking place. In an attempt to win over the extremists of their parties, General Seraphis, Chief of E.L.A.S., and M. Porphyrogenis, Secretary-General of E.A.M., returned from Egypt to Greece to try to secure the ratification of the Lebanon Agreement, to which the signatures of the leaders of E.A.M. had been attached.

During July the parties to the dispute drifted farther apart. Guerrilla bands in Greece, however, continued to harass the German withdrawal, while the Germans intensified their reprisals on the civilian population under their control. Courts-martial in Egypt in the meantime passed varying sentences, including the death sentence and long terms of imprisonment, on those found guilty of taking part in the naval and military mutinies. On July 27 Mr. Anthony Eden in the House of Commons stated that the British Government was giving M. Papandreou full support in his attempts to put the Lebanon Agreement into effect. The leaders of E.A.M., however, had refused to ratify the signatures of their representatives at the Lebanon Conference or to appoint Ministers to the posts that it was agreed should be reserved for them. The British Government, he added, was satisfied that a large proportion of the members of E.A.M. was opposed to the obstructive attitude of certain of their leaders. It was not true that the courts-martial in Cairo formed a bar to unity. It had

been agreed at the Lebanon Conference that these should be set up, and the Government was under an obligation to set them up. Although a number of death sentences had been passed, none had been executed, and no final decision could be reached until all the trials had been completed; but the British Government had advised the Greek Government that in their view the achievement of Greek unity should be a paramount consideration.

At the end of August other counsels prevailed with E.A.M. An invitation from M. Papandreou to send once again delegates to Egypt was accepted, and on September 2 the Prime Minister announced the accomplishment of "our complete unity," with the inclusion of all parties in the Government. The five delegates, members of the Political Committee, took the oath as Ministers—Professor Svolos as Minister of Finance, M. Porphyrogenis of Labour, M. Askoutsis of Communications, M. Tsirimokos of National Economy, and M. Zeugos of Agriculture. A week later the new Government transferred its seat from Cairo to Caserta in Italy, where at the end of September it met in conference the Allied Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, and General Scobie, General Officer Commanding Greece, with Generals Zervas (E.D.E.S.) and Seraphis (E.L.A.S.). At this meeting the two Greek Generals declared their full acceptance of the orders of the Greek Government and of the Supreme Allied Commander, under whose orders the Government had placed all Greek forces operating in the country. Decisions were taken at the same time with complete unanimity for the co-ordination of the struggle for the liberation of Greece.

Within a month of this conference the southern areas of Greece were reported quiet and nearly free of Germans, although in the north fighting was still taking place between the national bands. On October 14 Athens and the Piræus, which the Partisans claimed to have liberated two days earlier, were occupied by British troops. The following day a clash with fatal casualties occurred in Athens between adherents of E.D.E.S. and E.A.M. The situation remained tense, and one of the first acts of the Prime Minister after his arrival in the capital on October 18 was to appeal for the abandonment of party feuds. On October 25 senior officials from the British Minister Resident in the Middle East arrived in Athens to assist the Government and the British Service authorities, in their efforts to cope with the currency situation, the Greek drachma exchange having reached astronomical figures under German manipulation. Their work resulted in the fixing, as from November 12, of the exchange rate at 600 drachmæ to the paper pound (with four paper pounds to the gold sovereign), the inflation drachma to be exchanged for new ones at the rate of 50 billion old for one new. The political situation continued to be so critical that on October 27 Mr. Eden, accompanied by Lord Moyne, British Minister Resident, Middle

East, General Maitland-Wilson and Admiral Cunningham arrived in Athens. Two days later they received the Communist leaders, MM. Siantos and Zeugos, who gave assurances that the party stood for a democratic solution of national and political difficulties and indicated that they gave full support to the Papandreou Government. As an earnest of the improved state of affairs, and to mark the fourth anniversary of Greece's entry into the war, a great popular demonstration was held in Athens on October 29 ; in it all parties and groups took part, with the single exception of E.D.E.S., which accused E.A.M. of responsibility for an attack on its followers.

Any lull in the clash between the rival factions was destined to be of short duration. On November 4 several hundred members of E.A.M. paraded the capital carrying the bodies of three men, who, they declared, had been killed by "Right-Wing organisations." The trouble centred in the presence in Athens of armed bands of the rival political groups, including the so-called National Militia formed by E.L.A.S. on the re-occupation of Athens to arrest those who had been conspicuous for their collaboration with the Germans. A decree disbanding the Militia was issued on October 30. On November 6 General Scobie, as C-in-C. of the Greek Army, announced that the forces of E.L.A.S. and E.D.E.S. would be disbanded on December 10. E.A.M. countered by demanding that all Greek forces raised in Egypt should be disbanded on the ground that they had not been regularly enrolled, were "nationalistic and monarchistic," and wished to set up another dictatorship. Temporary agreement, however, seemed to have been reached when all the parties were understood to have consented to the issue of a special order prohibiting the carrying of arms except under permit. E.A.M. were given a seventh Minister in a Cabinet of 24. The E.A.M. Ministers had, indeed, drawn up an agreement for the demobilisation of the guerrillas, which provided that the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion (formed in Egypt) were not to be demobilised, while E.L.A.S. were to retain the brigade of guerrillas and E.D.E.S. to be allowed a small force. At the last moment these Ministers changed their minds and insisted on the disbanding of the regular units, to which the other Ministers refused to agree. As a result of this disagreement the E.A.M. police refused to hand in their arms, and when M. Papandreou issued a decree enforcing the Government's decision, the E.A.M. Ministers withheld their signature and resigned.

The trouble had come to a head. E.A.M. ordered a demonstration to take place in defiance of the Government's ban, and called for a general strike for December 4 ; it announced that it would no longer accord allegiance to the Government and to General Scobie, and declared E.L.A.S. an independent army. In the provinces the latter started to break up the National Guard

constituted under common agreement and proceeded to concentrate troops on Athens. The attack on the capital was a manifest bid for power, carried out with complete indifference to Greek life and property, as well as to the presence of British troops. The latter, at first on the defensive, soon found themselves, owing to the numbers of the attacking forces, involved in a grim struggle for survival, in which they were handicapped by their efforts to spare civilian lives. With no slackening of the rebel offensive a Communist ex-Minister was sent by E.A.M. to the British Commander to inquire whether agreement was possible. General Scobie gave as the British terms the following stipulations : that E.L.A.S. must carry out his orders as troops placed under his command by the Caserta Agreement and evacuate Attica ; that all E.L.A.S. supporters in Athens and the Piræus must cease resistance and hand in their arms. When these conditions had been fulfilled, the necessary steps would be taken to put an end to the present turmoil in Greece, and to restore to the people peace and full enjoyment of their democratic liberties. The reply of E.A.M., delivered on December 16, offered acceptance under conditions, but ignored the stipulation that the end of resistance and the surrender of arms by E.L.A.S. supporters in Athens and the Piræus must precede all negotiations. At this stage General Plastiras, the former Liberal Prime Minister, who had been in exile in France for eleven years and had returned to Greece at the request of M. Papandreou, began a series of appeals to E.L.A.S. and the Greek people to abandon the fratricidal rebellion. The fighting, however, continued ; it was found necessary to send considerable reinforcements to General Scobie ; the food situation became still more critical, the British troops being placed on half rations, in order that the balance might be distributed to the Greek population.

On December 25 Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden flew to Athens, and after consultation with Field-Marshal Alexander, Mr. Harold Macmillan, Minister Resident, Central Mediterranean, the British Ambassador to Greece and the Greek Prime Minister, they convened a conference representative as far as possible of Greek political opinion, inviting the Central Committee of E.L.A.S. to send delegates. The conference opened the next day under the chairmanship of Archbishop Damaskinos ; it was attended by M. Papandreou on behalf of the Government, the Greek Left Front and a newly formed moderate party, by General Plastiras and representatives of the Liberal Party, the Progressives, the Popular Party and E.L.A.S. The United States Minister in Athens and the Head of the Russian Military Mission were present as observers. After a speech from Mr. Churchill explaining the attitude of the British Government, which sought no territorial nor commercial advantages in Greece, but had sent troops because they thought that at Caserta they had the invitation of all Greeks, the Allied

representatives left the discussion to the Greek delegates. Apart, however, from expressing the desire that Archbishop Damaskinos should be appointed Regent, the conference came to no agreement and was adjourned. Mr. Churchill returned to London on December 29, and King George of the Hellenes, after seeing him, formally appointed the Archbishop Regent, announcing that he was resolved not to return to Greece unless summoned by a free and fair expression of the national will. M. Papandreou resigned, but fighting in Athens and the Piræus continued, with the tide now set markedly in favour of the British forces, who were gradually extending the area held by them in the centre of the capital, and had been able to free practically the whole of the Piræus before the end of the year. In Epirus there had been fighting during December between E.L.A.S. and E.D.E.S. forces, as a result of which the latter were forced to evacuate the province, after heavy losses, and to take refuge in Corfu.

BULGARIA

For Bulgaria the year 1944 opened with her Government in active co-operation with Germany, under the masterful direction of the German Minister in Sofia, and closed with the country at war with Germany and Bulgarian troops aligned with Allied armies in harassing the German retreat from the Balkan Peninsula. The intervening months had witnessed a series of progressive stages leading up to the *volte face*. Towards the end of the previous year the capital had already experienced the effects of Allied bombing, which was renewed on January 10 and again on March 30. These raids, while disorganising communications, had not disrupted traffic on the main railway lines, but a partial evacuation of Sofia involving some Government Departments, though probably no members of the Cabinet, followed. To supplement railway traffic all public and private motor transport was brought under military control by a decree of February 11. Unrest, symptomatic of the growing disillusionment regarding the ultimate issue of the war, had broken out in the country, one of the last acts of the Sobranie, before its adjournment on January 26, being to pass Bills authorising the formation of a special gendarmerie, with the object, it was understood, of protecting the Government from popular risings and of preventing sabotage. At the same time any loose ends discoverable in the German hold on the country were being gathered up, and by the end of March, the Germans, having taken over control of the port of Varna on the Black Sea, had established a strong base there.

With the steady deterioration of the German position in Russia, however, the Soviet Government decided that the time had come to devote attention to Bulgaria. Already in the third

week of January the Moscow radio had recommended the Bulgarians to join the Allies. The Russian threat to Rumania was stated to have led to a German demand that Bulgarian troops should be sent to support the Rumanians, a demand that the Sofia Government refused on the ground that it would be dangerous to ignore public hostility to military action against the Russians. It is a matter for conjecture whether this refusal was helped by an intimation received at the time from Moscow that any change in Bulgarian policy in the direction of giving more active military assistance to Germany would be regarded as an unfriendly act. On May 22 a more definite warning to Sofia was said to have been conveyed from the Soviet Government to the effect that, unless Bulgarian policy towards Germany was changed within forty-eight hours, relations with Russia would be broken off. It was on this day that the Government of M. Bojiloff resigned, but the peak of German power in Bulgaria had not yet been passed. The new Cabinet formed by M. Bagrianoff, who had long been in close association with the Bulgarian Court, was obliged very soon after assuming office on June 1 to modify its composition at the behest of the German Minister, and a few days later the Chief of the General Staff and his deputy, both credited with being anti-Nazi, were dismissed.

In spite of the pro-Axis reputation of the new Prime Minister, it was under his regime that the country's emancipation from German thralldom was initiated. During June and July the Government, which had evaded any clear definition of policy on taking office, was occupied mainly with an economic programme with the object, it was claimed, of increasing production and purchasing power at home and of expanding foreign trade. Early in August, however, under pressure from the Soviet Government the Prime Minister agreed to end pro-German propaganda activities in Bulgaria; the Directorate of National Propaganda was abolished and the two chief Nazi papers in Sofia were suspended. The entire senior police staff, including the Chief of Police, were dismissed and Army Colonels were appointed in their stead. A High Court Judge, known to be anti-Nazi, was placed in charge of the Department of Jewish Affairs, and it was subsequently reported that anti-Semitic measures were being relaxed. All political prisoners, it was announced, were to be released and an amnesty was granted to all Partisans and to their relatives previously held as hostages. Russia's demands in the economic sphere were met to the extent of stopping practically all exports to Germany, and the High Commissariat for War Economy, which had controlled all Bulgaria's exports to Germany, was abolished. Permission was granted for the opening of a Russian Consulate at Varna, and the Soviet Legation in Sofia was informed that its representatives might carry out tours of inspection in other parts of Bulgaria.

By this time the changes in the general situation brought about by the diplomatic break between Turkey and Germany and by the marked success of the Allied invasion of France could no longer be ignored in Bulgaria. The Turkish Government was informed that the break with Germany would not affect the Bulgarian attitude towards Turkey, and the German Minister was told that Bulgaria would not allow German troops to pass across her territory in the event of a Turco-German conflict. By now, too, the Germans had seen fit to evacuate Varna and Burgas and had withdrawn their control of the Bulgarian-Turkish frontier. On August 17, ten weeks after assuming power, M. Bagrianoff made his first declaration of policy. In it he gave it to be understood that his Government were trying to extricate Bulgaria from her subservience to Germany by establishing contact with the Allies and by the subsequent resumption of diplomatic relations with Great Britain and the United States. To this end a Bulgarian representative had left for Turkey and after an interview with the British Ambassador in Ankara had proceeded, as head of a mission, to Cairo to obtain terms. On August 25 the Bulgarian Government requested the German Government to withdraw its troops from Bulgarian territory, and on the following day the Minister for Foreign Affairs announced that Bulgaria had decided on complete neutrality in the Russo-German war.

On September 1 M. Bagrianoff resigned office after announcing in a broadcast message that his Government was anxious to avoid war with Russia, and, to achieve this, had ordered the disarming of non-Bulgarian troops entering the country or stationed on Bulgarian soil; he had also ordered the withdrawal of Bulgarian occupation troops, which had begun a few days previously. The new Prime Minister, M. Constantine Muravieff, a Right-Wing Agrarian, who had been in retirement for ten years, formed his Government from members of the parties of the Opposition since 1934, all of whom had maintained anti-German sympathies throughout the war. In a broadcast message on September 5 M. Muravieff stated that the Government had decided to restore full democratic freedom and the rights of the people, equality of rights for all citizens, irrespective of national origin or creed, and all constitutional rights and liberties. A full and unconditional amnesty was granted to all who had taken part in the struggle against the dictatorial regime and against the authorities who had followed a policy of alliance with Germany. All Fascist organisations supported from abroad and alien to the interests and traditions of the Bulgarian people were to be liquidated. The 25th Session of the Sobranie was dissolved. In her foreign policy Bulgaria intended to carry out a rigorous and unconditional policy of neutrality worthy of confidence; she would take measures to disarm all German forces crossing her border and also those German troops on her territory. If Germany created trouble, the

Government would be forced to break off diplomatic relations. Bulgaria considered the Tripartite Pact null and void, and she denounced the Anti-Comintern Pact. The Government would openly and confidently pursue a sincere and friendly policy towards Soviet Russia, with whom normal relations were, fortunately, preserved.

For the Soviet Government, however, the time for Bulgarian neutrality had passed, and at 7 o'clock the same evening (Sept. 5) Russia declared war on Bulgaria. The Note handed by M. Molotoff to the Bulgarian Minister in Moscow stated that for more than three years Bulgaria had been actively helping Germany in her war against the Soviet Union. In spite of Rumania's desertion of Germany, Bulgaria had not taken advantage of her opportunities, and was carrying out a policy of so-called neutrality, on the strength of which she was continuing to give direct help to the Germans by sheltering the retreating German forces from pursuit by the Red Army. Five hours later, at midnight, the Bulgarian Minister in Ankara called on the Soviet Ambassador to Turkey to inform him that Bulgaria had declared war on Germany and to request an armistice with Russia. When the same request was made on September 6 by the Bulgarian Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs to the Soviet Legation in Sofia, it was refused on the ground that Bulgaria had not severed her relations with Germany. A formal declaration of war on Germany followed on September 8, and on the next day, under a new Government, Bulgaria ceased to be in a state of war with Soviet Russia. A delegation was instructed to get into touch with General Tolbukhin in order to establish terms for the cessation of hostilities and to discuss collaboration between Bulgarian and Soviet troops for the expulsion of the Germans from Bulgaria. The new Government was formed by M. Kimon Georgieff, with Colonel Vultcheff Minister of War; General Marinoff, a former Minister of War, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the war against Germany. On September 12 M. Georgieff telegraphed to Marshal Tito, greeting the new Yugoslavia on behalf of the Fatherland Front of the new Bulgaria, and expressing a wish for close brotherly collaboration between the two Slav countries for the expulsion of the common foe and for the establishment of a new order in the Balkans. In his reply Marshal Tito accepted with joy the collaboration of the Bulgarian people in the joint struggle, and on October 5 agreement was reached for military co-operation and the establishment of neighbourly relations between the two countries.

The armistice between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States on the one hand, and Bulgaria on the other, was signed in Moscow on October 28. The armistice terms imposed on Bulgaria the duty of regarding Germany as an enemy and of making available her armed forces for service with the Allies ;

she undertook to withdraw from the territory of Greece and Yugoslavia which she had occupied, and to make reparation for loss and damage caused by the war to the United Nations. A few days previously a strong Bulgarian force, under Soviet command, was reported to be moving westward; Veles, on the Vardar, was occupied on November 11, and on November 15 Skoplye was entered by a joint body of Marshal Tito's troops and Bulgarians. Thereafter until the end of the year the Bulgarian army was operating in strength in Yugoslavia against the retreating Germans.

ALBANIA

Throughout the greater part of 1944 guerrilla bands were operating against the Germans in various parts of Albania. They included both supporters and opponents of King Zog, and occasionally came to blows with one another. From 5,000 their numbers grew to 30,000, regularly organised in brigades. They were ably assisted by British officers and men, and some of them received arms and supplies from England. On April 10, the fifth anniversary of the Italian invasion, General Maitland-Wilson issued a message of encouragement, bidding them to resist and harass the Germans in every way.

In September, seaborne and airborne troops of "Land Forces, Adriatic," began to operate in Albania, and gradually made the position of the Germans there untenable. On October 28 the collaborationist Government declared that it could no longer carry on and resigned. On November 21 it was announced by the Free Yugoslav radio that Tirana and Durazzo had been liberated by the Albanian National Liberation Army.

CHAPTER V

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM
—THE NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—
DENMARK—ICELAND—SWEDEN—NORWAY—FINLAND

BELGIUM

FOR three-quarters of the year the population of Belgium continued to experience the miseries of Nazi oppression—loss of liberty, forced labour, deportations, shooting of hostages, and mass arrests and executions. At the beginning of March orders were given to evacuate a large part of the coast, including Ostend. The patriots did not lose heart, and continued to carry out acts of sabotage and of vengeance on collaborators, especially after the Allied landing in Normandy, when Resistance groups systematically destroyed means of communication and caused the

Germans great difficulty in moving troops from Belgium. On June 7 King Leopold was removed from Belgium to Germany; in August he sent a message to his people stating that he had strongly protested against his removal, and calling on them to remain courageous and united.

At the beginning of September deliverance came with extraordinary rapidity. The first Allied spearheads crossed the frontier from France on September 2, one reaching Tournai and the other pushing along the Sambre from Maubeuge. On the next day Brussels was liberated, and on the day after Malines, Alost, and Louvain. Antwerp followed immediately afterwards, and by the 8th Ghent, Courtrai, and Armentières had been occupied by the British. On the 10th the British took Zeebrugge and the Americans Liège, and with the capture of Bruges on the 12th and the crossing of the Leopold Canal by the Canadians immediately afterwards the liberation of the country was completed. Antwerp, however, was not made available for traffic until the estuary of the Scheldt had been cleared at the end of October (*vide* English History).

On September 8 and 9 M. Pierlot and his Cabinet returned from London to Brussels. On September 20 Parliament met and elected Prince Charles, brother of the King, as Regent. M. Pierlot then resigned, but on September 26, at the request of the Regent, he formed a new Cabinet. M. Spaak remained Foreign Minister and M. Gutt Minister of Finance; two members of the resistance movement and a Communist were also included. On October 3 Parliament gave the Government a vote of confidence by 131 votes to 6.

The first concern of the Government was to stabilise the currency, which threatened to depreciate rapidly. On October 5 the rate of exchange with Great Britain was fixed at 176.625 francs to the *l.* On October 6 it was announced that a new currency would be issued, and all the old notes cancelled. Orders were given that all existing currency notes should be handed in, all deposits blocked, and all securities declared, limited amounts of currency and bank credit being released for immediate needs. The new currency was put into circulation gradually to avoid inflation. Special taxes were levied on undue profits which had accrued to anyone during the war. On December 22 the Minister of Finance proposed to confiscate all accumulations of capital during the war which exceeded 50,000 francs, or in some cases 150,000.

As in France, the disarming of the Resistance Groups was not effected without some friction. On October 31 the Cabinet decided to incorporate several thousand of their members into the Army—which was to consist of 40 battalions, partly equipped by the Allies—the gendarmerie, the police, and other services. On November 16 the two Resistance members of the Government and a Communist member resigned, on the ground that some

members of the Resistance Movement were being disarmed without being taken into the Army, and organised demonstrations in the capital. In response, however, to representations made to them by General Erskine, the Allied Deputy Supreme Commander in Belgium, they promised to abstain from further agitation in order not to interfere with military operations. After some further demonstrations the heads of the Resistance Movement, on November 20, agreed to deliver all the arms of the Resistance units to the Allied armies by November 25.

Most of the arms were, in fact, surrendered ; but on November 25 the Independence Front and the Communist Party organised in Brussels a demonstration of 8,000-10,000 people at which demands were made for the resignation of the Premier, a new democratic Government, the punishment of collaborators, and supplies of food and coal. About 1,000 of the crowd tried to break through to the Government buildings, and a conflict with the police took place in which 45 of the crowd and 15 policemen were wounded. British troops in the city co-operated in maintaining order. On November 28 M. Pierlot in the Chamber accused certain "irresponsible elements" of trying to create an atmosphere of civil war, and demanded special powers, which were granted to him by 116 votes to 12. He then threatened the *Drapeau Rouge* with suspension if it continued to mislead the public and publish incitements to revolution, announced the suspension of public meetings and processions, and warned transport workers that dereliction of duty by them in war-time would be regarded as a serious matter. He also stated that 34,000 members of the Resistance Movement would be incorporated in the Army.

The food and fuel situation remained desperate, even after the opening of the port of Antwerp, and was the chief cause of the unrest in the country and the discontent with the Pierlot Government. On December 1 General Erskine stated that food was available for a diet of 1,400 to 1,500 calories, and that the output of coal in that month would be 900,000 tons, compared with 2,000,000 tons before the war, and even so more coal was being mined than could be distributed.

Considerable nervousness was caused among the population by the irruption of the Germans into the Malmedy district shortly before Christmas. On December 21 it was stated that the Government viewed the military situation with complete confidence, and would not leave their posts. A reassuring message was broadcast to the public by M. Pierlot two days later. An offer made on December 19 by M. Demany, leader of the Independence Front, to place former Resistance forces at the disposal of the Allies was declined by General Erskine, on the ground that this was unnecessary, and that the primary need was increased factory output of war material.

THE NETHERLANDS

In the opening months of 1944 the struggle between the Occupation authorities and the Dutch population continued mainly along the same lines as before. The Germans abated nothing of their efforts to force the Dutch population to work for the German war machine, either in Holland or in the Reich. The Dutch countered their attempts by an even greater variety of methods, intended to make this impossible, the most notable of which were "diving" (going into hiding), the exchange and forgery of identity papers, periodical attacks on registries and distribution offices, large-scale thefts of rations which the authorities were holding in reserve, sabotage of postal and other public services, and the wilful creation of confusion in public records. The underground Press also continued to keep up the spirit of resistance.

Popular feeling was exacerbated early in the year by reports of inundations commenced by the Germans in the Zuyder Zee and Scheldt areas. At the same time the news of German military reverses in Italy and Russia emboldened the forces of internal resistance. They found further encouragement in the success of the pin-point R.A.F. raid on the Central Registry building in The Hague in the first week in May. This building was the store-house of all the records which the Germans had been collecting and classifying in preparation for introducing a brand new system of identity and rationing documents, which should put an end to the prevailing confusion.

As soon as the Allied counter-invasion of the Continent had succeeded in consolidating its bridgeheads, the Germans, realising that the population were only too anxious to help the invader, shed the last pretence of consulting the Dutch people's interests, and the occupation régime became a frankly military despotism in enemy territory. Preparations were made to turn Holland into a battlefield which the Allies should find particularly difficult. Certain areas were compulsorily evacuated, with such short notice that the inhabitants in many cases had to leave their household goods behind. Destruction of buildings on alleged military grounds was carried out on a large scale. Other regions were declared prohibited areas, and long lists of new offences punishable in many cases by death were created by a succession of defence decrees. Executions became numerous. The country's remaining metal resources were requisitioned, and goods transport, even to Belgium, was subjected to a system of licences; to more distant countries it was stopped altogether.

News of the decisive defeats of the Germans in France in August, of their disorganised retreat eastwards and the whirlwind liberation of vast territories, including almost the whole of Belgium and a portion of Southern Holland raised excitement in

the rest of the country to fever heat. It seemed that it would be only a matter of days, or of weeks at the most, before the whole of Holland would be free. The Germans had not yet succeeded in forming a firm defensive front anywhere, and it was obvious that this would be made still harder for them if their transport system in Holland should be thrown into disorder.

Accordingly, after consultation with the Allied Supreme Command, and partly also at the request of prominent Resistance leaders within the country, Professor Gerbrandy, the Netherlands Prime Minister, on September 17, broadcast from London a general railway strike order. He explained the strategical purpose of the strike, and made no attempt to minimise the hardships and dangers it would involve. He was, however, confident, as was everybody else at that time, that the sacrifice demanded of the people would be short-lived.

The strike order met with instant and universal compliance. Within forty-eight hours trains ceased to run anywhere in Holland with the exception of a few worked by the Germans themselves under heavy military guards. The Germans failed to break this strike either by terror or by offers of double pay and double rations. It eventually spread to the waterways, and was still in force at the end of the year.

Hardly, however, had the strike started when, with tragic suddenness, the situation in Holland underwent a catastrophic change. The Allies failed to take Arnhem, and the Germans tightened their grip on the part of the country they still occupied. The consequence was that the strike weapon recoiled on the population, and they saw themselves fated to endure for months conditions which they had reckoned on lasting only a few days. Apart from the German retaliatory measures, the strike prevented the transport of supplies to the towns, with the result that the rationing system broke down and stocks of coal and other fuel were soon exhausted. Nor was this all. Thirty thousand railwaymen were on strike; with their families a total of about a hundred thousand people were involved. All of these had to be hidden and to be fed, while food resources everywhere dwindled.

By the end of the year famine conditions were prevalent in all the bigger towns of the German-occupied area, and conditions were little better in the country. All home cooking had ceased by reason of the lack both of foodstuffs and of fuel. Where gas and electricity services had not stopped altogether, they were restricted to a few hours daily, with one small candle-power bulb in one room.

In the liberated area also (where Maastricht was the first town to be freed on September 15), food conditions at first grew worse instead of better. From an average of 1,600 calories a day under the German régime, rations dropped steeply to less than 1,000 calories as soon as villages or towns were set free. Being

suddenly cut off from the surrounding districts from which they normally drew their foodstuffs, liberated places had nothing to fall back upon except what the Allies might bring. The Allies' resources were strained to the utmost, mainly because an advancing army finds it almost impossible to spare extra transport. It took many weeks to overcome these difficulties, but by the end of the year the daily calories had been brought back to 1,600, with the prospect of further improvement.

Despite war losses the Netherlands Government kept sixty war vessels with crews of about 7,000 men in active participation in the United Nations' war effort. The land forces, the Princess Irene Brigade, were transferred to France soon after the first landings and they played a creditable if inconspicuous part in the advance across Northern France, into Belgium and into the south of Holland. Dutch Air Forces were active in both the Pacific and the European theatres of war, and one squadron incorporated in the Second Tactical Air Force of the R.A.F. was based on free Dutch soil before the year 1944 came to an end.

The manifold problems which would arise when liberation came formed the main preoccupation of the Government Departments and the numerous committees of experts set up by the Dutch Cabinet in London. Acting to some extent on suggestions made by the Resistance movement in Holland, it prepared decrees dealing with administration, justice, the investigation of all charges of collaboration with the enemy, the future participation of the Netherlands in the Allied war effort (in the Pacific or elsewhere), and a wide variety of needs and contingencies. Most of these decrees were explained in advance to the homeland over Radio Orange. The most important was the one providing for the Special State of Siege, which is now actually in force in liberated Holland. It is military in character and provides for the co-operation of local leaders, who possess the people's confidence, in order to act with the officials of the Netherlands Military Administration in charge of the special state of siege. A principle of democracy is in this way introduced even during the transition period before elections can be held.

Mr. P. Kerstens became Temporary Commissioner for Netherlands East Indies Affairs in Holland on September 1. On September 5 Colonel H. J. Kruls was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and immediately afterwards appointed to the position of Chief-of-Staff of the Military Administration which was to be in charge during the transition period in liberated areas.

On September 15 the Netherlands Government signed treaties with the Governments of Belgium and Luxemburg, establishing a provisional customs union between the three countries, to enter into force on the re-installation of the Governments in their liberated countries.

An agreement with France was signed on September 20

providing for mutual facilities and close collaboration in the repatriation of nationals of the two countries found in each other's territories.

SWITZERLAND

The successes obtained by the Social Democrats in the Federal elections at the end of October, 1943—when they became the largest party in the National Council (Lower Chamber) with 56 seats—emboldened the Socialists in Switzerland to press for the adoption by the Government of a more friendly attitude towards Soviet Russia. In February a "Society for the Furtherance and Cultivation of Normal Relations between Switzerland and the Soviet Union" was founded in Basle. Shortly afterwards an appeal was published in the Press for signatures to a petition to be addressed to the Federal Assembly urging it to request the Federal Council (the Executive) to take immediate steps for resuming diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. Within two weeks over 100,000 signatures had been obtained. On March 29 a Socialist member moved a resolution in the Lower House demanding that the Federal Council should do everything in its power to restore normal relations with the U.S.S.R. In reply, M. Pilet-Golaz, the Head of the Political Department (Foreign Office), stated that at present, on account of the war, no trade worth mentioning was possible between Switzerland and Russia, but Switzerland regarded the Trade Agreement of February 24, 1941, as still existing in principle and only postponed on account of present circumstances.

M. Pilet-Golaz, who had been at the Foreign Office since 1940, had never shown himself well disposed to Russia, and took no further steps to draw nearer to that country. Accordingly the Central Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party, at its meeting in Zurich in July, passed unanimously a resolution protesting against the inactivity of the Federal Council in the matter, and in the name of the entire Socialist Party urged the Federal authorities to resume normal relations with the Soviet Union without waiting for the end of the war. It also took steps for mobilising public opinion in support of this policy. The Government gave way to this pressure, and on October 10 made a request, through its Minister in London, for the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations. The result was rather disconcerting. The Soviet Government replied on November 1 that the Swiss Note had passed over in silence the "hostile and pro-Fascist policy" pursued by Switzerland towards the Soviet from its inception, and refused the request, as the Swiss Government had so far in no way repudiated this policy. Immediately afterwards M. Pilet-Golaz resigned, as did also Dr. Gysler, President of the National Council, who was succeeded by Dr. Aeby.

The advance of the American Seventh Army up the Rhone

valley in July brought the war nearer to Switzerland, and General Guisan, the Commander-in-Chief, on August 2, issued a warning that total mobilisation might become necessary. On September 5 he actually ordered mobilisation at war strength of part of the frontier defences. Meanwhile the withdrawal of the Germans from Vichy France had restored to Switzerland freedom of intercourse with the outside world, though the value of the boon was much diminished by the dislocation on the French railways. Pending their rehabilitation the Department of Transport at Berne organised a motor-lorry service for the purpose of transporting Swiss export goods of high value from Geneva to the Spanish frontier, to be taken thence by rail to Lisbon and shipped overseas. On the return journey the lorries conveyed imports to Geneva.

The number of refugees in Switzerland, which at the beginning of the year was just over 70,000, had increased by July to nearly 80,000. To avoid complications, the Federal Council on July 16 issued regulations that besides military persons only such civil refugees should be accepted as for political or other reasons were in danger of their lives and whose only means of escape was by flight into Switzerland. The authorities, however, reserved the right to refuse admission to persons whose activities towards Switzerland had rendered them unworthy of the right of asylum. In virtue of this provision asylum was shortly afterwards refused to Pierre Laval, and a number of Gestapo and S.S. men who had crossed the frontier requesting internment during the fighting along the Franco-Swiss frontier were deported to Germany. On the other hand, several hundred Allied war prisoners who had entered the country after escaping from camps in Germany and Italy were in September allowed to leave for France.

On April 13 the crews, numbering 130, of 13 American bombers which landed on Swiss territory were interned. On April 1 a formation of American Liberators in error bombed the town of Schaffhausen on the Upper Rhine, killing 40 persons and injuring 55, and causing much damage to property and rendering hundreds of persons homeless. On April 3 Mr. Cordell Hull expressed his own and all America's regret, and on April 10 the American Minister in Berne handed M. Pilet-Golaz a cheque for one million dollars as a first instalment of compensation. Cantons, Communes, banks, and private individuals also came to the rescue of the sufferers. In discussing the incident the Swiss Press complained of the American airmen's apparent ignorance of geography, and suggested that they should be trained to pay more respect to the integrity of neutral countries.

On August 19 a new Labour Party was founded at Zurich, with the aim of organising a powerful anti-capitalistic coalition. At the opening meeting the Social Democrats were accused of co-operating with the middle classes. On December 28 the

Federal Parliament decided to repeal the anti-Communist laws. On December 14 M. Eduard von Steiger was elected President of the Confederation for the ensuing year.

A new Trade Agreement was concluded in March with Sweden, providing for the maintenance, as far as possible, of the 1943 volume of trade, which had been considerably higher than that of the previous year.

SPAIN

Fortified by a commendatory message from the Pope—"I will pray God that he may help Spain to continue along the good path on which her feet are set"—General Franco faced 1944 with characteristic confidence, not to say complacency. To the representations of the British and United States Governments on the score of discrimination against the Allies—as set out by Sir Samuel Hoare in his interview of August 20, 1943—the Caudillo continued to oppose a bland indifference, and it was clear that his object was still to play for time in the belief that the war was likely to be prolonged, that Germany was strong enough to force a stalemate, and that, thanks to Spain's "neutrality," he might yet emerge as the agent of a negotiated peace who would eventually bring about a re-alignment of the European nations against Russia. This was the burden of numerous articles in the Press during January, specifically a dirge on the gradual encroachments of Communism printed in *Ya* of January 19. In spite of the vaunted withdrawal of the Blue Division as such from the Russian front, the capture of Spanish prisoners confirmed that a contingent of volunteers had remained in Russia in German service and had been formed into a "Blue Legion." Without affording any substantial material aid, they constituted a token of Spain's purpose of defending, under Germany's ægis, the cause of Christian order and civilisation, and General Franco hoped to exploit that symbol throughout the Catholic world, and especially in Latin America.

By a continuous flow of propaganda and imprecations spokesmen of the Soviet Union did not fail to keep this issue before the public. In the House of Commons on January 19, in reply to a question on this subject, the British Foreign Secretary was moved to voice publicly a complaint of Spain's "continuing unneutral assistance to the enemy."¹ An additional source of disquiet which inflamed British public opinion in the first weeks after the New Year was the explosion of a number of time-bombs, placed by enemy agents operating in Spanish ports, among the cargoes of oranges and onions which marked the resumption of the traditional trade between the two countries. The first of these incidents had taken place on December 31, 1943, in the

¹ The principal points at issue were detailed in the corresponding section—Spain—in the *ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1943.

port of Valencia on board a British ship bound for Liverpool with 60,000 cases of oranges. Then several other instances came to light, and, as a result of the inevitable delays imposed by carrying out the necessary inspection measures, a considerable percentage of the oranges rotted in the crates. Eventually, in the last week of January, the British Government received official assurances that measures had been taken to prevent any further sabotage of this kind.

But by that time the newspaper accounts had revived all the latent anti-Franco sentiment of British and American public opinion: *The Times* (Jan. 20), for example, deemed it necessary to condemn editorially Spain's "Unneutral neutrality." The official counterpart of this public indignation was a decision, announced in Washington on January 28 that, with the full agreement of the British Government, the United States authorities had suspended oil shipments to Spain for the month of February. This was a serious blow to Franco and his Falange hierarchs who had been cherishing the illusion that they could play off America against Great Britain, and so continue to ignore the gentle pressure from London: on the very same day as the announcement of the oil embargo Radio Falange Valladolid, in the course of a lengthy talk on "Our Neutrality," had contrasted the "understanding attitude" of the United States Press with the "agitations" and "tendencious campaigns" of British newspapers against the Spanish people. This clamping-down on oil supplies, at any rate, produced in Madrid an immediate effect which no amount of diplomatic remonstrance had achieved. On February 3, after a protracted Cabinet meeting, the Spanish Government, in tones of injured pride, "ratified Spain's position of strict neutrality to which they have adhered loyally," at the same time passing a vote of confidence in Count Jordana's conduct of foreign policy. This statement was markedly a step forward from the policy of non-belligerency proclaimed by the previous Foreign Minister, Serrano Súñer, and which had in fact remained the official description ever since Italy's entry into the war.

The Spanish Press duly took its cue and published articles galore on the régime's "rigorous, loyal and strict neutrality," and exhortations to rally behind a patriotic leadership determined to resist "any foreign menace" to Spanish independence (*El Español*, 21/2/44). By a sort of hang-over from the previous month these Spanish protestations continued to ignore the U.S.A. as a factor in the measures taken against Spain and proceeded to treat the matter as though only the relations of Great Britain and Spain were concerned. The villain of the piece was the British Press. The disingenuous editorial writers did not fail to exploit a statement on February 2 by Sir Samuel Hoare: "... if ... Spain is really neutral, there need be no trouble between the Allies and the Spanish Government. All we want is that Spain

should not be used by Germany for attacks upon the Allies," and another by President Roosevelt in Washington that Great Britain and the United States were working together "to see that Spain maintains real neutrality."

Meanwhile public opinion in England was still vocal—the discovery of a bomb in an onion crate during unloading had been announced by the Home Office on February 5. In the House of Commons on February 23 Mr. Eden was faced by a barrage of questions. He said as little as possible in order not to hamper the negotiations in progress and, in his speech in the Foreign Affairs Debate on the same day, he went so far as to pour oil on the troubled waters by a reminder that

"in the dark days of the war . . . the attitude of the Spanish Government in not giving our enemies passage through Spain was extremely helpful to us. It was especially so at the time of the North African liberation. . . ."

thus anticipating almost textually the "kindly words" spoken by Mr. Churchill in his speech of May 24 which were to cause such a commotion. As all references to Germany and to Spanish "lapses from neutrality" were entirely omitted from the version of Mr. Eden's speech printed in the Madrid Press, the Spanish public were left with the impression that Mr. Eden had now publicly acknowledged that Spain had remained neutral, and that therefore this "sad and disagreeable episode" would now be closed. There was thus a further outbreak of pained indignation when the oil embargo was maintained after the first month.

It was not until May 1 that final agreement was reached on the matters under discussion between the Allies and the Spanish Government. Mr. Eden, in his House of Commons statement, mentioned specifically the presence and activities of the German Consul-General at Tangier and of German agents throughout Spanish-controlled and Spanish territory; the continued presence of certain Spanish units on the Eastern front; the detention of Italian ships in Spanish ports; and the level of exports of Spanish wolfram to Germany. On these four points the Allies, he said, had received satisfactory assurances: the agents named in H.M. Government's list were to be expelled and the German Consulate-General closed; all Spanish units had been withdrawn from the Eastern front; the remaining Italian merchant ships detained in Spanish ports at the time of the Italian armistice were being released, except for two vessels the ownership of which was in dispute and would be settled by arbitration—and the Spanish Government accepted arbitration, too, as proposed by the British Government, in respect of the Italian warships that had sought refuge in the ports of the Balearic Isles; finally exports of wolfram to Germany were to be reduced to twenty tons a month in May and June, and thereafter to not more than forty tons a month for the rest of the year. The Spanish official "hand-out" on the conclusion of the negotiations was a masterpiece of nebulous

verbiage: no reference was made to any specific issue, and the impression was given that the agreement concerned especially trade relations. The Press maintained the same policy of concealment, describing the settlement invariably as a "commercial agreement" and, needless to say, hailing it as a certificate of Falangist capacity. The expulsion of German agents was never mentioned, nor was there the slightest breath about Tangier or wolfram.

The Tripartite Agreement (as it came to be called) was undoubtedly a defeat for Germany in the diplomatic field. Thereafter the possibility of Spain's intervention in the war on the side of Germany might be said to be ruled out. But Germany's influence, in the economic sphere, and upon the Press and radio, continued to be all-pervading. Hitler still possessed a powerful lien on Spain through the number of German technical experts who had been called in to further the Government's policy of industrial development. Moreover, early in the year, as part of a financial transaction involving repayment of the civil war debt and the expenses of equipping the Blue Division, Sr. Carceller, Spanish Minister of Commerce, had placed to Germany's account substantial peseta credits with which the Reich could continue its purchasing activities.

In domestic policy during the first third of the year there was no important development. A certain eagerness might have been detected on the part of the scribes and Pharisees to dissociate the Spanish dispensation from kindred régimes in other countries, to depict Falangism as an original doctrine *sui generis*—although in a discourse on March 4, the tenth anniversary of the fusion of the two original Fascist groups in Spain, José-Luis Arrese, Secretary-General of the Movement (and Minister without Portfolio), was at pains to castigate the trimmers. His reaffirmation of Falange faith and doctrine amounted to little more than a profession of militant anti-Bolshevism. One or two articles were published intimating that the period of post-civil war restrictions could now be considered over and Spaniards might be granted a greater amount of latitude. But, in practice, the same tyranny of the single-Party State prevailed, and non-Falangists derived precious little consolation from the proceedings of the pseudo-Cortes or from General Franco's promise (in reply to a speech made by the Mayor of Madrid on March 28, the anniversary of its relief in 1939) of a new Code of Laws for Local Government and of syndical elections. Although the decree dissolving the Falangist militia, announced at the Provincial Leaders Council on December 21 of the previous year, never materialised, much the same purpose was effected by an ordinance providing that officers and N.C.O.s of that militia might be transferred to positions of similar rank in the Regular Army. This was one of the means adopted with the object of strengthening

the internal structure of the régime. Then, as a further move towards complete Falangist control of the economic structure, General Franco sanctioned an overhaul of the banking system, one result of which was to increase the powers and attributions of the *Banco Exterior* which was the chosen instrument of the all-powerful Minister of Commerce, Sr. Carceller.

Spain's neutral position had undoubtedly been cleverly exploited, and the spring of 1944 revealed an improvement in the general economic situation which belied the gloomy prognostications of the earlier war years. Internal prices were now relatively stable at an increase of more than 300 per cent. on the level of 1935 (the last normal year). For those who had money or influence, indeed, Spain had become an island of prosperity in a shattered Europe. The financial situation appeared to be quite healthy, and the Central Bank recorded a substantial increase in gold stocks. It remained true that the under-privileged were condemned to live in appalling conditions, while political opponents still received short shrift. Memories of the Civil War were all the time being kept alive, *e.g.*, by the publication by the Department of Justice of a hair-raising and harrowing book on "Red Communism in Spain." The Minister of Justice, Sr. Aunós, it is true, promised an early "return to judicial normality by liquidating the processes of military justice instituted in October, 1936," and, as an earnest of these intentions, he signalled the end of his first year of office by closing the Porlier prison in Madrid and handing back the keys of the building to its original occupants, the Esculapian Fathers. On this occasion, in conversation with the Press, Sr. Aunós took credit for having shut down no less than twenty-three prisons during the year and for having released over 56,000 *détenus*, bringing the figure of political prisoners down to some 25,000. This claim scarcely squared with other official statements.

General Franco was still firmly enough established, however, to ignore his opponents of the Left, the "Reds." Any danger to his régime could only come from a concerted move of disaffected Army leaders and those elements of the business classes who abominated the Falange and all its works and who, as the prospect of Allied victory in the war came nearer, began once more to speculate on a change. Restoration of the Monarchy in the person of Don Juan was the programme, and it was taken for granted that this would be a pro-Ally and anti-Franco move in accordance with the desires of the majority of Spaniards. When, however, on March 24 a group of harmless professors of the University of Madrid, who had signed a Monarchist manifesto, were arrested, heavily fined and placed in *résidence forcée* in remote country areas, it was clear to everybody that the Caudillo had no intention of making way for the Pretender.

Another attempt to humiliate the disgruntled Nationalists

who had recently been reviving their hopes of a Monarchist solution of Spain's problem was the launching of a violent campaign against a notable champion of Don Juan residing in Portugal, the former leader of the coalition of Right parties (C.E.D.A.), Jose-María Gil Robles. An article in *ABC* of May 5 gave particulars of an alleged article indicting the Franco régime which, it claimed, had appeared in Buenos Aires weekly, *Ahora*, under the signatures of Gil Robles, Madariaga, Araquistain, and Ossorio y Gallardo (a most unlikely combination!). Gil Robles was represented as saying that Spain's fate was bound up with that of the Axis Powers, who were manifestly losing the war; that the Allies had hitherto refrained from action against Franco on grounds of pure expediency but, now that Spain was ringed round with forces favourable to the Allied cause, their pressure would be increased and would be inexorable. The writer then proceeded to quote a number of the assertions made in the alleged *Ahora* article—that Franco's Spain had given aid to German submarines in Spanish waters, had allowed wireless transmitters to be set up on the shores of Gibraltar, had held the Belgian Prime Minister captive on his passage from France through Spain, and much else of the same sort. Then Gil Robles was reviled for his disbelief in the Caudillo's claim that the Allies had given him certain assurances of support. Finally, the writer drew a portrait of Gil Robles as a complete and utter failure, politically, during the Republican period—and blameworthy in the highest degree because in his hurried flight at the beginning of the Civil War he had omitted to destroy the party files and so had betrayed a large number of his fellow-countrymen to the Chekas. The publication of this article caused no little excitement in Madrid; the deliberate choice of the traditionally Monarchist paper *ABC* as the vehicle of the Falangist spleen was duly noted. Radio Falange broadcast the *ABC* article. *Arriba* of May 9 went a step further in reproducing the *Ahora* article and promising a photostat of it. This also was broadcast, in complete disregard of a vigorous *démenti* and reply by Gil Robles in the Portuguese Press. The only effect of this escapade was to transform into a hero overnight a somewhat discredited political figure of the past. Franco's propagandists had bungled things. But that the Caudillo was determined to trample upon his Monarchist opponents was shown in the dismissal, shortly afterwards, of the proprietor of the *ABC* group of papers, the Marquis Luca de Tena, whose sympathies in the affair were certainly with Gil Robles.

The agitation in the Spanish atmosphere produced by this episode may have been one reason for Mr. Churchill's placatory references to Spain in his House of Commons speech of May 24. His "kindly words" were, of course, grossly misrepresented in Spain as an endorsement of the Franco régime, and the democratically-minded Spaniards were correspondingly depressed.

What Mr. Churchill had said, though it was no more than a repetition of one passage in Mr. Eden's declarations of February 23, could so easily be interpreted as confirming General Franco's own estimate of the international situation, and there is no question that the effect in Spain was to give the Falange régime a new lease of life: the Monarchists, particularly, "took the knock," though any such frustration of their hopes was doubtless far from the British Government's intentions. In England there was a good deal of harsh criticism of Mr. Churchill's apparent encouragement of Franco, and on June 27 the National Council of Labour issued a vigorous repudiation of the Government's statement.

The Allied invasion of the Continent evoked less excitement in Spain than might have been expected—perhaps because it had been anticipated for so long—and official circles appeared to be more impressed by the fall of Rome and developments in Italy. Allied communiqués, however, were given prominently, and comment was markedly fair and objective. But, for all the emollient effect of Mr. Churchill's "kindly words," pro-German influences soon reasserted themselves in the general tone of the Press and wireless, and the flying bomb attacks on Southern England starting on June 15 were treated as a nine days' wonder. Dr. Goebbels' propaganda about their "devastating" effects was retailed generously—until the miasma of lies and misrepresentation was dissipated by Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons on July 6. Thereafter Spanish commentators fell back once again on the humanitarian note, with appeals against continuance of "senseless bombing," *i.e.* the heavy bombing attacks on German cities by the Anglo-American air forces. Incidentally there were allegations in the British and American Press, taken up gleefully by Moscow, that Spain had given Germany facilities for testing her pilotless planes and for manufacturing parts of the apparatus. The Spanish Government issued an indignant denial, which was endorsed by Mr. Eden in answer to a question in the House of Commons on July 5. But British opinion continued to be disturbed about the extent of German influence in Spain, and suspicions were strengthened by the fact that the Spanish authorities were proving somewhat dilatory in the execution of undertakings given in the Tripartite Agreement, particularly the expulsion of German agents. Some annoyance was caused, too, by the publication in the Spanish newspapers of July 23 of an entirely bogus news item with the headline: "Anglo-Spanish relations are in a satisfactory phase," in the form of an Efe news agency message from London purporting to be a quotation from Mr. Eden in a reply to a House of Commons question following General Franco's customary July 17 speech. (There had been a similar case of a "fake" statement on the previous February 5, at an early stage in the Anglo-Spanish negotiations.) H.M.

Embassy in Madrid was authorised to demand publication of a *démenti*.

Franco's anniversary speech was undistinguished: it was more than anything a catalogue of the achievements of the régime, with emphasis on the fact that Falangism was not to be identified with Fascism but was *sui generis*, and a reiteration of Spain's claim, on the strength of her neutrality, to sponsor a negotiated peace.

On August 3, Count Jordana, the Spanish Foreign Minister, died at his office-desk in San Sebastián. His passing dissolved a friendly relationship with the British Ambassador, Sir Samuel Hoare (who had become Lord Templewood on July 2), which had considerably eased Anglo-Spanish official relations since the days when Sr. Serrano Súñer was Foreign Minister. General Franco showed characteristic astuteness in appointing in his stead José-Félix Lequerica, who had been Spanish Ambassador in France since 1939, and was supposed to have played an important rôle in the negotiations between Marshal Pétain and the Germans for the French Armistice in June, 1940.

With the swift transformation of the war that followed the Allied break-through in Normandy Franco-Spanish relations were coming very much into the picture. A representative of General de Gaulle, M. Truelle, had been for some months in Madrid making unofficial contacts. On August 23, the eve of the liberation of Paris, the Vichy representative departed, and the new Spanish Foreign Minister received M. Truelle.

Two months later it became known that General Franco's Government had decided formally to recognise the Provisional Government of de Gaulle and his colleagues. Sr. Sangroniz, who had been serving as Consul-General in Algiers, had been sent to Paris to represent his Government provisionally, and it was announced that Sr. Mateu, an industrialist and mayor of Barcelona, was to be appointed Spanish Ambassador. In the interval relations had been somewhat delicate owing to the ebullience of the motley Spanish Republican elements who had been fighting with the French *maquisards* and who, after the liberation of Paris and the greater part of France, constituted roving bands in the Pyrenees region. On August 27 a group of these Spaniards of the F.F.I. hoisted the Republican flag over the Spanish Consulate at Perpignan, and similar escapades were reported from other areas in the neighbourhood of the Spanish frontiers. For a time Radio Toulouse, owing to difficulties of communication, could not be controlled by the de Gaulle authorities, and was being used by the organisation styling itself "Unión Nacional Española" (representing the Communist-sponsored "Junta Suprema," which claimed to have rallied all Opposition elements inside Spain) to attack and abuse the Franco régime. During September armed bands of Spaniards made numerous forays over the frontier,

hoping pathetically, it would seem, to foment a rising inside Spain. Their exploits were injudiciously played up by sympathetic newspaper reporters in France, and this gave General Franco's propagandists a grand opportunity of sounding the alarm and mustering troops to "save Spain once more from the Red invasion." The frontier guards were indeed reinforced by contingents of the regular army, who very soon disposed of the "invaders." A certain amount of political agitation persisted in October and November—the "Unión Nacional," for instance, held an all-party congress at Toulouse on November 2, 3 and 4, which claimed to speak for the hundred and twenty thousand or so Spaniards in France demanding an end to the Franco tyranny. But, in the absence of effective unity, and with the principal political leaders of Spain in exile in far away Mexico, the excitement subsided. Whatever might be their sympathies General de Gaulle and his colleagues obviously did not want any disturbance in Spain at that stage of the war. By the middle of November they felt themselves strong enough to take suitable action to prevent complications developing from frontier disorders. On November 14, for instance, a detachment of 100 French gendarmes arrived in the valleys of Andorra to ensure the maintenance of order. General de Gaulle explained that he had taken this action as co-Prince, in accordance with France's obligations—and added that, as a matter of courtesy, the other co-Prince, the Bishop of Urgel, had been informed. The Spanish Foreign Ministry was none too pleased, and a week later it was reported that a posse of Spanish police had also been dispatched to Andorra.

A development at this time which demanded the full attention of the Spanish Government was the appearance on the political scene of Don Miguel Maura, a Right-wing Republican who had been living quietly in the south of France since an early period of the Civil War. As the son of one of Spain's foremost *politicos*, Antonio Maura, with powerful friends inside Spain, and as a man who had stood outside the events of the Civil War (though maintaining firmly his allegiance to the Republic), he enjoyed a certain prestige. He let it be known that with the general support of Spanish exiles in France, he was taking the initiative to engage in confidential talks with Sr. Sangroniz, the representative of Franco's Government, with a view to arranging for transfer of power to a bridge-Government headed by himself—which would eliminate the Falange, deal with the difficult problems of transition and, above all, firmly ensure the maintenance of law and order pending re-establishment of the Republican Constitution of 1931. There was a good deal of publicity concerning this Maura "ultimatum"—though it was at first not taken very seriously. At any rate the Madrid Government thought it necessary to deny "unfounded rumours" that it had rejected any such political overtures, indignantly repudiating the idea that an approach had

ever been made to any *émigré* on the initiative of the Spanish Government.

However that may be, the Maura initiative was a portent. General Franco and his henchmen had by now realised that it was politic to mark their distance from Germany and, if possible, to climb on to the democracies' band-waggon. A first step was the statement on August 2, by Sr. Carceller, Minister of Commerce, in the course of a survey of Spain's economic development, that the major part of Spanish trade in the future, as before 1936, would be with the countries of the sterling area, which was "Spain's natural orbit." Then there was a noticeable change of attitude in the controlled Press which began (with the exception of the German-subsidised *Informaciones*) to speculate freely on an outright Allied victory in the war. Authorisation was given for the showing of Noel Coward's film, "In Which We Serve," in Madrid and Barcelona, under the title "Blood, Sweat and Tears." These shifts produced some gnashing of teeth in Germany: an article published in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 15 made the charge that Spain was "playing Mr. Churchill's pro-Bolshevik game." What must have caused the Germans particular distress was an article in the weekly *El Español* of September 9 which openly criticised Germany for abandoning her European responsibilities, for permitting her smaller allies to fall into the hands of the Soviets, and saving her secret weapons for the defence of her own territory. Finally, there was a sustained Press campaign about the elections to posts in the syndical organisations which were to take place on October 23, the idea being to impress foreign observers with the democratic virtues of the régime. Some eight-and-a-half million votes were cast for the election of 40,000 "representatives." This experiment in functional representation was duly hailed as the second stage (the first being the establishment of the Cortes in 1943) in General Franco's plan to enable Spaniards to participate in the management of their own affairs. The third stage was to be the holding of municipal elections in 1945. Needless to say, the syndical elections were recognised abroad as no more than an egregious piece of window-dressing.

The efforts of spokesmen for the new orientation, it should be said, were directed particularly to America. Sr. Lequerica, in a speech on October 12, on the occasion of the established *fiesta* of the Spanish-speaking world—the "Day of Hispanity"—went out of his way to make laudatory reference to the United States as well as to deprecate the "contemptible suggestion" that Spain through the Falange Exterior was guilty of instigating disturbances in the American continent. He added a new and significant note when he went on to claim that Spain was spiritually an American country; in other words, he was concerned to emphasise not merely the "Spanishness" of America, but the

"Americanness" of Spain. There was some evidence, too, that the United States Administration favoured a *rapprochement* with Spain in the interests of post-war commercial policy. On December 2 it became known that a bilateral agreement had been reached with American airways for extensive air transport services after the war. Negotiations with representatives of British civil aviation had been dragging on inconclusively for some time, but the only result had been the re-establishment on October 23 of a direct London-Madrid service, to operate twice a week instead of the route *via* Lisbon.

What appeared to be a great success for Sr. Lequerica's new policy was a full-dress statement by General Franco made to the Director of the Foreign Services of the United Press agency on November 4—the first interview the Caudillo had given since the Civil War. In this pronouncement of Spanish policy the head of the State made some remarkable assertions. He declared, to begin with, that Spain was not, nor had been, in any way allied to the Axis, was neither a Fascist nor Nazi State, and that her complete neutrality had been amply demonstrated, as, for example, when the German armies in 1940 occupied France and reached the Spanish frontier. On the specific consequence for Great Britain of Spanish neutrality, said General Franco, he had "nothing to add to the British Prime Minister's statements." He went on to appeal to the American sense of fair play and to claim that the international policy of the United States, according to official statements, was in no way opposed to the ideology of Spain. As regards Spain's internal policy, he claimed that that was nobody else's business, that interference in the domestic affairs of other nations would prove fatal to the future peace of the world; the Allies should be wary of the prejudiced statements of Republican *émigrés*. In any case Spain's present régime was a democracy—an organic democracy on the pattern of familiar examples in the Spanish-American world. For eight years her distinctive régime had proclaimed, as basic principles of its ideology, the tenets of "God, Country and Justice," with the principle of Catholicism taking precedence over the others; and therefore "Spain could never ally herself ideologically with any nation not guided by this principle of Catholicism." On the question of a possible restoration of the Monarchy General Franco said that, after the present difficult phase of world history, if such were the will of the Spanish people, and it could be done without detriment to Spanish unity or weakening governmental authority, a monarchy could perhaps be *established*, but it must be a monarchy "dedicated to social reform and very different from that which recently presided over our decadence." Finally Franco made an explicit request that Spain should be accorded a seat at the peace conference.

The interview caused something of a stir, although less perhaps

in the United States than was expected, because of its publication coinciding with the presidential elections. Generally speaking it had a bad reception abroad : Franco's previous policy and statements were still sufficiently fresh in people's memories. On the specific question of participation in the peace discussions Mr. Richard Law, speaking for the Foreign Secretary, replied to a question in the House of Commons on November 15 in the sense that there would be no such representation for any country which had not made a positive contribution to the United Nations' cause : which was tantamount to a snub. The Falangist Press hastened to explain that General Franco's words had been misunderstood ; he was not asking to take part in armistice or peace negotiations which, clearly, concerned the belligerents alone, but to join in the conference dealing with post-war problems and the creation of new international bodies for the establishment of peace and collaboration among all nations.

Lord Templewood (Sir Samuel Hoare) resigned from his post of British Ambassador in Madrid during the latter half of December. Mr. Carlton Hayes, the U.S. Ambassador, also retired, and was being replaced by Mr. Norman Armour, who had been Ambassador in Buenos Aires.

PORTUGAL

The Budget for 1944, introduced on January 2, showed ordinary revenue at over 26,000,000*l.*, an increase of more than 3,000,000*l.* over 1943. The increase was rendered necessary by the general rise in prices and the expenses of defence. To meet it the industrial tax and the real estate tax were raised 10 per cent. and the land sales tax 5 per cent. Economic conditions continued to be bad, and on April 20 bread rationing was introduced in Lisbon and other centres, but the scarcity was relieved by the arrival in the Tagus a few days later of three British merchantmen with some 25,000 tons of wheat and other grain from the Argentine.

Portugal gave a further proof of her friendship for Great Britain by signing an agreement on February 7 granting the British East African hinterland free port facilities through Beira, in Mozambique, and on various occasions in the year Dr. Salazar stressed the British alliance as the corner-stone of Portugal's foreign policy. Her friendship was subjected to a severe strain by a request from the British Government in June that the export of wolfram should be stopped, especially to Germany, which had been purchasing between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* worth a year, but on June 7 the request was acceded to, and on June 12 a decree was issued suspending all mining of and trading in wolfram.

On September 5 Dr. Salazar appointed an entirely new Cabinet, retaining only Dr. Lumbrakes, the Minister of Finance. He himself remained Foreign Minister, but he handed over the Ministry of War to Colonel Costa.

On March 8 the Government received an answer from the Japanese Government to its representations with regard to conditions in Portuguese Timor, agreeing to the holding of an inquiry.

On April 1 the National Assembly adopted unanimously a motion that the revision of the Constitution should be begun at once and not deferred till 1948, the legal date.

DENMARK

Denmark was the only German occupied country which saw the year 1944 pass without liberation, but this did not dishearten the Danes. The aim of the Resistance Movement continued to be to dislocate German military plans through interruption of communications and destruction of supply centres. The German counter measures—mass arrests, taking hostages, deportation, murder and executions—did not check the ever-growing army of liberators within the frontiers.

At the beginning of the year saboteurs received from their headquarters, Denmark's Freedom Council, a "stand by" signal. Active sabotage groups were to consolidate their numbers and strength for the final battle of liberation which was thought to be imminent. But as months went by without the arrival of the Liberation Armies, this policy was reviewed, and the blows of the saboteurs against the Germans increased in intensity and power. Their explosives were directed against such targets as factories producing Diesel engines for U-boats and machine tools (Burmeister & Wain), making wireless equipment for tanks, aeroplanes and U-boats (Allways), repairing German trucks (General Motors), or constructing German ships (several Svendborg yards).

The Germans, who on August 29, 1943, had adopted a policy of stern measures to combat growing Danish resistance, hesitated to apply it in all its fury during the first few months of 1944. They preferred to feel their way step by step. They began by ordering the Danish traitor organisation, the Schalburg Corps, to destroy the Danish film industry. The motives behind this seem to have been based on the following considerations. The Danes, who are eager picture-goers, showed no interest in German films, but patronised Danish and Swedish productions. The Germans thought that if Danish production were destroyed, the people would turn in anger upon patriot saboteurs, believing either that they were directly responsible for this destruction or that what they had done in other fields had driven the Germans to make this retaliatory move. The same reasoning underlay similar actions by the Schalburg Corps against places of entertainment, such as the Tivoli Amusement Park, club premises like the Langelinie Pavillon belonging to the Royal Yacht Club, the headquarters

and week-end cottage of the Copenhagen Students' Association, boat-houses of a number of rowing clubs in the capital and the provinces, the headquarters of the Copenhagen Conservative Association, various department stores, such as Daells Varehus, Illum, Magasin du Nord, and the premises of a number of provincial newspapers, at Aarhus, Odense, Aalborg, and many other towns. The German plan failed, and the man in the street remained firmly on the side of the patriots.

The Germans also tried to scare individual groups of the population from having anything to do with the Resistance Movement. On the night of January 4 they murdered Pastor Kaj Munk, Denmark's leading playwright and one of the most courageous fighters of the Danish Church. Munk was forcibly taken away from his manse in the bleak west Jutland parish of Vedsersø by men who spoke with a strong German accent. He was brought by car to the German military headquarters at Silkeborg in Eastern Jutland. The next morning his body was found in a ditch not far from Silkeborg. He had been killed by several revolver shots.

The Germans also murdered men of local importance in various parts of the country, with the aim of spreading terror in districts where patriot activities had become a special menace to the Germans, and the Gestapo were rounding up persons suspected of illegal activities. In April a wave of mass arrests swept the country.

The German plenipotentiary in Denmark, Dr. Werner Best, declared to the Danish press on April 24 that the Germans were now prepared to deal with cases of sabotage and attacks on the *Wehrmacht* "speedily, brutally, and mercilessly." He threatened that one hundred saboteurs, who were in prison awaiting death sentences, would be executed if sabotage was not brought to a stop. More sabotage was the reply of the Danes.

In May, 1944, the active Resistance Movement began to carry out a planned partisan policy. Attacks upon factories and communications were performed as though they were regular military operations. The Germans retaliated by imposing many death sentences, executing hostages, and deporting hundreds of people to Germany.

Amongst the more important sabotage targets were the Danish military aerodrome near Kløvermarksvej on the outskirts of Copenhagen, requisitioned by the Germans, and the Globus factory (also near Copenhagen), which produced tailfins and other parts for aircraft. The attack on this factory was carried out by fifty patriots, who were engaged in a twenty minutes' battle with the factory guards. Other important objectives destroyed or put out of action were several transformer stations, including the one in Copenhagen Free Port, where all the work of loading and discharging had to be suspended for a week.

D-Day was the signal for all-out action. In Copenhagen the climax came on June 22 with the destruction of Denmark's largest arms factory, Dansk Industri-Syndikat, situated in Copenhagen Free Port. These strongly guarded works, which manufactured heavy automatic weapons for the German war machine, were carried by frontal assault by 125 patriots who, in broad daylight, arrived at the main entrance in four lorries. 250 factory workers were ordered to take cover in their air raid shelters. The patriots then removed a large supply of automatic guns, machine-guns, and ammunition. Fuse wires were connected to fifteen T.N.T. bombs, which had been placed at strategic points throughout the premises, and a few minutes later explosions and raging fires hopelessly wrecked the entire plant. The destruction of the Dansk Industri-Syndikat completed the task of wrecking all important Danish factories working for the Germans.

The Germans were desperate. Summary courts were set up in Copenhagen and throughout Zealand, the island on which the capital stands, and on June 23 eight patriots who had been sentenced to death were executed. The Germans also devised other means of punishing the people of the capital. They ordered the Schalburg Corps of traitors to wreck the Tivoli Amusement Park in the centre of Copenhagen. This was followed, on June 25, by the imposition of a curfew from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m.

The curfew infuriated the people of Copenhagen, and they resorted to a weapon which had been successfully used in the provinces—the General Strike. On June 26 the Burmeister & Wain workers, to make up for the hours they would lose in the evening through the curfew, struck at 1 p.m. That same evening, the first under the curfew, the German regulations were disregarded. After 8 p.m. the streets were thronged with people. With this situation the Germans dealt in their usual clumsy and brutal manner: they dashed round the streets shooting wildly at the people. Many were killed, but the curfew was not obeyed.

The following day, June 27, the strike spread. The workers employed at many large firms followed the example set by those of Burmeister & Wain, and went home at 1 p.m. The people lit bonfires in the streets and put up improvised Allied flags and symbols. On June 29 the Danes scored their first victory over the Germans, who relaxed the curfew, which was then to last from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. In the meantime news had arrived of the execution of another eight patriots and it was rumoured that trade union leaders had been arrested. That night there was fighting between Germans and Danes in Copenhagen. The citizens were still more infuriated by the fact that the Schalburg Corps were permitted to drive through the streets shooting people at random. On June 30 the inhabitants of the capital had made up their minds to fight it out with the Germans. The strike became

general ; not only factories closed down, but all the normal activities of the city came to a standstill. Shops, offices, banks, and newspapers closed ; trains, trams, 'buses ceased running ; the telephone, telegraph, and radio were silent.

The Germans were enraged. They increased the comparatively small garrison maintained in Copenhagen. Guns were mounted in the streets. Railways and roads into the capital were occupied, and aircraft were sent droning low over the rooftops. The toll of killed and wounded mounted, but the strike continued.

In his desperation Dr. Best introduced a terror method which had up till then not been applied in any occupied country. He cut communications between Copenhagen and the rest of the country and stopped all supplies of gas, water, and electricity. The idea was that hunger and thirst should be the means to force the people to submit.

The following day, July 1, the Commander-in-Chief of the German forces in Denmark, General von Hanneken, arrived in Copenhagen and the German commander in Zealand declared a state of siege in the Capital. Government and other official buildings were occupied by German troops.

It was at this juncture that Denmark's Freedom Council intervened. They formulated the demands of the strikers : Deportation or internment of the Schalburg Corps ; repeal of the curfew ; resumption of gas, electricity, and water supplies ; no reprisals against strike leaders.

Throughout the crisis negotiations were taking place between the Germans and Danish Government officials, politicians, and trade union leaders. When the Germans announced over the wireless that supplies of gas, electricity, and water would be immediately restored, an appeal came from representatives of the Danish political parties, supported by the mayors of Copenhagen's three boroughs and by representatives of the leading trade unions and trade associations, asking strikers to resume work as from the following (Monday) morning, July 3.

The Germans had thus made a concession, but this was held not to be enough. The Freedom Council ordered the strike to continue until the Germans should have fulfilled their principal demand—the removal of the Schalburg Corps from the streets of Copenhagen and the repeal of the curfew. On July 3 public utilities, bakeries, dairies, and similar enterprises partly resumed work, but otherwise the strikers remained out. As news of what was afoot reached the provinces, the strike spread to about twenty-four provincial towns. The Germans, fearing a nationwide general strike, and pressed by their economic advisers who had become much concerned at the grave loss of man hours in Danish industry, conceded all the strikers' demands. The Schalburg Corps was removed from Copenhagen and the curfew lifted. No reprisals were to be taken against strike leaders.

The Germans held their hand for a time, but on August 11 eleven young Danes (held by the Gestapo on charges of being concerned in the production of illegal newspapers), were tortured and finally shot dead in the cellar of a Gestapo headquarters. This barbaric act was committed by way of revenge for the liquidation by patriots of a number of Danish informers in German pay.

On September 19 the Germans deprived Denmark of her police force, because, as they alleged, of the non-co-operative attitude of the police. At 11 a.m. on September 19 the Germans sounded bogus air-raid warnings. In the event of an air raid all police usually reported at once to their stations. On this occasion, when the police arrived, they were arrested by the Germans, though some who had been warned of what was intended made good their escape. The total Danish police force numbered some 10,000 to 12,000 men. Those over 55 were freed, after being disarmed. About 1,700 were immediately taken to German ships in the port of Copenhagen and carried off to Germany. A similar number were later likewise deported, and it is estimated that some 6,000 went into hiding, and became a valuable addition to the Underground army.

On the occasion of this German attack on the police a series of dramatic incidents took place in Amalienborg Square. A detachment of German marines attacked the police squad on guard at the Royal Palace, where they were on duty since the Life Guards were disbanded in August, 1943. After a fierce battle the Germans withdrew, explaining that the whole episode had been "a mistake" and that they had never contemplated depriving King Christian of his Danish police guard.

Meanwhile acts of sabotage continued. Saboteurs turned their attention to the large German aerodrome at Aalborg in North Jutland, where forty aircraft, two hangars, a barracks, and workshops were blown up. Five patriots succeeded in capturing Denmark's largest train ferry and bringing it to Sweden, thus seriously hampering German troop movements from island to island. Other members of the partisan army saw to it that ships built for Germany were sent to the bottom as soon as they had left the slipway, and that ships in transit from Norway to Germany were sunk at sea or in port. On one occasion Danish patriots asked the R.A.F. to assist them by destroying German dossiers prepared for use against the activists. Accordingly a pinpoint bombing attack was made by the R.A.F. on the Gestapo headquarters at Aarhus University, in which all records were destroyed, the Gestapo Chief and 265 of his men were killed and, incidentally, freeing an imprisoned Danish patriot.

The Danish Nazi Party, which found but scant support among the population, declined in power and influence, aided doubtless by the disgrace of its "Führer," Fritz Clausen. After

his "manipulation" of funds supplied by the enemy, his masters sent him to the Reich on military service. Here, having attempted, in a fit of drunkenness, to rape a German nurse, he was sent to a home for inebriates. On May 6 he resigned as "Führer," and later in the year he was expelled from the Nazi Party.

The fight on the Home Front was supplemented by the efforts of Danes in the ranks of the Allied armed forces. Danish merchant ships were amongst the first to go to Normandy on D-Day, and they led the way up the Scheldt to Antwerp. A Danish minesweeper unit started service with the Royal Navy in March. Throughout the year volunteers in the Armies and Air Forces of the Allies fought on the Western Front, in the Italian mountains and the Burmese jungle.

The achievements of Danes at home and abroad won admiration in Allied countries, and was publicly recognised by Allied leaders; the U.S.S.R., on April 23, established diplomatic relations with the Danish Council of Freedom.

The year saw the final separation between Denmark and Iceland. Iceland became a sovereign and independent State on December 1, 1918, the only remaining link with Denmark being the King. The Act of Union laid it down that after twenty-five years the relationship between the two countries should be reviewed, and, if one partner desired separation, this should be conceded. Iceland gave due notice of her desire for the repeal of the Union. This was achieved on June 17, 1944, when the Republic of Iceland was proclaimed and a President elected. It was regretted in Denmark that the Icelanders should have chosen this juncture to secede from the Danish Crown and nation.

ICELAND

Early in April it was decided to submit the new constitution for a Republic of Iceland to a general vote in the next month. At the beginning of May King Christian of Denmark conveyed a request to the Government through the Icelandic Legation in Copenhagen not to put into effect the change in the constitution cutting the ties between the Icelandic people and their King so long as both Iceland and Denmark were occupied by foreign Powers. This request was ignored, and on May 21 a plebiscite was commenced, first on the resolution of the Althing to cancel the Act of Union, and secondly on the new constitution declaring Iceland a Republic. About 98 per cent. of the 75,000 electors went to the polls, and gave an overwhelming majority to both proposals.

The new Republic was inaugurated with great ceremony on June 17, the Icelandic national day, at Thingvellir, the ancient seat of Parliament, in the presence of 20,000 people. After the inauguration had been pronounced all the church bells of the

country rang for two minutes, and a silence of one minute was observed in memory of all the past leaders of the struggle for independence, particularly Jón Sigurdsson. At the meeting of the Althing which followed, the Regent, Hr. Sveinn Bjornsson, was elected President for one year. The Assembly was then congratulated by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, and France, and the President thanked each in his own language. Messages were also read from the Netherlands Government and the Polish Government in London, and one, which was received with great cheering, from King Christian, stating that, while he deplored that the separation between himself and the Icelandic people had been carried out under existing conditions, he still expressed his best wishes for the future of the Icelandic nation and his hope for the strengthening of the ties uniting Iceland with other northern countries. The first Bill signed by the new President related to the use of the Icelandic flag.

On September 17 the Cabinet of Hr. Thordarson resigned. On October 23 a new Cabinet was formed representing the Conservative Party, the People's Front (Communist and Radical-Socialist), and the Labour Party, and commanding 32 votes in the Althing against the 20 of its predecessor. Hr. Thors (Conservative) became Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

In April the Reykjavik hot water works, conveying water to the city from hot-water springs ten miles away, were completed. It was estimated that before the next winter about 90 per cent. of the houses in Reykjavik would enjoy hot water laid on, and that the total saving of coal and coke during the winter would be about 30,000 tons, which would mean a great saving of cargo space, as all coal and coke had to be imported from the United Kingdom. The water was sold at about 1s. a ton in winter, and a little less in summer, which meant a saving of about 25 per cent. on the fuel bill, apart from the extra comfort and cleanliness.

SWEDEN

While remaining neutral throughout 1944, Sweden reduced considerably the volume of her supplies to Germany, partly on her own initiative, partly at the request of the Allied Powers. A trade agreement concluded on January 10 provided for an export to Germany of iron ore of only 7 million tons, as against 10 million in the previous year. Swedish coal imports from the Reich were correspondingly reduced from 5 to 4 million tons, which was reckoned the maximum that Germany could send. Early in April Swedish ball-bearings exports to Germany were fixed at about half the figure for 1943 and a quarter of what the Germans had demanded. Britain and the United States, however, demanded that this export should cease altogether (*vide*

England), pointing out that in 1937 Sweden had passed legislation forbidding the export of war material. The Government, on April 22, replied that they were unable to break their trade agreement with Germany, which was valid for a year. They also pleaded that the importance of this supply had been greatly exaggerated. However, after further negotiations with the United States representative, Mr. Griffis, they consented to reduce the export to Germany of ball-bearings to a figure which satisfied the Allies. On August 11 the Swedish Government War Insurance Committee declined to insure any further traffic with German North Sea ports, and on August 22 all Baltic ports were brought under the ban. Finally, on September 23, the Government announced that as from the 27th all Swedish Baltic ports and territorial waters would be closed to foreign shipping, owing to the changed situation in the Baltic due to the Finnish armistice with Russia. This meant virtually the stoppage of Swedish-German trade for the duration of the war.

While cutting down her trade with Germany, Sweden carried still further the policy she had begun in the previous year, of demanding from that country a strict observance of her own rights as a neutral. On April 14 the Swedish Customs authorities at Halsingborg discovered a consignment from a German firm addressed to Oslo containing about 23,000 military maps of Sweden similar to those used by the Swedish General Staff. An official protest was made to Berlin, expressing the Swedish Government's surprise and dissatisfaction, and on April 24 it was announced that as a result of the incident the special facilities accorded to Germany for the transmission of mail through Sweden to Norway would be withdrawn. Further discoveries of maps were made on April 25 and 29, and on May 16 the Foreign Minister told the Riksdag that it was "remarkable and unpleasant" that in the existing military situation the German Command had found reason to distribute fresh maps of Sweden to many of its troops. On May 14 a Swedish military aircraft on reconnaissance work in the Baltic was shot down by German fighters outside the territorial limit. A protest was made by the Swedish Legation in Berlin, and the Germans in reply questioned the right of Swedish planes to make reconnaissance flights. This caused great resentment in Sweden, and a further Note was sent on June 10 strongly upholding Sweden's right to carry out such flights. In May the German air courier traffic across Sweden between Norway and Finland (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 255) was suspended. Finally, on July 14, an official intimation was conveyed to Germany over the wireless that a German occupation of the Åland Islands, with or without the concurrence of Finland, would be regarded by Sweden as an unfriendly act, and might lead to war.

Elections to the Lower House of Parliament took place on September 17, with the following results: Social Democrats,

115 seats; Conservatives, 39; Farmers' Party, 36; People's Party (Liberals), 25; Communists, 15. This meant a gain for the Communists of 12 seats, for the Farmers' Party of 8, and for the Liberals of 2, and a loss for the Social Democrats of 19 seats, and for the Conservatives of 3. The Coalition, however, was still maintained, and the position of M. Hansson's Government was unaffected.

In a declaration of policy made in the Chamber by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister on October 30, it was stated that Sweden intended to maintain her neutral position even after the changes of recent months, which were of world importance. The restrictions on trade with Germany had in the main satisfied the demands of the Allies. Swedish relations with Germany had been directly affected by the German treatment of Norway and Denmark, and the Swedish Government emphatically repudiated the German view that this was no concern of Sweden, and it would continue to do its best to bring relief to the oppressed. The declaration reiterated that Sweden would not grant sanctuary to war criminals and quislings, and concluded by saying that Sweden, as always, remained prepared for international co-operation, while hoping that the planned new world organisation would give smaller nations a chance to make their contribution to the building of a peaceful order as free members of the world community.

In June the Riksdag sanctioned an emergency Budget of 1,275,000,000 kr., of which 200,000,000 kr. was for the financing of Sweden's share in international reconstruction, 100,000,000 kr. for domestic post-war reconstruction, and the rest was to serve as reserve for public works in case of excessive unemployment.

Sweden's neutrality did not prevent her from using all her influence with Finland to persuade that country to make peace with Russia, and Finland's rejection of the Russian terms in February (*vide* Finland) caused both surprise and disappointment in Sweden. Swedish interest in Finland's welfare was shown among other things by an offer made in September to receive, if necessary, 100,000 Finnish refugees from the north of Finland, also by the grant of a Finnish request to supply 150,000 tons of grain, 10,000 tons of sugar, and other foodstuffs to make up for the cessation of supplies from Germany. On October 1 the Stockholm police arrested Anthoni, the notorious pro-German chief of the Finnish State police, who had taken refuge in Sweden after being driven from Finland in January (*vide* Finland).

On December 16 Notes were exchanged with the United States by which that country received for its civilian air services the right of transit and of making non-traffic stops in Swedish territory, and of picking up and discharging international traffic at Stockholm.

NORWAY

The year 1944 brought about decisive changes in the character of Norway's struggle against Nazi Germany. Within the country itself the change was marked by the transition from what was mainly unarmed opposition to the attempt to nazify Norwegian society into active hostility which took the form of sabotage directed against the German troops in Norway. Outside Norway the armed forces controlled by the Norwegian Government in London took an increasing part in the Allied onslaught against the German military machine. The two aspects of the Norwegian struggle—internal and external—were unified, first by the close collaboration between the Home Front Leadership inside Norway and the Norwegian Government in London, and secondly by the liberation of North Norway in the autumn of 1944—an action initiated by the Red Army but one in which Norwegian troops, aided by their compatriots inside Norway, played their part.

Inside Norway the Gestapo and its agents continued their political offensive against the Norwegian patriots with an even greater intensity than hitherto. The Nazis had long had to give up their objective of converting Norway into a puppet Nazi state, but it was still hoped, by a brutal suppression of the leading elements of resistance, to force some sections of the population to assist in the German war effort not only as slave labourers but even as conscript soldiers. It was the Nazi attempt to realise this aim which called forth the most striking and most successful efforts of resistance of the past five years. As early as January, 1944, Norwegian patriots discovered that Quisling, during a recent visit to Hitler, had promised to mobilise 75,000 young Norwegians for military service with the Wehrmacht. The confidential memorandum containing details of this plan fell into the hands of the patriots, and its premature disclosure compelled the Nazis to postpone for several months any attempt to put it into practice. This delay was utilised by the patriots to make preparations for effective resistance when the decisive trial came.

On March 15 the Norwegian Home Front leadership for the first time came into the open as the body which was co-ordinating and directing all forms of resistance inside Norway. The identity of the leaders was not revealed, but it soon became evident both that the Home Front leadership was acting in close conjunction with the Norwegian Government in London and that its directions were obeyed by the mass of the Norwegian people. The declaration of March 15 took the form of a manifesto broadcast from the Norwegian service in London, and simultaneously published in the underground newspapers of Norway. The manifesto warned the Norwegian people that Hitler had not abandoned his plans for mobilising Norwegian youth, and that an attempt would

probably be made to conceal these plans by calling up young Norwegians for so-called "Labour Service." It was declared that such an attempt must be met by absolute refusal.

It was not until May that the Nazis attempted to carry out their plans; they called up three age groups of young men for so-called "National Labour Service." Immediately the Home Front leadership proclaimed a total boycott, and the young men were instructed to ignore the calling-up notices, to leave their homes, and to go into hiding in the forests and country districts. It was a decisive trial of strength. Despite threats of death from Quisling and from Reichskommissar Terboven, the young men obeyed the instructions almost to a man. In most towns the numbers of those who presented themselves for enlistment could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The majority of the young men formed secret camps hidden deep in the forests, or spread themselves over the countryside, obtaining work with friendly farmers. Search parties sent out by the Gestapo had little success, and though the hunt went on right through the summer months, only a few hundred were brought in, and the whole mobilisation project had eventually to be abandoned.

The struggle against mobilisation had essentially an unarmed character, but it received effective assistance from Norwegian saboteurs, who burned down registration offices, destroyed card indexes, and blew up the complicated classifying machines used by the officials in charge of mobilisation. This organised sabotage was the beginning of a planned campaign which was directed more and more intensively against German military objectives in Norway. These activities were carried out by what the Norwegian Prime Minister was later to describe as "the organised sabotage groups of the Norwegian Forces of the Interior." Their first offensive was directed against German fuel supplies. Throughout August and September, one petrol storage tank after another was emptied, blown up, or set on fire. Next the saboteurs turned their attention to the factories producing wooden billets for the manufacture of producer-gas, to which the Germans had been forced to convert many of their military vehicles. In the course of a few weeks, dozens of such factories were burned to the ground. After that came attacks on factories producing war supplies for the Germans, and on warehouses containing stocks of munitions, weapons, and spare parts. The Kongsberg Ammunition Factory, the Holmestrand Aluminium Factory, the Lysaker Chemical Works, a large bus garage in Oslo containing 100 German aeroplane engines, and the Skefco Warehouse in Oslo, containing practically all the spare ball-bearing stocks in Norway, were amongst the principal objectives.

While all these activities served to display the increasing unity and strength of the Norwegian Resistance movement, backed by practically the whole of the population, dismay and dissension

spread in the ranks of the quislings. When the Germans failed to mobilise young Norwegians for their war purposes, they called upon the quislings to make good the deficiency. In June, all members of Quisling's party, the Nasjonal Samling, between the ages of 18 and 45, were ordered to present themselves for military training in the Hird (Stormtroopers) or the Hird Factory Guards. So lacking in enthusiasm were Quisling's followers that State police had to be brought in to round up the recalcitrant conscripts, and even then it was not possible to mobilise more than a total of six to seven thousand traitors in the various armed units of the Norwegian Nazis. Dissension was not confined to the lower ranks of the party, for in June two of Quisling's "Ministers," Blehr and Irgens, left his "Government," and they were followed in November by the "Minister of the Interior," Albert Hagelin, once Deputy Leader of Quisling's party. Quisling himself, though remaining nominally Leader and "Minister President," was pushed more and more into the background by his rival, Jonas Lie, "Minister of Police," who gained the special favour of the Germans by the ruthless brutality with which, under the orders of Rediess, the German Gestapo chief, he directed the persecution of Norwegian patriots.

Several times during the year the German and Norwegian Nazis endeavoured to strike crippling blows at the underground Resistance movement. In January and February an attempt was made to destroy the underground Press by arresting hundreds of people suspected of being connected with editing and distribution. For a short time these efforts were successful, but within a few weeks new people stepped into the places of those arrested or forced to leave the country, and the underground Press was soon flourishing as vigorously as hitherto. Attempts to confuse and divide the Home Front by issuing faked orders and forged underground papers proved equally ineffective, owing to the vigilance of the patriots. In September a further wave of arrests began, in the course of which nearly 2,000 people were rounded up by the Gestapo. This time the Germans hoped by spreading their nets wide enough to gather in some of the principal leaders of the Home Front, but again they were disappointed. Nevertheless, these large-scale drives against the patriots served to swell the numbers of those who had to endure the appalling conditions prevalent in the concentration camps and the scientifically cruel methods of torture by which the Gestapo sought to obtain information about underground activities. By the end of the year some 16,000 Norwegians were confined in prisons and concentration camps—nearly 9,000 of them in Germany. Prison transports sailed regularly between Oslo and German ports, until the catastrophe of the *Westfalen*, which sank on September 10 with fifty-two Norwegian political prisoners locked in its holds, of whom only seven escaped alive. So profound was the reaction

to this tragedy in Sweden that the Germans thought it politic to suspend further transports for the time being.

The cost of the German occupation, at nearly 150,000,000*l.* a year—an average of 45*l.* per head of the population—remained higher in proportion to the population than in any other occupied country. Throughout most of the year the German garrison numbered some 200,000 men, though there was a small reduction after D-Day. In addition, about 60,000 prisoners of war and slave labourers were brought into Norway from other European countries. The number of German soldiers in the country was actually increased in the autumn, when General Rendulic withdrew his seven divisions—some 110,000 men—from Finland into North Norway. To feed these troops the Germans continued to take a large proportion of the produce of the Norwegian farms and fisheries, leaving the population to subsist on a diet of adulterated bread, dried fish, fish sausages, herring-oil margarine, potatoes, and decreasing quantities of skimmed milk. Owing to the failure of the 1944 potato crop, which was less than half that of the previous year, the Norwegians had to face a winter in which the prospect of starvation was real. To crown all came the most foul deed perpetrated by the Germans during their occupation of Norway: the total devastation of the North Norwegian County of Finnmark and the compulsory evacuation of its population.

On October 25 the Red Army, pursuing the retreating Germans from Finland, crossed the Norwegian frontier and took Kirkenes, the vital base from which the Germans had directed their attacks against the convoys to Murmansk. They quickly cleared the district of South Varanger and the Varanger Peninsula as far as the River Tana. Later, detachments of the Norwegian Army, led by a military mission under Colonel A. D. Dahl, which had been transported to a Russian port in a British cruiser, joined in the operations and extended the area of liberated Norwegian soil as far as the base of the Porsanger Fjord. By the end of the year, nearly half of the County of Finnmark, comprising an area of some 9,000 square miles, was liberated. Inside this area the 25,000 Norwegian civilians who had managed to evade compulsory evacuation set about the formidable task of repairing their damaged towns and villages and re-establishing a democratic civil administration to solve the urgent problems of food supplies, transport and medical aid. Further west lay a vast no-man's-land, an arctic desert deliberately created by the Germans in order to impede the advance of the Allied forces. On the pretext that it was necessary to deny shelter and supplies to the Russian forces, with the added argument that "the Bolsheviks" would enslave the population, the German authorities had ordered the destruction of every vestige of human habitation and the removal or destruction of all livestock, food supplies, equipment, vehicles, and fishing vessels. It was then announced that the whole

population must evacuate along with the German Army, otherwise they would "be deprived of all means of existence and would perish in the arctic winter." S.S. troops carried out these orders with characteristic thoroughness. Little fishing villages like Mehavn, Gamvik, Berlevaag, Honningsvaag, and Kjöllefjord, which had been built up by centuries of effort as the most northerly outposts of civilisation in the whole world, were razed to the ground. The population of these villages, apart from those who managed to escape into the mountains, were stowed at the point of the revolver into small fishing vessels and taken round the coast to the district between Tromsø and Narvik. Some 40,000 civilians, including new-born babies and old men and women, were transported in this way. Their arrival, together with the retreating German troops, created indescribably difficult conditions of over-crowding and food shortage in the reception areas. A few stragglers managed to make their way over the trackless mountains into Sweden, but the fate of many others is unknown, though it may be presumed that they could not have survived the ordeal of exposure in the arctic winter and polar darkness.

Despite their misery, the Norwegian people were able to co-operate with the Allied onslaught on the German Armies. Colonel-General Lothar Rendulic, who in November took over from General von Falkenhorst the command of all German forces in Norway, had the task of moving the seven divisions he had evacuated from Finland along the great length of Norwegian territory and across the Skagerrak to Germany, whence they could be distributed to the more hard-pressed battle-fronts. The Allies had the task of delaying and, if possible, preventing the execution of these plans by attacking German communications at every possible opportunity. In this work the Norwegian Armed Forces and the Norwegian Forces of the Interior lent their aid to the British forces. The British Navy and Air Force redoubled their attacks on coastal shipping all along the Norwegian coast line from the North Cape to the Skagerrak. Convoy after convoy was attacked throughout the winter months. Small, fast ships of the Royal Norwegian Navy and Norwegian airmen flying in R.A.F. Coastal Command took their share in these attacks. Inside Norway, the sabotage groups of the Norwegian Forces of the Interior intensified their onslaughts on German land communications and on factories and workshops producing locomotives, automobiles, boilers, batteries, and other vital components required by the German transport services. Then, in the middle of December, Norwegian paratroops, flown over from Britain, made the first of a series of bold attacks on the two or three railway lines which are the only connecting link between North Norway and the south. The lines between Trondheim and Oslo were cut at several points, a bridge was blown up on the secondary line to Aandalsnes, and later the single line running

from Trondheim to Mo was severed. By the end of December Rendulic had succeeded in transporting only two of his divisions to the Central European battle-fronts, and was still struggling with the problem of moving some six or seven more.

The Norwegian Government in London was occupied throughout the year in completing its preparations for the final military blows against the German forces in Norway and for relief and reconstruction after liberation. Norwegian representatives participated in the second U.N.R.R.A. Conference, in the I.L.O. Conference, in the Civil Aviation Conference, in the preparation of a draft constitution for the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, and in discussions connected with international financial policy and the establishment of a World Security Organisation. In May, agreements were signed between the Norwegian Government and the Governments of the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., providing for the re-establishment of Norwegian civil administration and eventually of the full authority of the Norwegian Government in liberated Norwegian territory. When the Russian armies crossed the Norwegian frontier in October, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Hr. Trygve Lie, accompanied by the Minister of Justice, Hr. Terje Wold, went to Moscow in order to make provision for carrying out the agreement with the Soviet Union. The Norwegian Ministers also visited Stockholm, where arrangements were made with the Swedish Government for the transport to liberated East Finmark of the Norwegian police force, numbering some 10,000, who for many months had been training in Sweden.

Throughout the year the Norwegian Armed Forces helped not only in preparations for the liberation of Norway, but also in the general Allied offensives against the Reich. Soon after D-day, the two fighter squadrons of the Royal Norwegian Air Force were transferred to bases in France and later in Belgium, from which they joined in the offensive against German troops and communications and in combats with the Luftwaffe. A force of Norwegian Commandos took part in the conquest of Walcheren, and Norwegian Army personnel gained battle experience by fighting in British units. The Norwegian Navy, in addition to its attacks on enemy shipping along the Norwegian coast, continued its convoy and patrol activities in the Atlantic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean. The Norwegian Merchant Navy, although reduced by enemy action to only one-half its pre-war size, continued to transport supplies to Britain and the battle-fronts. Many Norwegian merchant ships took part in the D-Day landings, and a Norwegian ship was the first to sail into Antwerp when that port was reopened. In July Crown Prince Olav was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the Norwegian Armed Forces, Major-General Wilhelm Hansteen becoming Second-in-Command.

On December 26 Hr. Johan Nygaardsvold, the Norwegian Prime Minister, broadcast from London to the Norwegian people, informing them that the present Norwegian Government intended to resign immediately on return to Oslo, in order that a new Government might be formed including representatives of the Home Front. He also declared that preparations were being made for the rapid trial of traitors and for the holding of parliamentary and municipal elections as soon as possible.

FINLAND

At the beginning of the year the Finnish Government were left in no doubt by Marshal Mannerheim, the Commander-in-Chief, that the military prospects of Germany were deteriorating, and that the outlook for Finland was equally gloomy. They were also pressed by a section of the Social Democratic Party and other elements in the country to try to come to terms with Russia. Nevertheless they still refused obstinately to alter their standpoint. At a secret session of the Riksdag on January 22, it was announced that Finland would continue to fight her "independent war" to the bitter end. The utmost the dissident Social Democrats could do was to force the resignation at the end of January of the Chief of the State Police, Anthoni, who had long been a *bête noire* to them on account of his hostility to Russia and his pro-Nazi activities. On the other hand, M. Tanner, the anti-Russian leader of the Social Democratic Party, procured—without difficulty—the election of one of his own supporters as Speaker when the Riksdag met for its new session on February 1.

On January 31 a Note was delivered to the Foreign Minister by the United States Chargé d'Affaires stating that there were two obstacles in the way of improved relations between the United States and Finland—the collaboration between Finland and Germany, and the state of war between Finland and America's ally, Russia; and that if Finland delayed the removal of these obstacles the situation could only become worse. This Note was not communicated by the Foreign Minister to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Riksdag till February 9, and its disclosure was at once followed by renewed pressure in the direction of peace from the side of the Social Democrats. The dangers of the existing situation were further brought into relief by a Russian air raid on Helsinki on February 6 which did considerable damage, and which led the High Command to order the closing of schools in Helsinki and to advise the voluntary evacuation of children and persons over 60.

The response of the Government to these stimuli was to commission M. Paasikivi, who as Ambassador in Moscow had conducted negotiations with the U.S.S.R. in 1939, to make peace soundings in Sweden. M. Paasikivi arrived in Stockholm on

February 12 and soon got into touch there with the Soviet Ambassador, Madame Kollontay. From her he obtained a draft of the Soviet terms for an armistice, the chief of which were the rupture of relations with Germany and the internment of German troops and warships in Finland—with Russian aid, if necessary—the re-establishment of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of 1940 and the withdrawal of Finnish troops to the 1940 border, and the repatriation of Soviet and Allied prisoners of war and of Allied civilians who were being kept in concentration camps. The questions of demobilisation, of reparations, and of Petsamo were to be left over for future negotiations in Moscow.

These terms, which were published in Moscow on March 1, were considered by the outside world to be very generous, but the Finnish Government, as might have been expected, took an opposite view, and declared them inimical to the national existence. What was more, they were able to bring the majority of the Riksdag round to their own point of view, probably because on account of the strict censorship on news the real facts of the military situation were not generally known. After a secret session on March 14 and 15 the Riksdag approved the Government's statement that the terms were unacceptable, though at meetings of the party groups 37 of the 200 members had disapproved of their rejection.

At the end of March M. Paasikivi went on an exploratory mission to Moscow, and found that the door to negotiations had not yet been entirely closed. On April 1 he arrived back in Helsinki with certain "clarifications" of the armistice proposals. These were reported in Stockholm to be that the withdrawal by Finland to the 1940 frontiers should be by stages, as also demobilisation, that Finland should pay 600 million dollars in reparations over five years in paper, pulp, ships, machinery, and other goods, and that Petsamo should be returned to Russia, who on her side would cede the Hangö area without compensation. The Riksdag, on April 12, authorised the Government to reject these terms also.

The peace party in Finland refused to take this decision as final, and persisted in its agitation. Resolutions were passed by the Swedish Party in Finland, the Swedish Social Democratic Party in Finland, and the Liberal Party calling on the Government to continue its efforts in the pursuit of peace. The censor forbade the publication of these resolutions. One of similar tenor, however, adopted by the Finnish Trade Union Council was passed for publication by the new Chief of the Information Office, General Kekoni, an intimate friend of Marshal Mannerheim, in direct disregard of the Government's instructions. This action nearly cost him his position.

At the end of April the Russians made a surprise attack on the German army under General Dietl in North Finland. This was

soon beaten off, but on June 10 they launched a vigorous attack on the Karelian isthmus and rapidly broke through the first line of defences, capturing Terijoki and Yatkina. The Finns proved quite unable to stop their advance, and by June 20 they had broken through the Mannerheim line and taken Viipuri. They then opened new offensives north of Lake Onega and between Lakes Onega and Ladoga, taking Medvezhegorsk on June 24 and Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Karelian Republic, on June 28.

The Russian successes soon produced a political crisis in Finland. The Government became seriously alarmed, and began to consider the advisability of resigning and making way for a Government which would be more acceptable to Russia. It was only prevented from doing so by energetic intervention from the side of Germany. On June 22 Marshal Mannerheim was summoned to Berlin, but refused to go. Thereupon, on June 24, Ribbentrop, the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, went to Helsinki and in the course of a three days' stay persuaded the Linkomies Government to remain in office and to continue the war against Russia, chiefly on the strength of a promise to send German military aid, which was confirmed by Keitel a few days afterwards. The Government took this decision without consulting Parliament.

While Ribbentrop was in Helsinki, the Social Democratic Party threatened to withdraw its five members from the Cabinet if that body did not try to negotiate an armistice with Russia. However, on June 30 it reversed this decision, for fear that it might only open the way for the entry of Finnish Nazis into the Government. Another untoward result of the Government's action was that on June 30 the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Finland, on the ground that that country had now become a puppet of the Nazi Government. On July 2 the Premier broadcast a message in which he defended the alliance with Germany on the ground that Russia was demanding the capitulation of Finland. Opposition to the Government, however, continued to grow. Although after the end of June the Russians remained stationary, it was evident that they had the country at their mercy and that the few German detachments which had been sent to Finland would provide no adequate protection.

On August 1 seven members of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs—five Social Democrats and two members of the Swedish People's Party—lodged a protest against the pledge which President Ryti had given to Hitler in June not to conclude a peace with Russia unless Germany agreed. On the same day President Ryti resigned, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health. M. Linkomies thereupon introduced a Bill in Parliament appointing Marshal Mannerheim President. This Bill at the same time

served as an amendment to the Constitution of 1919 which laid down that the President was to be chosen by an Electoral College elected by popular vote. The Bill was rapidly passed and Marshal Mannerheim took the oath as President on August 4. On the same day, M. Linkomies resigned and a new Government was formed by M. Hackzell, a Conservative, who had been Finnish Minister at Moscow from 1922 to 1927 and Foreign Minister from 1932 to 1933.

The new Government immediately took energetic steps to wind up the war with Russia. On August 29 the Soviet Government, with the concurrence of the British and American Governments, agreed to receive a Finnish peace delegation in Moscow on condition that the Finnish Government broke off relations with Germany and demanded the withdrawal of German troops from Finnish territory within two weeks. On September 2 the Premier, in a broadcast address, justified the change of policy on the ground that during the whole period of collaboration between Finland and Germany relations had been based solely on common military interests without any political agreement, and that Germany was not now in a position to give any effective help. On September 4 the "cease fire" was sounded on the Russian front, after the Government had already informed the German Minister in Helsinki that diplomatic relations with Germany were severed and had demanded the withdrawal of German troops from Finland by September 15 on pain of being disarmed and handed over to the Allies.

The armistice terms were signed at Moscow on September 19. Under them Finland undertook to withdraw her troops behind the 1940 frontier, to disarm all German forces left in the country, to grant the Allies the use of her airfields, and to place her army on a peace footing within 2½ months. Finland was to return Petsamo to Russia, who on her side renounced her rights to the lease of the Hangö peninsula. Finland was to pay to Russia over a period of six years reparations to the amount of 300 million dollars in commodities such as timber, cellulose, sea and river craft, etc., and also to indemnify the losses caused to the other Allied Powers and nationals. She also undertook to assist the Allied Powers by handing over merchant ships and in other ways, and to dissolve all pro-Hitler organisations and others conducting propaganda against the United Nations, especially the Soviet Union. The armistice was unanimously approved by Parliament in secret session on the same day. In accordance with its terms a Soviet Control Commission arrived in Helsinki on September 20, and immediately afterwards diplomatic relations were broken off with Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, and Japan.

By September 12 the German troops had already left South Finland. In the course of their withdrawal they made an attack on the island of Suursari or Hogland, in the Gulf of Finland,

and had to be suppressed by force. Those retreating from the northern frontier burnt down several villages. The effect of these actions was to cause a strong revulsion of feeling against Germany. On September 21 M. Castren was appointed Premier in place of M. Hackzell, who had been seized with a stroke at Moscow. The new Government immediately began to carry out energetically the armistice terms.

At the end of October a determined effort was made within the Social Democratic Party to oust M. Tanner from the presidency. This was unsuccessful, but as M. Tanner's opponents refused to remain in the Government, on November 11 M. Paasikivi took over the Premiership and formed a Government containing six Social Democrats, four Agrarians, and one Communist. On December 21 it appointed two committees, one to promote the more efficient teaching of Russian, and the other to examine school and college text-books with a view to removing "misleading statements about foreign Powers which might impair Finland's foreign relations."

The Budget proposals published in October provided for income Fmk. 17,630 million and expenditure Fmk. 17,550 million, with national loans for Fmk. 1,000 million and a 20 per cent. increase in income tax.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA : EGYPT AND THE SUDAN
—PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN—SYRIA AND THE LEBANON
—ARABIA—ARAB UNITY—IRAQ—IRAN—TANGIER

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

Two events stand out in Egyptian history in the course of the year 1944. The one was the sudden dismissal by the King of the Wafd Ministry of Nahas Pasha. The other was the Conference of Arab States at Alexandria in September. The latter came first. The individual conversations in Egypt between representatives of these States and the Egyptian Prime Minister, of the previous year, foreshadowed a more formal gathering in which all would participate. This was held at the invitation of the Egyptian Government and under the chairmanship of the Egyptian Prime Minister, and its results gave all that was anticipated. (For details see p. 289.) Much of the time of the conference was devoted to the future of Palestine, on which the Egyptian Prime Minister, as well as the other members of the conference, held strong views. These views had been expressed on more than one occasion, outside of the conference, in the course of the year—to the Government of the U.S.A. in February, when the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate had under consideration a resolu-

tion supporting the Zionist claims ; to that of the Union of South Africa in March on the occasion of a message expressing similar views sent by Field-Marshal Smuts, the Prime Minister, to the Zionist Federation in London ; and again in August on the occasion of the adoption of pro-Zionist resolutions by the British Labour Party and the two American political parties on the eve of the Presidential election.

Nahas Pasha and his Government were suddenly dismissed on October 8, the day after the conclusion of the Conference on Arab Unity. There was, however, no connexion between the two events. The Government had been in office since February, 1942, but differences of opinion between the King and his Cabinet had been known to exist over a long period, and the dismissal would probably have come earlier if the King had not been anxious not to jeopardise the success of the conference. The letter of dismissal read : " As I am anxious to see my country governed by a democratic Ministry working for the fatherland and enforcing the laws of the Constitution in the spirit as well as in the letter, giving equality to all Egyptians in rights and duties and bringing to the masses food and clothing, I have decided to dismiss you from office." Ahmed Pasha Maher, leader of the Saadist Wafdist Party, who had until 1939 been one of the outstanding leaders of the Wafd Party and a close associate of Nahas Pasha, was immediately appointed Prime Minister. In August, 1940, he had strongly advocated the entry of Egypt into the war on the side of the Allies. He announced his policy of close co-operation with the Allies and " true democratic rule, both in the letter and the spirit." The new Cabinet included prominent members of all the principal parties except the Wafd. Almost its first act was the liberation of Makram Ebeid Pasha, the leader of the Egyptian Independent Party, who was made Minister of Finance, and other political internees. Parliament was dissolved a month later and elections appointed for January, 1945. For these elections the parties constituting the Government agreed not to oppose one another's candidates, and the Wafd, as the party in Opposition, in accordance with precedent, decided to boycott the elections. Nevertheless, 809 candidates were nominated for 264 seats.

Although relations between both Governments and the British were excellent, and there was no suggestion of a disturbance of the *status quo*, it was made clear that the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty were not fully satisfactory to Egypt, and that when easier times arrived the Egyptian Government intended to press for changes. The main points on which Egypt would ask for revision were, according to Nahas Pasha, speaking in August, those concerning Britain's right to maintain garrisons in Egypt and the administration of the Sudan. On the latter subject in particular he had considerable support in the Press, but it was widely agreed that the desired aims were attainable only in

agreement with Britain, and this was confirmed by Maher Pasha when he succeeded to office.

There were some minor matters of concern that developed in the course of the year. Economic difficulties, and in particular the rising cost of living, caused unrest and disturbances among the students of the great Al Azhar University in consequence of which the University had to be closed in January. To the high cost of food and the consequent widespread semi-starvation was also attributed a malaria epidemic at the beginning of the year, which was responsible for a large number of deaths. In May a scathing report on the condition of the Government hospitals led to discussions in parliament and the introduction of reforms. The last month of the year saw the development of a political scandal. Makram Pasha had in the previous year brought charges of corruption against Nahas Pasha and his Cabinet, but these charges had been brushed aside. Recent events having given the opportunity, the charges were reopened. Among those arrested for alleged irregularities and evasion of taxation was a brother-in-law of Nahas. Even more serious was the inquiry into the disposal of some 140,000*l.* collected for the relief of the malaria victims which went into a private account, for fear, as Nahas explained, that it might be devoted by a future Government to purposes for which it was not intended. Nahas and his associate in the matter were given a week in which to replace the money. On their failure to do so, this sum was seized by the Government.

A renewed interest in the political future of the Sudan manifested itself in the course of the year, as shown by the reference to the subject by the Prime Minister on Independence Day. He had asked, he said, the Governor-General of the Sudan to maintain Egyptian rights there, but he also wished to make clear that he considered Egypt and the Sudan one nation. To mark its importance, a summary of this speech was telegraphed to the Egyptian diplomatic representatives in all countries. The King followed up this pronouncement by his marked attention to Sudanese students and others at a series of functions at which he entertained them and other guests. Sudanese students were specially invited to the royal table and, according to their reports, the future of their country discussed with them. Speaking later in the year, in August, the Prime Minister reiterated this statement of January and added that Egyptians would always treat the Sudanese as equals and not act as masters to vassals. The Press went further, and demanded that Egypt should be given full sovereignty over the Sudan.

The Northern Sudan Advisory Council, whose institution had been announced in September, 1943, met for the first time on May 16. This body is in a sense representative of a section of the country which contains three-quarters of the population of the Sudan, to

a large extent of Arab origin. Previously the Governor-General's Council, which initiates all legislation by proclamation, had consulted native opinion only unofficially. The new body is designed to provide the Government with a formal means of ascertaining all shades of local opinion on subjects of consequence. At the same time provincial councils were established in four of the six provinces of the Northern Sudan.

Another direction in which progress can be recorded during the year is the development of Gordon College into a university college. Hitherto it has been a secondary school for Sudanese boys, founded as a memorial of General Gordon of Khartoum. The Council of the new college first met in December and the future University of the Sudan may be said to have been born on that occasion.

PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN

Although the prospects in the economic sphere in Palestine continued to engage the attention of thoughtful people during 1944, the topics that aroused the greatest anxiety were within the political range. Of these two stood out. The one worried the Arab section of the population; the other the Jews.

The end of the first period of five years laid down in the British White Paper of 1939 aroused expectations on the part of the Jews and corresponding alarm on the part of the Arabs. According to the White Paper the end of 1944 should have brought Jewish immigration into Palestine practically to an end and at the same time should have laid the foundations of far-reaching constitutional reforms in the direction of self-government. A number of outside influences contributed to heighten the feelings of each group. First, there was the campaign for the Presidential election. This brought resolutions of sympathy, each side endeavouring to outbid the other, by the American political party conventions, and messages from the Presidential candidates. Then the world heard the customary resolutions of sympathy from the British Labour Party. Lastly, there came messages from Field-Marshal Smuts and other British and American sympathisers of less importance. Proposals were also under consideration by the two Houses of the American Congress for resolutions in support of Zionist aspirations. These last, however, were indefinitely postponed at the instance of the State and War Departments, which counselled the Legislature to hold its hand in the matter in view of "the delicate political situation in the Middle East and its influence on the conduct of the war." Probably the strong representations made by the Governments of Egypt, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, and the other Arab States was not without influence. The Arabs within and without Palestine, however, remained uneasy and Palestine and its future occupied a large part of the time of the Conference of Arab countries held in Alexandria in September (see p. 289).

Jewish immigration into Palestine did not cease at the end of March as should have happened if the White Paper policy had been rigidly observed. It had been anticipated when this policy was laid down that 75,000 additional immigrants would enter the country during the five-year period. The outbreak of war, however, dislocated this programme, and the total at the end of March fell far short of this figure. The Government thereupon decided that immigration should continue until the quota was exhausted. There were some mild Arab protests, but no serious objection, and the necessity for dealing with the situation that will ultimately arise was postponed for a year or longer. Nor were any steps taken to fulfil the promise of associating Palestinians of both nationalities in the administration of the country so that when the time was ripe it could be entrusted to them. Only one precedent was created by the promotion of an Arab member of the Government staff to the highest regular grade in the Civil Service.

More disturbing for the Jewish section of the population was the rapid and alarming spread of terrorism among them. Until the year 1944 there had been occasional sporadic acts of political crime on the part of Jews in Palestine, but these were very infrequent, even during the period of great tension in the years of the Arab rebellion. Throughout the year 1944, however, there was evidence of the organisation and extension of such crimes over a far wider field. In fact the existence of a Jewish organisation for the commission of political crime was brazenly announced. The Jewish leaders in Palestine and Zionist leaders outside repeatedly denounced these criminals and their acts, but with no appreciable effect. Murders and other outrages continued, the victims being for the most part members of the Police force, principally British and Jewish, to a small extent Arab. But ordinary Jewish citizens also suffered at the hands of the gangsters. After a number of daring attacks on Government offices, especially police stations, the culmination came on August 8 by an attempt to murder Sir Harold MacMichael, the retiring High Commissioner. This was followed three months later (Nov. 5) by a successful attempt on the life of Lord Moyne, the British Minister Resident in Cairo, whose policy regarding Palestine was supposed to fall short of the extremists' demands. Two men, Jews from Palestine, who admitted that they were members of the terror organisation, were caught red-handed and were held for trial by court-martial early in the year 1945, in Egypt, where the crime was committed.

The Palestine Government was not represented at the Arab Conference at Alexandria, but the Arabs of Palestine were invited to send an observer. This they did in the person of Mousa effendi Alami, formerly the holder of an important legal office in the Palestine administration, from which he had resigned. Eventually he became influential in the Arab political movement. There

was much difficulty in securing this representation of the Palestinian Arabs. Personal and sectional jealousies were rife. Mousa effendi's position, once he reached Alexandria, was, however, only nominally that of an observer.

There was some evidence towards the end of the year of a deflationary tendency in the country. Bank deposits and the volume of currency in circulation continued to rise, but not at the same rate as previously. The average monthly increase of currency in circulation was 433,000*l.*P. during the first seven months of 1944, compared with 1,000,000*l.*P. in 1943, 890,000*l.*P. in 1942, and 230,000*l.*P. in 1941. The cost of living also, although it was rising, was still a little below the level of a year earlier. There was certainly inflation in Palestine, but it was more moderate than in the other countries of the Middle East. The Government made great efforts to control the situation. To keep down and stabilise the prices of necessities such as corn, meat, textiles, and hosiery, heavy subsidies were paid out of public funds. A number of attempts was made to attract surplus money into Government loans but not altogether with success. At first the British line was followed, and a Post Office Savings Bank and Savings Certificates were introduced. Even Treasury bills of a year's maturity were offered to large capitalists. The only appeal that had an adequate response was the issue, in the second half of the year, of Lottery bonds, called by the more respectable name of Premium bonds. A section of public opinion in England was, however, seriously disturbed by this pandering to gambling on the part of a Government for which the British people is responsible. A debate on the subject was initiated by Lord Samuel in the House of Lords and, although the Government secured a majority in the division, the whole weight of opinion was against them. The Palestinian Government also increased taxation to meet the increasing cost of government, due in part to greatly increased expenditure on staff in the form of cost of living allowances and to the subventions to keep down the cost of necessities. Expenditure in the Budget for 1943-44 totalled over 17,000,000*l.*, and the estimate for the year 1944-45 was put at 20,500,000*l.* These figures compare with about 2,000,000*l.* from the initiation of the British Government until 1926-27, less than 3,000,000*l.* until 1933-34, less than 6,000,000*l.* in 1938-39, and 7,463,601*l.* in 1941-42.

Industrial development based on war industries and money spent in the country by members of the Allied Armies made it possible to reach these figures. But as the war receded from the Middle East the money available under both heads fell. The Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, speaking in January, 1944, estimated that a third of the national income was derived from the armies, and he was inclined to the view that the only means of changing over, without undue dislocation, from a war to a

peace economy was for the manufacturers to step in at once and take the place of Japanese and some of the European manufacturers. The task, however, seems to be far more difficult than he envisaged. He admitted the vital necessity for Palestinian manufacturers to keep down their costs, a policy which had been advocated also by those officers of the Palestine Government who are concerned with economic matters. When, in December, Dr. Weizmann, the President of the Jewish Agency, visited Palestine after a long absence, he emphasised the same need.

The war years witnessed some remarkable industrial developments in Palestine, almost all of them on the part of the Jewish population. According to a statement by the Government Director of War Production, many articles in the engineering and chemical industries which had not previously been manufactured in Palestine were being produced on a large scale to meet military requirements. In some instances, even the machinery required for the purpose was being made in Palestine.

When opening a new session of the Legislative Council in November, 1943, the Amir Abdullah of Transjordan had announced that his Government was "striving with the allied British Government towards achieving complete independence and sovereignty and starting to exchange diplomatic representatives." In the following June the Government of Transjordan published the substance of an exchange of notes with the British Government. Transjordan had requested the opening of negotiations for a new treaty, which would replace that of 1928 and would provide for the termination of the Mandate and the recognition of Transjordan's complete independence. The British Government had replied to the effect that, while it fully appreciated the friendship and assistance of the Government and people of Transjordan and their desire to be placed on an equal footing with the other Arab countries, it could not open such negotiations during the war. Afterwards it would be willing to conclude a treaty more compatible with existing conditions than that of 1928, but in the meantime official relations between the two Governments must continue on the existing basis, though this would be interpreted on lines compatible with the wishes of the people of Transjordan. On learning of this decision, the Government of Transjordan resigned, but after a meeting between the Amir and the High Commissioner of Palestine, the resignation was withdrawn. The Government, however, resigned again, and irrevocably, shortly after the conclusion of the Arab Conference in Alexandria, whereupon the new Prime Minister, Tewfik Abul Huda, who had been Prime Minister on seven previous occasions, in his statement on taking office, welcomed the British statement on future relations between the two countries and the references in the Note to the existing spirit of cordiality and mutual understanding.

Transjordan shared the excitement caused in the Arab world by various American declarations on the subject of Palestine. The Amir was among the other Arab rulers who made representations on the subject, and he received in reply a cable from President Roosevelt, assuring him that the status of Palestine would not be changed without previous consultation with both Arabs and Jews. In the following October, after the United States Secretary for War had temporarily withdrawn his objection to the discussion of pro-Zionist resolutions in the United States Congress, the Amir declared that, if the Americans persisted in their present attitude, "we shall never grant them any financial or industrial privileges."

SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

In both Syria and the Lebanon events followed on the whole a similar course during the year 1944. The Governments and peoples of both countries showed themselves extremely jealous of their dearly-won and still somewhat precarious independence, and willing to go to the furthest lengths in co-operation with the other Arab states and peoples, so long as that independence was not compromised. Throughout the year there survived an undercurrent of distrust of the French authorities and suspicion of their intentions.

The year opened with the formal transfer, on January 3, of the Customs and Tobacco monopoly, hitherto in the hands of the French, to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments. This was taken as proof that everyone could see that the promise of independence of the previous month was not a mere empty gesture.

By a Syro-Lebanese Convention, adopted on February 6, "Common Interests," which had previously been administered by the French, were divided into two categories: those which would have to be taken over by a joint commission (customs, concessionary companies operating in both countries, tobacco régime, etc.); and those which could be transferred separately to the two Governments (public works, archaeological service, *Surêté Générale*, control of companies operating in one country only, etc.). Article 2 of the Convention provided for the administration of the first category by a Higher Commission of Common Interests, composed of three delegates from each country, who can take decisions only when they are unanimous. The Commission would sit for six months in Damascus and for six months in Beirut. The functions of the Commission included the drafting of legislation and of projects for commercial and economic agreements with foreign countries. The terms of the customs union between Syria and Lebanon were outlined, and it was agreed that the surplus revenue of the administration of the joint services was to be divided between the two States in proportion to their share in the payment of the taxes from which this revenue was derived.

Pending the determination of this ratio, each State was to receive 40 per cent. of the net income of the joint services, 20 per cent. remaining to be distributed later. The agreement was to remain valid for two years from the date of transfer of the common interests, and then to continue indefinitely until denounced by one of the parties. To satisfy some Lebanese Maronite doubts, a Lebanese Law, explicitly affirming that the right of legislation on the joint services had not been transferred to the new Higher Commission was adopted.

Both the Syrian and Lebanese Governments took a full part in the Conference on Arab Unity held in Alexandria in September (see p. 289). On this matter there was at first some divergence between the Syrian and Lebanese points of view. The former wished to go further than the Lebanese. They looked forward to a federated state—a Greater Syria—which would form one Power *vis à vis* the outside world, while preserving for its constituent states full autonomy in all internal matters. The Lebanon was rigidly unwilling to go as far, but was very anxious for as wide a co-operation as possible, short of endangering its sovereign independence. The President of the Lebanese Republic, Bechara Khoury, defined the position to a newspaper correspondent at the end of January. "Lebanon desires to maintain intimate co-operation and close collaboration with the neighbouring Arab countries, while safeguarding its independence and sovereignty as outlined in the ministerial declaration which was read in the Chamber of Deputies on October 7, 1943." This policy was approved by the Lebanese Parliament later in the year by an overwhelming majority.

ARABIA

Saudi-Arabia and the Yemen, after a little hesitation, sent representatives to the Pan-Arab Conference that was held in Alexandria in September. Both representatives were in full agreement with their colleagues on the conclusions reached (see p. 289), but neither of the Governments had ratified the agreement by the end of the year.

The principal Arabian topic of outside interest during the year was that of the exploitation of oil in the peninsula. It began with an announcement by the United States Petroleum Administrator, Mr. Harold Ickes, on February 4, that the construction of a privately-owned and financed refinery to make war petroleum products for the United Nations was to be undertaken immediately in Saudi-Arabia. The project would be financed entirely by the Arabia-American Oil Company, jointly owned by the Standard Oil Companies of California and Texas. Mr. Ickes also disclosed for the first time that expansion programmes had been under way for a number of months at the Bahrein petroleum-gas

refinery on Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf, at the Abadan-Iran refinery of the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and at the Haifa refinery of Consolidated Refineries Limited. The capacity of the Bahrein plant, which was also jointly owned by the same two American companies, was being substantially increased. Part of the scheme was for the construction of a pipe-line from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, either in Egyptian or Palestinian territory, and for this the agreement of three or four Middle Eastern Governments was necessary. It was proposed to open negotiations with these Governments without delay. None of these Governments, however, showed any enthusiasm. According to Colonel Knox, the Secretary of the United States Navy, the King of Saudi-Arabia had appealed to the British for support, and the American Oil Companies, on their part, needed the assistance of the United States Government in what would otherwise be an unequal contest. The response of the United States Government seems to have been the suggestion of an equal partnership between itself and the oil companies in the oil exploitation business. But this proposal was not acceptable to the companies. It was agreed by them, however, that the Government should build a pipe-line to the Mediterranean, and should operate it as a common carrier. No definite steps in any direction seem to have been taken by the end of the year.

The execution of a Persian pilgrim in Mecca at the end of the year 1943, for an alleged offence, which was interpreted as blasphemy in the Moslem sense, led to an extreme polemical campaign in the Persian Press, and a protest by the Persian Government to that of Saudi-Arabia.

ARAB UNITY

The question of closer co-operation between the Arab States occupied the attention of Arab statesmen throughout the year, and this attention culminated in the holding of a conference of representatives of the Governments interested in Alexandria in September. At first the lead in the matter was taken by Iraq, and in particular by its then Prime Minister and past Foreign Minister, Nuri es Said Pasha. Later, however, the Egyptian Government and its Prime Minister, Nahas Pasha, occupied the predominant position. Most of the preliminary talks were conducted in Egypt, to which a succession of Arab statesmen from the other countries proceeded. The Palestine question inevitably came into the discussions, for of all the Arab lands that country, in view of its constitutional position, was the only one that could not be represented at the conference. Thus the other Governments had a political as well as a sentimental interest in the future of Palestine.

The conference, which took the name of the Preparatory Committee for an Arab Congress, held its first meeting in

Alexandria on September 25 under the chairmanship of the Egyptian Prime Minister, the Arab States being represented by their Prime Ministers. Saudi-Arabia and the Yemen at the last moment sent representatives who had, however, no authority to sign agreements without reference back to their rulers. The Arabs of Palestine sent a representative as an observer, who was later invited to participate in the discussions. During the conference, a deputation of the Moorish Youth Association in Cairo visited the Syrian Premier and handed him a memorandum suggesting the inclusion of Morocco in the proposed Arab union. The Tripolitanian community in Egypt addressed a similar request to Nahas Pasha. The Iraqi Press published a message from the Arab Union Society in Cairo, to the effect that the conference should pave the way for the representation in future of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, in addition to the eastern Arab countries. The proceedings ended on October 7 with the signature, by the delegates from Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan, of resolutions on (1) the formation of a League of Arab States, (2) the independence of Lebanon within her present frontiers, and (3) Palestine. The proposed Middle Eastern League of Nations followed the broad outlines of the Geneva League. It would have a council on which all member States would be represented on an equal footing, and its mission would be "to execute agreements reached between member States; to organise periodical meetings to reaffirm their relations and co-ordinate their political programmes, with a view to effecting co-operation between them, so as to safeguard their independence and sovereignty against any aggression; and to concern itself with the general interests of the Arab countries." It was understood that the representatives both of Saudi-Arabia and the Yemen concurred in the general results. Article 5 of the protocol, which dealt with the Palestine question, bound the Arab States to approval of the British Government's White Paper policy.

There is already some measure of union in the form of economic co-operation which has been brought about by the impact of the war on the Middle East, and has materialised in the Middle East Supply Centre which controls the allocation of supplies from outside to the countries within its region of activity. The Middle East Agricultural Conference in Cairo in February was one of its opportunities for gauging the condition of affairs. The participants in the conference came from all parts of the Middle East and were representative of all communities, British as well as local. Much information was exchanged to the advantage of everybody. It transpired that the problems that were discussed were to a large extent common to all the countries concerned, and seemed to be quite beyond their control. One was the inadequacy of the agricultural produce of the region to feed its inhabitants. Another problem was the unsatisfactory distribu-

tion of the land, its concentration in the hands of a relatively few large landowners, with a very large land-hungry working, insufficiently fed, population. One consequence of this widespread insufficiency of food is the heavy mortality from disease; for instance, in the devastating malaria epidemic in Egypt of the winter of 1943-44. Another consequence of the disease and poverty among the population is the low production per head; in agriculture one-quarter of a British worker's, one-sixth of a worker's in the Middle West of North America.

Another problem common to the countries of the Middle East and a very serious threat is the inflation that is rife. This is largely a consequence of the very large sums spent there by the armies which—so far as the man in the street, the ordinary purchaser, is concerned—have nothing approaching a counterpart in increased production or imports. But prosperity is also widespread, especially among certain classes. This, however, is inevitably ephemeral, whereas the inflation will not disappear at the same time. In some of the countries the cost of living has risen to five times the pre-war figure. To consider the situation and to deal adequately with it, if that proved possible, a financial conference was called by the Middle East Supply Centre in April. This was also widely representative. One step taken to keep prices down was the importation of gold.

The conference recommended that the development of production should be an objective of the Middle East Governments, as well as the financial steps suggested, so that price levels in the respective countries might be brought into a better equilibrium with each other and those of external countries. Taxation resolutions suggested that the Middle East Governments should take energetic measures to modernise tax-machinery, since evasions and delays had led to a lack of confidence and the opinion that reputable businesses—mainly foreign—which keep proper books and pay full taxation, are being penalised.

IRAQ

Iraq continued throughout the year its interest in the Palestine problem and in the schemes for "Arab Unity" (see p. 289). Although the proceedings of the Alexandria Conference were conducted *in camera*, it is safe to say that the influence there of Iraq, whose representatives included the Prime Minister and Nuri Pasha, who had recently retired from that office, was considerable and that they were largely instrumental in framing its conclusions. Nuri resigned the premiership of Iraq on June 5, on account of ill-health, and was succeeded by the President of the Chamber, Hamdi al Pachachi, who had been exiled by the British in 1922. Three months earlier the Iraqi Parliament had joined the Governments of the other Arab States and Egypt in

protesting most strongly against the apparent intention of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States to support the Zionist proposal for the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine, pointing out that such a step would be contrary to the letter and spirit of the Atlantic Charter. No further action was taken by the Senate Committee, since consideration of the resolution was postponed indefinitely at the instance of the United States War Department.

IRAN (PERSIA)

Relations between Persia and Great Britain and the United States remained friendly throughout the year, and in February the Legations of those two countries in Teheran were raised to the rank of Embassies. Friction with Russia arose in October as a result of a request made by that country for oil concessions in the north of Persia. The Prime Minister, Mohammed Saed, refused to make any such concessions while the war was still in progress, a policy which was approved both by Great Britain and the United States. The Russian Government, however, took umbrage at his refusal, and besides denouncing his action in the Russian Press stirred up an agitation against him in Persia itself. On November 1 he defended himself in a broadcast in which he gave four reasons for his refusal to grant an immediate oil concession—that so long as foreign troops were in Persia public opinion would consider any concession as having been granted under duress; that the economic condition of the world was not clear; that the oil conference in Washington had left the situation in doubt; and that all reports from Persian representatives abroad urged that no concession should be granted till after the war.

Encouraged by the Russians, demonstrations against the Premier went on, and on one occasion Russian troops stationed outside the capital entered it to support the demonstrators. The Government protested vigorously against this as a breach of the pledge given by Marshal Stalin to Persia that Russia would not interfere in Persia's domestic affairs. Russia on her side accused Persia of having broken the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1921 by granting oil concessions to American companies in Northern as well as Southern Persia. This, however, was denied by the Persian Government.

Owing to continued Russian hostility Mohammed Saed was forced to resign on November 10. Great difficulty was experienced in finding a successor, but at length a new Government was formed by Nurteza Qualikhan Bayatt, formerly Minister without Portfolio, who completed his Cabinet on November 26. The new Government made no immediate change in its predecessor's policy, and relations with Russia continued to be strained.

TANGIER

On May 2 an agreement was concluded between the Spanish and British Governments for the closing of the German Consulate at Tangier. The Germans made difficulties about going, and the British Foreign Office found it necessary to make further representations. On June 7, however, Mr. Eden was able to announce in the House of Commons that all members of the staff of the German Consulate-General had left the Zone, and the Spanish authorities were being pressed to arrange for the departure of those German agents who still remained.

CHAPTER VII

THE FAR EAST : CHINA—JAPAN

CHINA

EARLY in 1944 foreign, and especially American observers, in China began to grow highly critical of the regime of General Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. It was asserted by them that several members of the Government, including some who had great influence with the *Generalissimo*, were thoroughly reactionary, and that the Kuomintang itself was completely out of touch with public opinion. Complaints were made of gross inefficiency and corruption in the administration, and of steps taken by the Government to prevent a knowledge of the real situation in China from reaching Western countries. It was freely predicted that if China did not set her house in order she would be unable to carry on much longer the war against Japan and would be precluded from exercising any influence on the post-war international settlement.

Certain it was that for the greater part of the year the military situation continued steadily to deteriorate. In the middle of April the Japanese commenced a new offensive with some 80,000 men in the famine-stricken province of Honan, between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers. Their object was to secure possession of the whole stretch of the railway between Chengchow, on the Yellow River, and Hankow, on the Yangtze, some 120 miles of which—along with Chengchow—had long been in Chinese possession. They captured Chengchow on April 22, and attacked Loyang, further to the west on the Lunghai railway, which crossed the Peking-Hankow railway at Chengchow. The Chinese put up a stubborn resistance at Loyang, but were driven from it before the end of May, and failed to recover it by a counter-attack. Meanwhile the Japanese had made progress south of Chengchow and by the middle of May joined hands with another force advancing from Sinyang, 110 miles north of Hankow.

Having thus secured possession of the whole of the line from Chengchow to Hankow, the Japanese now made a similar attempt to gain possession of the whole of its continuation from Hankow to Canton. At the end of May they commenced to advance south from Hankow in the direction of Changsha, the capital of the province of Honan. After a three weeks siege they took this place on June 20, and by June 26 had seized the airfield at Hengyang, some 80 miles further on along the railway, while the town itself fell into their hands a few days later. From here, instead of continuing their advance to Canton, they turned south-west along the branch line leading to Kweilin, in Kwangsi province, where the Americans had established an air base from which they did considerable damage to Japanese shipping and even made raids on Japan itself. Kweilin fell into their hands on November 10, and soon after the Americans were forced to evacuate their other air bases in Kwangsi province at Liuchow and Nanning by Japanese forces which had advanced from Canton.

For these blows the Chinese could find some consolation in successes gained in another field of the war against Japan. Chinese troops under the command of the American General Stilwell took an important part in the campaign in Northern Burma launched under the auspices of the British South-East Asia Command. While the British invaded the country from the north-west, the Chinese, along with American and British troops, approached it from the north. Advancing along the Hukawng valley, where they were covering the Ledo road, on March 11 they cut up a Japanese division and gained possession of the whole valley. They then advanced towards Mogaung, one of the most important Japanese strongholds in North Burma. They soon reached Kamaing, a few miles north of Mogaung, but here they were held up by determined Japanese resistance. At the beginning of May General Stilwell detached a force of Americans and Chinese to attack Myitkyina, the railhead of the line from Mandalay, some miles east of Kamaing. After eighteen days' march through very difficult country, this force seized the Myitkyina airfield by surprise on May 18, and soon gained a foothold in the town itself, which, however, did not fall entirely to them till nearly three months later. In the meanwhile General Stilwell's troops had defeated the Japanese at Kamaing and taken that place on June 12, and two weeks later they entered Mogaung. From this point they acted in close conjunction with the British 36th Army advancing on their right (*vide* English History).

At the end of October General Stilwell was recalled on account of personal differences with General Chiang Kai-shek, and his place as commander in the field was taken by General Sultan. Under his command the Chinese in Burma continued their advance to the south, and in the middle of December they drove the Japanese out of Bhamo, an important station on the railway

to Mandalay, while their advanced forces reached Tonkwa, only 120 miles from that city. During the latter half of the year another Chinese force had also invaded Burma from further east across the Salween River and had made good progress. Thus by the end of the year, thanks largely to Chinese efforts, the Japanese threat to communications between China and India had been almost entirely removed.

The British and Chinese successes in Burma, while they opened up good prospects of increased supplies to China in the near future, brought no immediate relief to that much suffering country. The virtual blockade of free China which had already existed since the Japanese conquest of Burma was intensified by the Japanese command of the railway from Hankow to Liuchow, which cut off Chungking from the fertile provinces of the south-east. The economic condition of the country continued to deteriorate. In March prices were three hundred times as great as they had been in 1937, and the problem both of military and civilian supplies became constantly more acute. One effect of this state of things was to make General Chiang Kai-shek more attentive to foreign criticism of his policy. Early in June the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party in Yen-an stated that the policy of the party was to support General Chiang, and persist in co-operation with the Kuomintang in an endeavour to overthrow Japanese imperialism and build up an independent and democratic China. On June 20 Mr. Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, arrived at Chungking, and during the next twelve days he had frequent conversations with General Chiang. It was significant that shortly afterwards the *Generalissimo*, who hitherto had regarded the Communists with hostility, and had even detailed troops to watch the Communist armies, opened negotiations with the Communist Party and signed preliminary agreements with them. After this promising beginning the negotiations hung fire, but it was reported early in December that the General had agreed in principle to the participation of the Communists in the Government and in military affairs.

Early in November Mr. Donald Nelson returned from America to Chungking, at General Chiang's request, to help in the reorganisation of China's war effort, and General Wedemeyer succeeded General Stilwell as military adviser to the *Generalissimo*. On November 20 the Ministry was reorganised and made more Liberal in complexion. The reactionary General Ho Ying-chin was replaced as War Minister by General Chen Cheng, though he remained Chief of Staff. Mr. Chen Li-fu, who as Minister of Education had attempted to institute "thought control" for Chinese students abroad, was removed from that post and replaced by Dr. Chu Chia-hua. Mr. O. K. Yui succeeded the unpopular Dr. H. H. Kung as Finance Minister, and Dr. Wang Shih-Chieh, who had taken the lead in the negotiations in the

summer with the Communists, became Minister of Information. Finally, Dr. T. V. Soong, a highly popular figure in America, was on December 4 appointed Acting President of the Executive Yuan, in place of the *Generalissimo*, who was thus enabled to devote his whole attention to the war.

Immediately after these changes Chungking was subjected to the most serious military danger it had yet experienced. At the end of November the Japanese in Kwangsi turned north-west along the railway to Kweiyang, in the direction of Chungking. On November 27 they took Hochih and on December 6 Tushan, the main Chinese stronghold on the way to Kweiyang. General Wedemeyer described the situation as exceedingly serious. Fortunately the Chinese struck back in time. On December 7 they recaptured Sanho and on the next day Tushan, and by the 11th they had cleared the province of Kweichow of the enemy, and the threat to Chungking was for the time being averted.

On November 12 the death was announced of Wang Ching-wei, the president of the Japanese-sponsored regime at Nanking.

JAPAN

Throughout 1944, as in the latter half of the previous year, the tide of war continued to flow strongly against Japan. In the central and southern Pacific she had to watch the periphery of her empire being steadily and relentlessly pushed back by the American assault until some of her vital lines of communication were brought into jeopardy. On land, at sea, and in the air she proved definitely inferior to her opponents, and though at the end of the year she still retained the greater part of the territories she had acquired in the first six months of the war, her hold on them had been rendered insecure, while her own mainland had already become exposed to attack from the air.

The opening of the year found the Americans and Australians on the northern coast of New Guinea north-west of Lae and Finschaven, and on the coast of New Britain opposite, creeping up towards Rabaul. On January 2 the Americans in New Guinea seized the harbour and airfield of Saidor, which opened the way to the Japanese base at Madang, further up the coast. Rabaul was subjected to continuous attack from the air, culminating in a raid at the end of the month in which five Japanese ships and 75 aircraft were destroyed. A Tokyo broadcast on January 28 stated that the situation at Rabaul had reached a serious stage which allowed no room for optimism.

At this point a determined attack was made by the Americans by sea and air on the Marshall Islands, north of the Gilberts, which they had taken at the end of 1943. Again neither the Japanese Fleet nor the Air Force was able to bring any assistance to the garrisons on the various islands, and the whole group was

occupied by the Americans in the course of a few days. On February 7 it was stated by the United States Commander-in-Chief that in these operations the Japanese had suffered 8,386 casualties, including 8,122 dead, while the American losses were 1,516, including 286 dead. This blow was followed, on February 15, by the seizure of the Green Islands north of Bougainville, which completed the American conquest of the Solomons and cut off some 22,000 Japanese troops still scattered through that group.

From the Marshall Islands the Americans on February 16 launched a naval and air assault on Truk, some 800 miles north of Rabaul, the naval headquarters of the Japanese in this part of the Pacific. They succeeded, according to their own statement, in sinking 19 Japanese ships and destroying 201 aircraft. At the same time heavy losses were inflicted on Japanese convoys bringing reinforcements to New Britain and New Ireland. As a result of these operations some 50,000 or 60,000 Japanese in these islands were completely cut off, and after heroic resistance were gradually wiped out. Early in April the Japanese also withdrew from the central areas of New Britain, after having lost the Admiralty group of islands, at the northern end of the Bismarck archipelago.

Even before the great American attack of February 16 the Japanese had withdrawn most of their heavy ships from Truk, as being too much exposed to attack from the air. With the Americans in command of the Marshall Islands this stronghold became practically useless to them as a naval base, and the Fleet accordingly took up a position nearer the mainland further to the west. This meant the abandonment of all hope of bringing relief to numerous Japanese garrisons in numerous small islands within the American sphere of operations, still more of recovering any of the lost ground. According to a statement of the U.S. War Department on April 2, there were some 100,000 Japanese thus isolated in the south and south-west Pacific islands and nine out of every ten of the ships bringing them supplies had been sunk.

The loss of strategic points one after the other threatened to bring the war sooner or later to the heart of Japan, and the Prime Minister, General Tojo, commenced betimes to take defensive measures. He saw the root of the trouble in the American superiority in the air, and to counter this he gave priority, as Minister of Munitions, to aircraft production, which had already been doubled in 1943. Shipbuilding was also speeded up to make up for the heavy losses at sea. After the American invasion of the Marshalls in February he also carried through a reorganisation of the High Command, by fusing into one the two offices of War Minister and Army Chief-of-Staff, and also the two offices of Navy Minister and Navy Chief-of-Staff. In this way he eliminated a serious source of friction and conflict

of opinion, which was thought to have interfered considerably with efficiency. He himself as War Minister became also Army Chief-of-Staff, while the Navy Minister, Admiral Shimada, became Naval Chief-of-Staff. The two previous Chiefs-of-Staff, Field-Marshal Sugiyama and Admiral Nagano, remained on the Supreme War Council.

Another matter to which Tojo turned his attention was the food supply, which though not yet a serious problem, was in danger of becoming so. Such shortages as were being already experienced—particularly in the towns—were due more to transport difficulties than to actual deficiencies. The outlook for the future was, however, disturbing. Agricultural output was likely to be affected by the withdrawal of labour from the land, both for military service and for industry, while the requisitioning of fishing craft and the calling up of fishermen by the Navy had seriously reduced the supplies of fish, normally so important a part of the Japanese diet. Also the depredations of enemy submarines and aircraft had greatly reduced the amount of shipping available for bringing food supplies from overseas. Measures were therefore taken for increasing agricultural production in Japan itself, and the people were exhorted to accept food shortages as a patriotic sacrifice.

Active preparations were also made in the early months of the year to meet the menace of air raids. Though there had as yet been no repetition of the Doolittle raid of April, 1942, the gradual advance of the Americans, not only in the Pacific but also in China, made it unlikely that the mainland of Japan would be much longer spared. The public were warned that they could not expect to be immune from this kind of warfare, and to stimulate their activity copious details were published in the Press of the destruction wrought in Italy and Germany by "Anglo-American terror bombing." A great programme of evacuation and dispersal from the more congested urban centres was carried out, and the whole population was trained in fire fighting. The actual arrangements, however, for coping with air-raid damage were rather primitive; there were few proper shelters, except for war factories, and little fire-fighting equipment beyond buckets of water and sand.

The increase in Japanese aircraft production availed nothing to halt the American "leap-frog" advance across the Pacific. On April 24 landings were made on the north coast of the Dutch part of New Guinea, far behind the Japanese concentration at Wewak, and the Japanese base of Hollandia was taken. Some five weeks later American and Australian forces landed on Biak Island, off the western end of Dutch New Guinea, and General MacArthur declared that for strategic purposes this marked the end of the New Guinea campaign. It was announced from American headquarters that since the beginning of the offensive

against the New Guinea-Solomons area on June 29, 1943, about 250,000 Japanese troops had been destroyed or rendered harmless, and they had further lost 272 ships, 5,245 aircraft, and 2,317 troop and supply barges. There was still a force of some 60,000 Japanese at Wewak, in British New Guinea, but American and Australian forces closing in on them from both sides subjected them to a process of attrition which enormously reduced their numbers.

The next point to be attacked by the Americans was Saipan Island in the Mariana group, north of the Marshalls, a place within bombing range of the Japanese mainland, and occupied by a strong Japanese garrison. An amphibious assault was made on the island by the Americans on June 18. This brought the Japanese Fleet from its base in Formosa with a force of battleships, aircraft-carriers, and auxiliary vessels. On June 18 aircraft from the carriers attacked the American Fleet, but were repulsed with the loss—according to the American account—of 353 aircraft, for the loss of 21 American and slight damage to three ships. The Japanese, however, claimed the destruction of no less than 300 American planes and the sinking of a battleship, two cruisers, and a submarine. On the next day the Japanese Fleet was attacked by carrier-based aircraft in the waters between Saipan and Luzon and lost, according to its own account, 1 carrier, 2 tankers, and 50 aircraft, though the Americans claimed also to have damaged badly a battleship and other vessels. Certainly the Japanese Fleet retired in the night, leaving Saipan to its fate, and the island, after a desperate resistance, was finally taken on July 8.

The fall of Saipan profoundly disturbed the Japanese High Command, and was followed at no long interval (July 18) by the resignation of General Tojo, who declared in a broadcast that "he was filled with trepidation at the thought of the deep anxiety which had been caused to his Imperial Majesty." A new Cabinet was formed under the joint premiership of General Koiso and Admiral Yonai, who also became, respectively, War Minister and Navy Minister. The civilian element was more strongly represented in the new Government. Mr. Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister, took over also the Greater East Asia Ministry—which meant the practical liquidation of this office—and the Ministry of Munitions was given to Mr. Fujiwara, a prominent industrialist. At the Home Office also General Ando was replaced by a civilian, Shigeo Odate, a former Prefect of Tokio.

In a broadcast speech to the nation on August 8, General Koiso made no secret of the fact that Japan was now on the defensive, and that an invasion of the homeland was a possibility not to be excluded. On the same day a naval commentator explained to the nation the rôle of the Navy in the new strategy of defence. The greatest danger to Japan, he said, was the

enemy's threat to the ocean supply line across the east and south China seas. The Fleet, therefore, was to be kept in reserve to guard against such a contingency, and only if the United States Fleet made a direct attack on the sea lane connecting Japan, Shanghai, Hongkong, Manila, Saigon, and Singapore would it be called into action. This policy had the further advantage that it would allow Japan to make full use of land-based aircraft, a matter of great importance seeing that Japan's air strength was only one-third that of the enemy. As a further precaution a kind of "Home Guard" was formed, based on the *Zaigo Gunjinkai* or Reservists' Association, and more effective steps were taken for the dispersal of industry and the evacuation of civilians.

With the Japanese Fleet practically withdrawn from action, the United States forces continued to make rapid progress. On July 20 they landed on Guam, north of Saipan, and after three days' fighting secured most of the island. On July 23 they landed on the island of Tinian, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Saipan, and after five days' fighting occupied Tinian town. Further south, after systematic bombing of Halmahera in the Moluccas during July and August, troops of General MacArthur's command, on September 15, landed on the neighbouring island of Morotai, nearly half-way between New Guinea and the Philippines, and at the same time forces of Admiral Nimitz's command commenced an assault on the Palau islands further north, due east of Davao, at the southern end of the Philippines. Both operations were entirely successful, and gave the Americans bases within 500 miles of the Philippines.

In further preparation for an invasion of the Philippines, the island of Formosa was subjected, from October 10 to 16, to an intensive aerial bombardment which did tremendous damage to military objectives, and resulted in the destruction of over 900 Japanese aircraft and the sinking or damaging of very large numbers of ships and small craft. While the attacks were at their height the Japanese Fleet came out to oppose them, but it retired on seeing that the American Fleet's fighting strength was unimpaired. Japanese airfields on Luzon were also bombed at the same time.

The way having thus been prepared, on October 19 a landing was effected by the Americans on the east coast of Leyte island in the Philippines, between Luzon and Mindanao, with the aid of 600 vessels. The Japanese were taken by surprise, having expected the attack further south, and before they could put up any effective resistance the Americans had already secured a considerable part of the island, including the capital, Tacloban. A determined effort was made by the Japanese Fleet to come to the rescue. On October 23 three squadrons bore down on Leyte, two coming from the direction of Formosa in the west and one

from the direction of Japan in the north. Before they could unite they were attacked and overwhelmed in detail by the Americans, one in the Surigao Strait, south of Leyte, one in the San Bernardino Strait, north of the island, and the third further north. The total Japanese losses were given by Admiral Nimitz as 2 battleships, 4 carriers, 6 heavy cruisers, 3 light cruisers, 3 small cruisers or large destroyers, and 6 destroyers sunk, and 1 battleship, 3 heavy cruisers, 2 light cruisers and 7 destroyers severely damaged.

By the end of the month the original garrison of 30,000 in the island had been practically wiped out, but the Japanese had meanwhile succeeded in landing large reinforcements under cover of bad weather, and these kept up the struggle. On December 10 the Americans captured the port of Ormoc, on the west coast, the chief Japanese supply base, but they still continued to land reinforcements. By this time Japanese losses on the island numbered 80,000, of whom some 30,000 had been drowned while trying to land. On December 15 an American force landed on Mindoro, an island south of Luzon, and made rapid progress.

The ill success of the Japanese Fleet in the Pacific was matched by that of the Japanese Army in Burma, where the whole northern part of the country was cleared by the combined British and Chinese assault (*vide* England and China). On the other hand, Japan attained the limited objectives of her campaign in China proper (*vide* China), notably the recovery of certain air bases from which American aircraft had already in June commenced to bomb the Japanese mainland. This did not procure for Japan complete immunity, as the American Super-Fortresses found other bases within reach of Japan. The suffering caused by these raids to the civil population was, however, not so great as in European cities on account of the great ease with which Japanese dwellings could be reconstructed.

The great military successes of Russia in the winter campaign against Germany impressed on the Japanese Government the necessity of keeping on good terms with that country, and accordingly, on March 30, she concluded with the Soviet Government two agreements which involved some loss of prestige on her part, even if no great material sacrifice. One provided for the liquidation of Japanese oil and coal concessions, dating from 1925, in the Russian part of the island of Sakhalin, and the other concluded a permanent Convention on the vexed question of Japanese fishing rights in Siberian territorial waters on terms more favourable to Russia than those of any previous agreement.

CHAPTER VIII

AMERICA : THE UNITED STATES—ARGENTINA—BOLIVIA—BRAZIL—
CHILE—COLOMBIA—CUBA—ECUADOR—EL SALVADOR

THE UNITED STATES

THE course of events in the United States during 1944 curiously reproduced the rhythm of the total Allied war effort of which it was so signal a part. The first half of the year was as much a period of preparation and tactical manoeuvre in the great contest for the Presidency as in the united assault upon Hitler's *Festung-Europa*. Then, with the coming of midsummer, doubts were resolved. Within a month of D-Day the Republicans had nominated Mr. Dewey as their presidential candidate : a month later the Democrats renominated Mr. Roosevelt, and the battle was fairly joined. On the hustings of the United States as on the battlefields of Europe the autumn saw an acceleration in the tempo of conflict, culminating on November 7 with the re-election for a fourth term of President Roosevelt. The year closed, in America, as in Europe, with a curious rallentando in which the promise of Dumbarton Oaks and the mandate of the election seemed, no less than the advance of Eisenhower's armies, to run into the sands of delay and frustration, the public hoping that in both politics and war the check was no more than momentary.

Traditionally in the United States the leap year, with its presidential election, is shot through, for ten of its twelve months, with awareness of what is at stake in the Tuesday following the first Monday in November. Few public actions will escape the impact, in some measure, of that event whose shadow so far precedes it. To this even a state of war constitutes no exception. It did not in 1864 when the nation was struggling for its life against a foe within its own borders, and it does not to-day, when the foe's operations are virtually worldwide in their incidence. The most that can be looked for is that a general recognition of the national danger and Allied interest will set bounds to the intensity of party conflict. Although the campaign of 1944 was keenly and sometimes bitterly contested, it is gratifying to be able to record that such bounds were set and, by the great mass of the participants, were observed. Nevertheless, within those bounds the canvassing of public issues, domestic or foreign, was seldom conducted without an eye cocked to the elections of November.

The year began, indeed, with a presidential message to Congress which had as little to do with the elections and as much to do with the war as any critic could wish. Forecasting, with singular accuracy, " a long, hard road " ahead, and looking back on a year which had been marked by an excess of strikes and a fluctuating rate of increase in war production, the President called for the

passage of a National Service Act—a measure which, in his own words, he had “for three years hesitated to recommend.” But the Legislature was not sympathetic. Its reasons were many, not all discreditable. The Congress which dealt with it was a body which, as the events of 1943 had shown, was markedly hostile to the domestic policies of the President. The principal interests in business and industry were obsessed by a dislike of controls and a fear of “regimentation.” The labour unions, who largely shared this fear, added to it another, born of the restrictive “anti-labour” legislation of the past year, that the Act would deprive them of the gains so hardly won during a decade of New Deal administration. Furthermore, although the service departments pressed strongly for the measure, their civilian counterparts tempered their enthusiasm with fears about the difficulties of actual operation in a country so vast and with a bureaucracy so inadequately experienced. Lastly, the President’s own advocacy was dependent, as he made clear, upon the passage of four other measures which he judged necessary “to form an equitable whole,” but which were, if anything, even more contentious than the Service Act itself. Their fate goes far to explain the defeat of the major proposal.

The first was “a realistic Tax Law.” The second was a continuation of the law for the renegotiation of war contracts. The third was a cost of food law. The fourth an early re-enactment of the Stabilisation Statute due to expire on June 30. In less than six weeks these demands provided one of those Congressional tornadoes which, in the suddenness with which it rose and the speed with which it subsided, reminded every observer that the unseasonable weather of an election year had already arrived. On February 7 Congress completed action on a tax bill which ended renegotiation of war contracts as of December 1, and in place of the $10\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars asked for by the Administration, proposed to raise only $2\frac{3}{16}$. While this was still waiting on the President’s desk Congress tacked a rider abolishing food subsidies to the bill which extended the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation. The President’s reply was an immediate veto message before which the Congressional majority gave ground, knowing full well that their constituents would not thank them for effecting the death of the C.C.C. But when, within a week, the President also returned the tax bill, with a blistering veto message describing it as a measure designed to grant “relief not for the needy, but for the greedy,” a storm of denunciation broke out. The attack was led by no less a figure than Senator Barkley, who as majority leader had always been the most patient and devoted apologist for his chief, but who now described the President’s action as “a calculated and deliberate assault on the legislative integrity of every member of the Congress of the United States.” He resigned his leadership in protest,

and headed a majority of the Democrats who voted to override the veto, in the House by 299 to 95 and in the Senate by 72 to 14. This done, the storm sensationally subsided, both the President and the Democratic caucus paradoxically uniting—for opposed reasons—in pressing Barkley to accept re-election—which, within twenty-four hours, he did. The vehemence of the clash and the warmth of the reconciliation, however puzzling to the logic-seeking observer, were in fact equally significant aspects of the event, forcefully illustrating on the one hand the irreconcilable divergence in outlook between the President and his 78th Congress and, on the other, the strength of the “common front” between Democratic President and Democratic Congressmen in an election year.

One consequence of this strain on the relations of White House and Capitol Hill was that the President's third and fourth objectives were also threatened. Indeed it is arguable that without the deft showmanship of Mr. Chester Bowles, head of O.P.A., the Administration would not have obtained from Congress, even at the dangerously late date of June 5, that extension of authority to control prices, wages, and rents without which the whole structure of the civilian economy would have been imperilled.

Thus it was against a familiar American background of executive-legislature wrangling that each party prepared itself for the November contests. As far as the Democrats were concerned there was only one question to be asked—Will the President seek re-election? It was a question to which no one, perhaps not even Mr. Roosevelt himself, knew the answer until past midsummer. Yet until it looked like being answered the Republicans could not settle their own problem—who shall be the Republican candidate? For, obviously, in the competition for the Belt it meant a great deal whether or not the Champ himself would enter the ring. Only Mr. Willkie, 1940 contestant, seemed certain that he wanted the nomination, and he insisted that it must be on his own terms. The early months of the year show an intensification of his long-fought fight for the soul of the Republican Party, when he announced his candidacy for several primary elections and continued his campaign for a Republican programme frankly accepting international responsibilities as well as domestic reform. This was received with a notable coolness by the old hands of the party: it was significant that when Senator McNary died in March he was replaced, as Minority leader, by a steering committee under the chairmanship of that well-known Conservative, Senator Taft. Presumably intending to force a decision, Mr. Willkie gave out that he would regard the Wisconsin primaries as a test case of his standing within the party. Campaigning energetically, he was faced by the absentee (and unauthorised) nominations of Commander Stassen, General MacArthur, and Governor Dewey.

On April 4 the decision went decisively against him, Dewey winning fifteen delegates, Stassen nine, MacArthur three, and Willkie none. He announced immediately the withdrawal of his candidature, adding only that he would continue the fight for his principles within the party.

Governor Dewey meanwhile maintained silence, allowing support to crystallise around him rather than going out to canvass, and it was not until the eve of the election that his campaign managers in effect gave out that he was a candidate for nomination. His principal rival was Governor Bricker of Ohio, who laboured under the harsh epithet of William Allen White, "an honest Harding," while Governor Warren of California, and Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts were marginal possibilities.

The chief Republican problem was that of harmonising the internationalist and isolationist elements in the party; in the Democratic ranks the threatened split arose from domestic issues. Time and again in Congress the Southern Democrats showed their dislike of New Deal politics by voting with their nominal opponents, the Republicans. But it was not until the Supreme Court, on April 3, handed down a decision on the contentious issue of negro suffrage that formal revolt was threatened. Often before, of course, the courts had upheld the negro's right, under the Fifteenth Amendment, to vote in the general elections, but so long as the South remained a one-party region this failed to touch the heart of the matter. The primaries, in such circumstances, were the real contests, and from these the negro was excluded on the grounds that they were elections of purely private associations which could limit their membership as they pleased. It was this inner fortress of "white supremacy" that the Court now invaded, by insisting that the parties function as State agencies in primary elections, and that they cannot therefore discriminate on grounds of colour. In most Southern States the decision was received with vociferous disapproval: the fact that it coincided with a Congressional debate on an anti-poll-tax bill enabled Southerners to register their protests along a wide and vocal front. South Carolina combed its statute book, revising legislation dealing with the negro vote with a view to retaining the colour bar while yet keeping within the terms of the Supreme Court's ruling. In Congress vigorous filibustering in true Southern style secured the shelving of the anti-poll-tax bill, and although such staunch New Dealers as Senators Pepper and Hill survived the Democratic primaries of Florida and Alabama, the tide of "revolt" rose several noisy feet in other States of the Deep South. In South Carolina Senator Maybank warned that Southern Democrats would fight for "white supremacy" in the national convention, and that "anything can happen if they lose." Mississippi nominated an unpledged slate of delegates, while Texas Democrats split wide open, holding rival pro- and anti-Roosevelt conventions,

each electing its own set of national convention delegates. There was widespread talk, particularly in Texas, of reviving the freedom of the college of electors and, in the event of Roosevelt's nomination, having the Southern electors withhold their votes from him in sufficient numbers to make a clear-cut decision impossible and so throw the election into the hands of the House of Representatives. Probably few politicians took the proposal entirely seriously, but it was a useful threat to strengthen the hands of Southern delegations at the national convention.

In the months before the convention Southern conservatism was further exasperated by another political development, the rise of the C.I.O.-P.A.C. Alarmed at the spread of anti-labour sentiment and legislation, the Committee for Industrial Organisation had set up a "Political Action Committee" to protect labour's gains and promote progressive action generally. It was not to be a third party but within the two-party system was to live up to the sage maxim of Samuel Gompers that labour should "reward its friends and punish its enemies." Its strength proceeded very largely from its combination of a secure base within the five million membership of the C.I.O. and a wide appeal to non-labour groups as well. It aimed, in its own words, at helping to give "effective political voice to millions of farmers, consumers, and other progressives in every walk of life." For the somewhat stale New Deal appeal it substituted a fresh rallying-point, and its lively technique of campaigning was skilfully directed by the experienced president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Mr. Sidney Hillman. The P.A.C. scored its first important success in March when it won control of the American Labour Party in New York, as a result of a victory in the party's primaries. The party, small in itself, is nevertheless important as a well-organised *bloc* of votes capable of deciding a close contest in a key State, and it was no accident that the Dies Committee chose the very next day to announce, as the result of its investigations into the P.A.C., that it was "Communist dominated." The P.A.C. soon revenged itself by securing the defeat in Southern primaries of two leading members of the Committee, Congressmen Starnes and Costello. When Martin Dies himself announced that he would not seek re-nomination it was generally assumed that he had been reading the writing on the wall. The P.A.C. was not, however, uniformly successful. Its frank and exuberant campaign tactics often recoiled on itself. The "Communist" label often stuck, the more easily because the official Communist Party had been disbanded by Earl Browder, an act of Marxist heterodoxy far more frightening to the "red scare" mongers than its open continuance would have been. Moreover, P.A.C.'s energetic pre-convention activities coincided with a widespread crop of labour troubles which were dramatised for the lay public by the Montgomery Ward case. The management of this large

mail order house in Chicago refused to comply with an order of the National Labour Relations Board to recognise a C.I.O. union amongst its employees. After a fortnight's non-compliance, the Army took possession of the plant, forcibly ejecting Mr. Sewell Avery, chairman of the company, to the accompaniment of clicking cameras from the photographers of newspapers all over the Union. With an obbligation of court injunctions, Congressional "probes," Gallup polls, newspaper editorials, and libel actions the case dragged on, with each party seeking to extract from it the last ounce of political advantage until the news of D-Day, synchronising with Mr. Avery's appearance before Congress, restored a sense of proportion to both participants and spectators.

The landings in France, long-awaited and once even prematurely announced (as the result of an Associated Press message on June 3), induced a mood of sober, even grim, restraint and concentration which had the effect, as in 1940, of throwing the great conventions and the election campaign itself into a startlingly low relief. For most Americans during the summer and autumn the really important events were those in which their own flesh and blood were participating in the Pacific and on the continent of Europe. It was too much to expect that the politicians should refuse to catch so powerful a breeze of public interest, but apart from a rising Democratic emphasis on the President's role as Commander-in-Chief and the evocation by Mrs. Luce at the Republican Convention of the ghost of "G.I. Jim," there was a welcome refusal to conduct the political struggle on the military battlefields.

The Republican Convention opened in Chicago on June 26. It was notable that Mr. Willkie was not even invited to attend, nor was his influence discernible in the proceedings. In primary elections and public opinion polls, Governor Dewey had shown himself so clearly the leading contestant that it occasioned no surprise when he was nominated unanimously on the first ballot. There was, however, an absence of enthusiasm which went some way to warrant the gibe of the newspaper *P.M.* that he was "the candidate whom nobody wants very much." Such spontaneous warmth as appeared was evoked by Governor Bricker, who won the Vice-Presidential nomination largely because, however out of place his mahogany might appear in Governor Dewey's chromium-plated company, it did enshrine the *lares* and *penates* of the G.O.P., who were otherwise somewhat homeless and lost. The platform made the traditional, frequently incompatible, noises, revealing little or nothing of the likely policy of a Republican administration, if elected, and indeed Mr. Dewey made it immediately clear that he would not consider himself bound to it. Willkie-ites, however, were soon eyeing with disfavour those planks which made only half-hearted concessions to labour and advanced no further from the party's traditional

protectionism than was implied in a rather timid plea for bilateralism. Not long afterwards Mr. Willkie's friends disclosed that he had sent to the convention a draft platform which was not even considered by the National Committee.

Within a fortnight of Governor Dewey's nomination, Mr. Roosevelt broke silence to announce that, if nominated, he would run, and if re-elected would serve. In time of war he had "as little right to withdraw as a soldier has to leave his post in the line. . . ." Once this decision had been promulgated there was not the slightest doubt that the Democratic Convention which met in Chicago on July 19 would renominate him. The so-called "Southern revolt" in the Democratic Party swiftly shrank to the scale of a teacup storm as the roll-call on the first ballot was called, giving Mr. Roosevelt 1,086 votes to 89 for Senator Byrd, Conservative from Virginia, and one for Mr. Farley, Mr. Roosevelt's sometime political strategist, now his bitter opponent. It was only on the issue of the Vice-Presidency, normally a trivial matter, that the convention divided. The existing Vice-President, Mr. Henry Wallace, was known to be eager for re-election, and the New Deal wing of the party, not to mention the C.I.O.-P.A.C. bloc under Mr. Hillman, were his ardent champions. Mr. Roosevelt had not made his own preference public beforehand, but when on the first day of the convention Mr. Byrnes, the War Mobilisation Director, withdrew "in deference to the wishes of the President," it was generally assumed that the P.A.C. delegates had won their opening round. However, on the following day. Mr. Hannegan, the National Chairman, produced the celebrated letter from the President saying he would be glad to run with either Senator Truman or Mr. Justice Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court. Douglas was never a likely candidate, so the contest resolved itself into a Truman-Wallace duel, in which Truman won on the second ballot. In liberal circles this was criticised as a "betrayal" by Mr. Roosevelt of his liberal principles; in reply, Senator Truman's record was cited as head of the by no means illiberal Truman Committee of the Senate, which investigated the National Defence Programme, while outside observers pointed out that, unlike the contentious Wallace or Byrnes, Truman was a compromise candidate behind whom both wings of the party could unite. In fact, he played little part in the campaign, and was soon submerged in the traditional obscurity of aspirants to the Vice-Presidential office.

The programme adopted at the Democratic convention was superior to that of the Republicans only in a welcome brevity and occasional crispness of phrasing. In the main it "pointed with pride" much more than it "viewed with alarm," reflecting, as was natural, the psychology of a party in power. But its promises for the future were familiar, unexceptionable, and scarcely more explicit than those of the Republicans. In short,

it was obviously intended to fetter the President as little as possible.

It had been widely and anxiously assumed that the Administration, in its anxiety to save its foreign policy from entanglement in the barbed wire of party conflict, would seek to postpone any international conferences in which the U.S.A. was a participant until the November duel was fought and won. In fact the Administration bravely, and, as it now appears, wisely, pursued an opposite course, proceeding with its international building programme without waiting to see which tenant, Republican or Democratic, would be elected to occupy the American wing of the completed mansion. They first of all called a United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, on July 1, which, in this salubrious and comfortable retreat, deliberated for three weeks against a welcome background of public and press preoccupation with the European war and the Democratic Convention. The conference, thus surprisingly insulated from press attacks or lobbyists' intrusion, achieved a great many of its objectives and ended in a wide measure of general agreement. [For a summary of its recommendations see under Public Documents.] The agreements required, of course, the approval of each participant's legislature and, to that extent, the results of Bretton Woods were purely provisional. In the U.S.A. itself it was apparent, by the end of 1944, that the principal banking interests were lining up behind Mr. Winthrop Aldrich's alternative and rival scheme for bilateral exchange agreements buttressed by large dollar loans, but it was by no means certain that Congress would prove similarly hostile.

Although the results of Bretton Woods were little understood by the public, there was a diffused impression of working agreement and international reasonableness which lingered on to provide a friendly and well-aired atmosphere for the far more ambitious talks that were begun at Dumbarton Oaks a month later. The object of these conversations, which were restricted initially to representatives of Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., China subsequently entering as the U.S.S.R. delegates retired, was nothing less than the establishment of "an international organisation . . . for the maintenance of international order"—in fact nothing less than that "League to Enforce Peace" which, at a comparable stage in the First World War, was the subject of diplomatic discussions between Britain, France, and the U.S.A. But whereas in that pre-Armistice period Wilson saw "grave dangers in public discussions as to details and methods," one of the principal objects of Dumbarton Oaks was to publicise and dramatise to the American people, in war-time and on American soil, their share and stake in the organisation of world peace. If this object was not altogether attained the fault was largely to be found in the rather fumbling handling of the press and the

necessarily colourless rôles of the principal participants—Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Gromyko, and Sir Alexander Cadogan—who met, not as flamboyant plenipotentiaries, but as diplomatic technicians trying to find a workable formula for an intricate problem. Moreover, the outcome of their discussions, in so far as they registered agreement, was not conspicuously novel, and in so far as it was novel—*e.g.* Russia's insistence on a great Power's right of veto in its own case—fell short of general agreement. Thus, from the point of view of impressing the American man in the street, the "90 per cent. agreement" of the conference, which President Roosevelt announced at its close, was as emotionally unsatisfying as an orchestra's 90 per cent. response to its conductor's down-beat. The public mind remained, at best, in "a willing suspension of disbelief."

But what was avoided—and here equal credit must go to the Administration and its opponents—was the division of the public into two camps, which had so plagued and eventually wrecked the Wilsonian plans. Mr. Dewey chose as his "shadow" Secretary of State Mr. John Foster Dulles, a New York lawyer with a lifelong interest in foreign affairs, who had been largely responsible for the "Six Pillars of Peace" programme which was proposed by the Federal Council of Churches. This programme, around which had rallied the organised opinion of American Protestantism, was a far-sighted scheme of world order as far removed from Old Guard isolationism as it was from pre-war religious pacifism. When, on the eve of Dumbarton Oaks, Mr. Dewey let fly with the charge that it was a mere "Big Powers Conference of cynical power politics," Mr. Hull invited Mr. Dulles to Washington to discuss the matter. From this meeting emerged a joint statement indicating broad agreement of views and adding that both were "trying to keep the subject out of politics," while Mr. Dewey himself expressed high hopes of the conference's success. At the same time Mr. Hull spared no effort to keep both parties in Congress, through the medium of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees, informed of developments.

This did not mean that opposition was spiked or silent. While the talks were still in progress debates were held in the Senate which foreshadowed some of the main lines of criticism. The critics differed, each from each, in the degree of "participation" which they were prepared to condone, from the handful of unrepentant total isolationists through those, a potent few, who demanded to know the nature of the peace before they underwrote it, to those who followed Senator Vanderberg in agreeing to advance commitments against Germany or Japan, but reserved for the Senate full liberty of deliberation where other potential peace-breakers were concerned. But though these criticisms foretold some rough waters ahead, what was gratifying to the inter-

nationalists was the defensive tone of the critics and the fact that splits of opinion never coincided with party divisions—thus greatly reducing the risk of opposition *à outrance*.

What lay behind much of the criticism was a genuine and pervasive public anxiety about the course of American foreign policy. Indeed, the whole year was marked by a sustained, animated, and frequently heated questioning of the springs and course of the State Department's (or, as some asseverated, the White House's) policy, such as it would be hard to parallel in the history of the United States. The dust of *l'affaire Darlan*, so far from settling, had been mixed with the scarcely less earthy complications of recognition in the Argentine, Bolivia, and France, of *démarches* of doubtful effectiveness in Eire, of "liberation" in Italy, and "appeasement" in Spain, to produce a cloud of confusion through which the general public, new to its responsibilities, found great difficulty in discerning any fixed principles of national conduct. As the year went on, one problem resolved itself—the obvious French acceptance of De Gaulle settled once and for all the long-vexed question of the recognition of his Committee—but this was soon offset by the painful developments in Chinese-American relations, the one field in which the layman had always felt that black was black and white white, heroes heroes, and villains villains. Earlier in the year more than one respected journal had aired its reluctant doubts about the reality of the Kuomintang's democratic professions and the intensity of China's war effort. Then, on October 28, the U.S. War Department announced that General Stilwell had been relieved of his posts in the Far East, in particular of his duties as Chief-of-Staff to the *Generalissimo* Chiang Kai-shek. Stilwell and his Chinese appointment had represented all that the American public most cherished and fostered in Chinese-American relations, and when it was revealed that his recall was made at Chiang's request and stemmed from a long disagreement over the rôle of the Chinese Army, shock and disappointment were widespread. There ensued a "slump in idealism" with regard to China which was as misplaced as the earlier enthusiasm had been exaggerated. It left the public uneasy and anxious.

In respect of nothing was public opinion more fluid and uncertain than the treatment of Germany. Early Allied successes in the autumn gave the problem a spurious urgency, and when on August 31 Mr. Robert Murphy, of North African fame, was appointed political aide to General Eisenhower to deal with German problems, the old controversy on American policies in Europe, whether they were democratic or merely legitimist, broke out again. Then in September, the cloistered and censored calm of the Churchill-Roosevelt conversations at Quebec was disturbed by the leakage to the Press of a plan for post-war treatment of Germany which was attributed to Mr. Morgenthau, U.S. Secretary

of the Treasury. The proposals, which involved dismembering Germany, destroying her industry, and turning her into a "pastoral" country, provoked a nation-wide controversy.

Argument was loud and confused, and few clear-cut lines of division emerged. Opinion grouped itself into "hard" and "soft" peace schools, but the implications of either attitude, in terms of occupation by U.S. forces, U.S. guarantees for any peace settlement, U.S. economic policies, co-operation with the U.S.S.R., etc., were seldom touched on, much less driven home. There was still, at the year's end, a dangerous persistence in viewing the problem in sentimental terms, whether of amity or hatred, which held little promise of a wise post-armistice policy.

Meanwhile, against a background of shifting military fortunes and political developments, the battle for the Presidency went on. The President long pursued his accustomed policy of ignoring the imminence of November, being both in fact and appearance too occupied with the burdens of his office to waste time in the arena of election controversy. Mr. Dewey made speeches, in which he appeared handsomely to embrace most of the achievements of the New Deal while insisting that they could safely be maintained and administered only in Republican hands. But the campaign so signally failed to arouse the public's interest that the Democrats, whose principal fear was that in a light vote the Republican "regulars" would prove too numerous for them, changed their tactics. On September 23 the President let fly in his "Teamsters' Speech," attacking his opponent with a liveliness and acerbity which drew blood and provoked general excitement. From then onwards the tempo of interest and the sharpness of controversy mounted, and, contrary to earlier expectations, the registration of voters reached almost 1940 levels. Campaign issues were, as almost always, persistently blurred, and the strongest factors were obviously personal, not political—the twelve-year-old cumulative antipathy to the President or the impossibility of conceiving President Dewey as a world figure on a level with Churchill and Stalin. For the rest, the Democrats found it hard to escape the odium of the system of war-time controls, while the Republicans fought vainly to erase the suspicion that isolationism was still the secret credo of their party.

The tragic death of Mr. Willkie on October 8 [see under Obituaries] seemed to many to impress the latter suspicion more indelibly than before. Although he had abstained from endorsing Mr. Dewey's candidature, the feeling persisted in many Republican circles that, as long as Mr. Willkie remained in the field, the conscience of the Republican Party would not lack a guardian and a gadfly. Now, with this courageous voice stilled, a certain brightness seemed to have fallen from the air, for which the evenly-diffused concealed lighting of Mr. Dewey's personality seemed an inadequate substitute.

On November 7, after a final week of intensive campaigning, the parties went to the polls. The margin between the rivals was smaller, in terms of popular votes, than at any election since 1916, Mr. Roosevelt obtaining 25,610,946 and Mr. Dewey 22,018,177, but in the electoral vote Mr. Roosevelt's lead was decisive—432 to 99, Mr. Dewey failing even to carry his own State of New York. Once again it was proved that Mr. Roosevelt was unbeatable, but Mr. Dewey could at least console himself with the reflection that he had come nearer to victory than any of his Republican predecessors. Contrary to expectations, the total vote, 47,929,828, was very large (exceeded only by that of 1940), and for this the C.I.O.-P.A.C. claimed much of the credit. Indeed, having regard to the narrow margin in many key States, such as New York and Illinois, it was freely asserted that it was the C.I.O.-P.A.C. which had tipped the scales in Mr. Roosevelt's favour. The soldier vote, which by many had been regarded as so crucial that it took a Congressional battle of great length and bitterness to enact even limited facilities for it, did not in fact appear to have been decisive, though a majority clearly favoured Mr. Roosevelt.

But from many points of view the Congressional results were the remarkable feature of the election, not so much in the distribution of party strength (House, 244 Democrats, 189 Republicans, 2 others; Senate, 56 Democrats, 37 Republicans, 1 Progressive) as in the fate which befell individual contestants, famous and infamous. There was a notable "purging" of several discredited isolationists, such as Senator Nye of "Neutrality" fame. Senator Reynolds and Senator Champ Clark, and, in the House, "Ham" Fish of New York State, Stephen Day and other *Chicago Tribune* creatures in Illinois. The result was undoubtedly to strengthen "participationists" ranks, irrespective of party, and to drive the isolationists still further on to the defensive. But it was also notable that despite several liberal successes the Administration was not nearly so successful in routing its domestic opponents, and there was not much expectation of the 79th Congress being more co-operative in respect of home affairs than its predecessor.

November also saw the passing of a political figure outside Congress who in length of service, range of experience and personal popularity was exceeded only by the President himself. This was Mr. Cordell Hull, who terminated a twelve-year tenure of the Secretaryship of State on November 27, resigning after months of illness, to be replaced by the fledgling Under-Secretary, Mr. Stettinius. Mr. Stettinius's installation was swiftly followed by other changes among the Assistant Secretaries; Mr. Berle, Mr. Howland Shaw, and Mr. Breckinridge Long being replaced by Mr. Clayton, Mr. Dunn, General Holmes, Mr. Rockefeller, and Mr. MacLeish, while Mr. Grew, late Ambassador in Tokio, succeeded to the Under-Secretaryship. Congress took its time

over the ratification of these appointments, and it was observable that the year ended, as it had begun, on a shrill note of public debate over the issues of foreign policy. With the contentious problems of Poland, Italy, and Greece filling the headlines of the newspapers the debate swiftly became an international argument. Mr. Stettinius's first public act was the issuance of a statement explicitly dissociating the U.S.A. from British policy in Italy, with particular reference to the position of Count Sforza. Mr. Churchill, a fortnight later, had to tell the House of Commons that his efforts to arrange a further "Big Three" meeting which could concert policy on common problems had not so far been successful. Public opinion in both Britain and the U.S.A., further exasperated and depressed by the military set-back represented by the German thrust in the Ardennes, either demanded an improved machinery of co-operation or decried the other country's policy, according as judgment and temperament dictated.

Moreover, despite the indubitable movement of American opinion away from its old isolationist position, there was not apparent at the year's end very much willingness to make the specific sacrifices and commitments needed for any policy of international security and reconstruction. Early in the year a British mission under Lord Beaverbrook had returned with some satisfaction from the U.S.A., after signing an agreement establishing agreed principles for the development of the world's oil resources and setting up a joint Commission to recommend further action. But by the end of the year the commercial oil interests had made their opposition so much felt that it was announced by Senator Connally that the Senate would not ratify the agreement in its present form. In another field, that of aviation, the prospects were little brighter. At the International Civil Aviation Conference held at Chicago under the chairmanship of Mr. Berle the U.S.A. made it plain that it regarded aviation not as a menace to be controlled but as a frontier to be expanded. Even questions of quotas and frequency of services were left over for future discussion, while the creation of an international air authority with compulsory powers was rejected out of hand. Agreement was, in fact, pretty much limited to technical matters such as navigation signals, etc. Mayor La Guardia came near to summing up the conference's achievements when he declared, "Gentlemen, everybody is against bad weather."

It seemed, in fact, at the end of 1944 as if the American public was simultaneously having the worst of both worlds—the strain of war (without the bracing effect of war's physical proximity) and the anxieties of the post-war (without the accumulated experience of her European Allies). It was a sad, if not significant, coincidence that on one and the same day the public had to hear of further reverses in the Ardennes and of their President's un-

happily-worded disclosure that the Atlantic Charter had never, in fact, been signed. But nevertheless it was arguable that in the long run it was no bad thing that the shocks to a too naïve idealism should come while the American people were still committed to a life and death struggle with a powerful foe. Better so, perhaps, than that the Armistice should find America, as in Wilson's time, emotionally oscillating between the poles of wild optimism and total despair. Besides, taking stock in a cool moment, there was a record of sacrifices and achievements to set beside these confusions and disappointments. The United States had raised the strength of its Army to 12,000,000 men and of its Navy to over 3,000,000. Of these almost 500,000 had become casualties during the year, 82,634 of them fatal. In every field of war production, from food to fighter planes, remarkable and often record figures had been reached, despite the high level of civilian economy which had been maintained. With these arms and these soldiers America had achieved, in conjunction with her Allies, spectacular successes all over the globe. A triumphant landing had been made on the continent of Europe, which left American troops by the year's end hammering at the frontiers of Germany. In the Marshalls, the Marianas, and finally in the Philippines American arms had wrested air, sea, and land supremacy from the Japanese, had effaced the shame of Pearl Harbour, and were revenging the tragedy of Bataan. The United States was at last seeing some of the harvest of its efforts in liberation and the sure promise of victory.

ARGENTINA

At the beginning of the year President Ramirez still enjoyed the confidence of the "Grupo de oficiales unidos" (G.O.U.), the officers' union which had brought about the revolution in the previous July, and which was the real seat of power in the country; nor was there any organised opposition to his rule among the rest of the population. Early in January he still further strengthened his position by ordering the dissolution of all political parties—including some organisations of Fascist tendencies—and by tightening Government control of the Press. He also showed his clerical bias by ordering that religious instruction in Roman Catholicism should be given in all schools except to children whose parents objected on account of membership of other denominations.

Argentina's relations with the United States and Great Britain continued to be far from friendly, on account of her equivocal attitude in the struggle against the Axis Powers. At the opening of the year the Government found itself faced with a peremptory demand from Great Britain, made a few weeks previously, to take more energetic measures for the suppression in Argentina of espionage on behalf of the Axis Powers. The demand was based on disclosures made by one Oscar Hellmuth, an Argentinian of

German parentage, who in September had been appointed Argentine Vice-Consul in Barcelona, and who had been arrested and questioned by the British authorities when landing in Trinidad on his way out. The disclosures were so compromising that President Ramirez felt compelled to take action for fear that the British might publish them. On January 26 the Government announced its intention of immediately breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan. The Foreign Secretary, General Gilbert, represented this step as having been taken in defence of Argentina's own dignity and sovereignty, since the Axis had committed acts of aggression against other American countries from Argentine territory; and the President also denounced Axis espionage as an offence against the national sovereignty.

The step thus taken by the Government was not opposed by the Army, and was popular with the public, and the President felt encouraged to proceed further in the same direction. On January 28 a decree was issued ordering the immediate cessation of all commercial and financial operations with Germany and Japan and territories occupied by them. On February 4 relations were severed with all the Axis satellites, and on the 8th the German military and air attaché and the Japanese naval attaché were arrested on the ground that they were the real heads of all Axis espionage in the country. Reports were soon after spread that Argentina was about to declare war on Germany and Japan. This was denied by the President, but none the less the G.O.U., led by Colonel Peron, the Secretary of Labour, considered that he was carrying complaisance towards the United States and Great Britain further than was compatible with "national sovereignty," and that it was time for him to be checked. On February 15 General Gilbert was forcibly ejected from his post by a group of young Army officers, and ten days later General Ramirez, also acting under compulsion, delegated his powers to General Farrell, the War Minister, with the excuse that he was "fatigued by the intense tasks of government."

The high-handed action of the G.O.U. did not meet with the approval of the whole of the Army, and on March 1 Lieut.-Colonel Duca, commanding the 3rd Infantry Regiment, attempted to restore General Ramirez to power. He met with little popular support, however, and the rising was suppressed without difficulty. On March 9 General Ramirez handed in his resignation, and was succeeded as President by General Farrell, Colonel Peron becoming Minister of War. Immediately afterwards the G.O.U. was dissolved.

The immediate effect of the coup was to render the Argentine more isolated than ever. Great Britain and the United States withheld recognition from the new Government until they could see what line it would take, and instructed their Ambassadors in

Buenos Aires to confine themselves to purely routine matters. The only countries which did recognise General Farrell were Bolivia, Paraguay, and Chile. The new Government, on its side, without becoming more pro-Axis than its predecessor, immediately showed itself more hostile to the United States. On March 19 it prohibited the American news agency, the United Press, and its Argentine subsidiary, the Prensa Unida, from sending and receiving news, and the Minister of the Interior spoke disparagingly of the American Ambassador. American films were censored, and the ban was kept on in spite of American retaliation which threatened to bring cinema entertainment in the Argentine to a standstill.

On June 10 Colonel Peron made a speech hostile to the United States. A protest was sent by Washington which so angered the authorities in Buenos Aires that they ordered the message to be printed in the Argentine Press with some bitter comment. At the beginning of July both the United States and the British Ambassadors were recalled "for consultation." On July 25 the Argentine Ambassador was recalled from Washington in protest against a statement by Secretary of State Hull that Argentina had held aloof from the inter-American system of co-operation. Mr. Hull retorted with a further statement definitely charging Argentina with having violated her pledge to co-operate in the war against the Axis Powers, and with having given positive assistance to declared enemies of the United Nations. In answer General Paluffo, the Foreign Minister, maintained in a broadcast that Argentina had fulfilled in the letter and the spirit all her international obligations, and that isolation had been forced on her against her will. That this isolation continued to be keenly felt was shown by the action of the Argentine Government at the end of October in sending a Note to Washington proposing to the Pan-American Union and the American Republics that a conference of Foreign Ministers should be summoned to consider the so-called Argentine problem.

The virtual suspension of the Constitution by the new regime did not cause as much resentment among the mass of the population as might have been expected in a country where democratic sentiment had hitherto been so strong as in Argentina. One reason was that the new Government's methods of maintaining "national sovereignty"—which, according to a well-established Argentinian tradition, consisted chiefly in taking at every opportunity a line different from that of the United States—were on the whole popular. Another reason was that the country continued to enjoy a fair measure of economic prosperity, and therefore there was good ground for "leaving well alone." None the less, there were not wanting those who chafed at the continued suppression of popular liberties, and the well-known Liberal journal *La Prensa* frequently annoyed the Government by its outspoken

criticism. More serious for the Government was a plot formed by two secret opposition groups to organise a sit-down strike on June 7 as a protest against the régime. The plot was discovered by the Government and a large number of persons were arrested. The proposed demonstration was thereupon cancelled by the organisers.

Any hopes which may have been entertained that the Government of General Farrell would take steps to restore the Constitution were dashed to the ground by a declaration made by the President shortly before Independence Day (June 4) that the object of the last year's revolution was not merely to change men but also the system which previously existed. This was generally taken as the last word on the subject, at least for the time being. On June 27 demonstrations in which 300,000 persons took part were held at Buenos Aires in support of the Government's foreign policy, banners being displayed with the slogan "Sovereignty or death." On the next day President Farrell, in an interview with the Press, maintained that the demonstration had destroyed any notion that the Government was divorced from the people and had lost touch with public opinion.

The Government continued throughout the year to pay great attention to the subject of military preparedness. The annual military parade held on July 9 was bigger than ever before, and many new weapons made in Argentina were displayed, including tanks, aeroplanes, gliders, artillery, and motor repair shops. In August it was stated by Colonel Peron, now Vice-President as well as War Minister, that Argentine military strength had been doubled since the revolution of the previous year. In November pre-military training was instituted for children of 12 and upwards. Rumours, however, that Argentina was preparing for war were energetically denied by the Vice-President on August 7.

On November 28 it was stated by the Foreign Minister that the Argentinian Ambassador in London had given a definite pledge to the British Government that in no case would war criminals be given asylum in Argentine territory or permitted to deposit capital or acquire goods there of any kind.

On January 15 one of the worst earthquakes ever known in Argentina laid in ruins the town of San Juan, in the north-west of the country, causing over 5,000 deaths. The whole population of over 80,000 had to be evacuated.

On July 24 the National Railway Department ordered all the privately owned railways to refund to their workers the sums—amounting to 64 million pesos, or about 3,800,000*l.*—which had been deducted from their wages under an award made by General Justo in 1934. The order was made under a provision of the award that the sums retained should be restored when the railways recovered from the depression under which they were then suffering, though in fact they had not recovered.

BOLIVIA

On January 3 the new Government of Major Villaroel (*vide* ANNUAL REGISTER, 1943, p. 209) was recognised by Argentina. Some two weeks later the Committee for the Political Defence or the Western Hemisphere, containing representatives of eighteen American Republics, including the United States, met at Montevideo and considered the question of recognition. Evidence was laid before them that the leaders of the *coup* had been in contact with "subversive," *i.e.*, pro-Nazi and Nazi, elements, and in consequence the United States refused to recognise the new régime, an example which was followed by Great Britain and all the other South American States.

On February 11 the Ministers of the Interior and Agriculture and the Secretary to the Presidency resigned. The last two were reputed to be strongly hostile to the United States, and were replaced by men not unfriendly to that country. From this time, too, the new Government, in spite of its origin, continued the anti-Axis policy of its predecessor. In consequence, the United States began to regard it more favourably, and on June 23 granted it recognition, its example again being followed by Great Britain and the other American States.

In April a nation-wide strike took place in the tin mines. On the 28th the Government announced that a revolutionary conspiracy had been discovered, and a state of siege was declared and some of the conspirators arrested. In November a more serious rising took place, and revolutionaries at Oruro seized the barracks. By November 19, however, the rebellion had been suppressed. President Villaroel stated in a broadcast that the Government had discovered a vast plot organised by supporters of ex-President Peñaranda and his "reactionary oligarchy," and four leaders of the revolt were executed, while others fled.

BRAZIL

Throughout 1944 the Brazilian Navy continued to take an active part in the war against the Axis Powers; on October 11 it was announced that it would assume entire responsibility for patrolling the South Atlantic. The Air and Land Forces also came into play in this year. The first contingent of the Air Force left on January 3 for a theatre of war, and the rest soon followed. Towards the end of May the First Expeditionary Force paraded for over two hours in Rio de Janeiro and then sailed for Europe, where it joined the British Eighth Army in Italy, and was inspected by the Minister for War in the autumn. At the beginning of the year the Brazilian Army numbered 300,000 men, and it was further increased in the course of the year. Brazil also continued to be a valuable source of supply for the Allies, both for rare metals and for foodstuffs, especially rice.

Speaking at a Press Association ceremony on April 15, President Vargas promised that after the war the democratic provisions of the constitution of 1937 which had been promulgated, but were not yet functioning, would come fully into force, and that the people would be able to choose freely their own leaders and representatives. This announcement was cordially welcomed by the people at large. Later in the year, however, suspicion arose that the President intended to nominate the Foreign Secretary, Dr. Aranha, as his successor to the Presidency without an election, and though this Minister's foreign policy had the approval of public opinion, he became so unpopular that on August 24 he resigned.

In her foreign relations Brazil continued to adhere closely to the United States. Like that country she refused to recognise either the new Government in Bolivia or the Farrell régime in Argentina. When the latter country, at the beginning of May, made a gesture of friendship by decreeing signal funeral honours to the Brazilian Ambassador in Buenos Aires, Dr. Alves, who had died at his post, and offering to repatriate his remains in an Argentine cruiser, the Brazilian Government accepted the offer and the Foreign Minister sent a cordial telegram of thanks to the Argentine Foreign Minister. But at the end of July the Government issued a Note in which, while reaffirming the Continental solidarity for which she had always striven, she reproached Argentina with having failed in her duty in the struggle for liberty and security, and called on her to fulfil her obligations.

At the end of March the Government, with a view to increasing oil production, invited the American oil geologist, Mr. Everette Degolyer, to explore the country's petroleum potentialities. On October 3 an economic planning commission was appointed to promote the large-scale development of Brazilian resources, and in particular to study all Brazilian agricultural regions in order that each should grow the crops for which it was best suited.

CHILE

Early in March Chile recognised the Government of General Farrell in Argentina. This step caused general surprise, as hitherto Chile had shown herself anxious to keep in line with the United States, and it met with strong disapproval from the more Liberal elements in the country. It was attributed in part at least to the Chilean Ambassador in Argentina, who had great influence with the President. In internal affairs also President Rios showed a disposition to break away from the Left parties which had put him in office and to lean more on the Conservatives. When a Convention of the Radical Party in January submitted to him a programme, he recorded his dissent with several particulars, and declared that he intended to govern according to what he considered the needs of the country. The Executive

Committee of the Radicals thereupon ordered the five Radical members of the Cabinet to resign. They obeyed the instruction, but when the President refused to accept their resignations they remained at their posts. They were thereupon expelled from the party.

Diplomatic relations were established between Chile and the U.S.S.R. on December 11, at a meeting between the Ambassadors of the two Governments at Washington. This was the first resumption of relations between Santiago and Moscow since Tsarist days.

COLOMBIA

On July 10 President Lopez, while attending some military manœuvres near Pasto, in Southern Colombia, was kidnapped by Colonel Gil, who proclaimed himself President. He was, however, soon rescued, and Colonel Gil was sentenced to imprisonment for ten years.

CUBA

For the first time in Cuban history the Presidential election, on June 1, was carried out, under the supervision of Dr. Batista, with complete impartiality, and consequently with practically no disturbance. The result was that the opposition candidate, Dr. Raman Grau San Martin, was elected amid great popular enthusiasm. The successful candidate was congratulated after his election both by his opponent and by President Batista.

A devastating cyclone, which rendered 45,000 persons homeless, swept over Cuba on October 18.

ECUADOR

On May 30 a revolt broke out in Guayaquil, the second city of the Republic, with the object of preventing the Government from "rigging" the Presidential election, which was to be held on June 2, and of securing the election of the popular candidate, Sr. Velasco Ibarra, who was living in exile in Colombia. After some street fighting, in which more than 40 persons were killed and 200 wounded, the insurgents gained possession of the city. They were joined by the populace of Quito, and on May 30 President Arroyo del Rio resigned. He retired to Colombia and Sr. Ibarra returned to Ecuador and assumed the Presidency, being at once recognised by the United States and other Republics. One of his first steps was to recognise the boundary treaty with Peru made in 1942, which was regarded by many of his followers as derogatory to Ecuador.

EL SALVADOR

On April 2 a military revolt took place against President Martinez, who had been in office since 1931, but after some

fighting, in which it was reported that 53 persons were killed and 134 wounded, it was suppressed, and several officers and some civilians were executed. The executions so incensed the population that they began a general strike against the Government. To allay the discontent President Martinez declared an amnesty, but the demand for his resignation became so insistent that on May 8 he yielded and left the country. General Andres Menendez thereupon assumed the Presidency and at once proclaimed a general amnesty for all political prisoners. On October 21 Menendez resigned after some further street fighting and was succeeded by Colonel Aguirre y Salinas.

PART II

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1944

JANUARY

1. In the New Year Honours List baronies were conferred on Mr. Charles George Ammon, M.P. [Baron Ammon, of Camberwell in the County of Surrey], Col. the Rt. Hon. John Gretton, M.P. [Baron Gretton, of Stapleford in the County of Leicester], Sir Thomas Royden [Baron Royden, of Frankby in the County Palatine of Chester], Col. Sir Courtauld Thomson [Baron Courtauld-Thomson, of Dorneywood in the County of Buckingham], and Mr. William Westwood [Baron Westwood, of Gosforth in the County of Northumberland].

— The Abbey Road Building Society and the National Building Society were amalgamated as the Abbey National Building Society, the largest merger in the history of the Building Society movement.

7. Messrs. Sotheby's, the oldest firm of auctioneers of its kind in the country, celebrated the 200th anniversary of its foundation.

12. The National Trust announced the gift to the nation from the Misses Sedgwick, of Grantham House, Grantham, and some 18 acres of land.

19. The village of Sudbrook, near Chepstow, was sold for 23,000*l*.

24. Sir William Burrell, of Hutton Castle, Berwick-on-Tweed, presented his valuable art collection to the Corporation of Glasgow, and also funds to erect a suitable building for housing it.

25. Oxford University decided to constitute a Faculty of Music.

26. Mr. H. T. Radford presented to the National Trust the Lydford Gorge in Devon, about midway between Tavistock and Okehampton.

30. Mr. Frederick William Williamson, Avenue Road, Chesterfield, left the residue of his 47,977*l*. estate, after personal legacies and annuities, to establish a charity to be called " Uncle Billy's Children's Fund " to provide poor school-children between 4 and 12 from certain streets in Chesterfield with a day's enjoyment each year, and also with clothing.

31. Lord Beaverbrook purchased the small North Lincolnshire village of Swinhope, near Market Rasen, together with the mansion, Swinhope House. The property, which has been owned by the Allington family since about 1600, covers some 1,300 acres.

FEBRUARY

10. Miss Phyllis M. Bone, sculptor, of Edinburgh, was elected an academician of the Royal Scottish Academy—the first woman to be so honoured.

15. Mr. Albert E. Richardson, A.R.A., architect, Mr. Charles Cundall, A.R.A., painter, and Mr. Alfred F. Hardiman, A.R.A., sculptor, were elected Royal Academicians.

17. Under the will of the late Mrs. William Heelis (Beatrix Potter) the National Trust acquired the many beautiful and important properties she held in the Lake District, extending to nearly 4,000 acres and including Penny Hill sheep farm, adjoining the Trust's holding in Eskdale, and farms, woods, and cottages at Coniston, Skelwith, Little Langdale, Hawkshead, and Sawrey, and also Troutbeck Park sheep farm at the head of the Troutbeck Valley, Westmorland. Mrs. Heelis also left 5,000*l.* in trust for improving and adding to the properties in the gift.

17. Mrs. George Bernard Shaw in her will, after making various bequests, left the remainder of her property to the National City Bank Limited, Dublin, as special trustee, the income to be applied in making grants to any foundation, body, institution, association, or fund now existing (or coming into existence during the lives of the issue now living of the late King George V and 21 years after) having for its object: (1) the bringing of the masterpieces of fine art within the reach of the people of Ireland, (2) the teaching, promotion, and encouragement in Ireland of self-control, elocution, deportment, the arts of personal contact, of social intercourse, and other arts of public, private, professional and business life, and (3) the establishment and endowment of any educational institution, or any chair or readership in any University, college, or educational institution, for the purpose of giving instruction in or promoting the study by the general public of these subjects.

She stated

“In the course of a long life I have had many opportunities of observing the extent to which the most highly instructed and capable persons have their efficiency defeated and their influence limited for want of any organised instruction and training for the personal contacts whether with individuals or popular audiences without which their knowledge is incommunicable (except through books) and how the authority which their abilities should give them is made derisory by their awkward manners and how their employment in positions for which they have valuable qualifications is made socially impossible by vulgarities of speech and other defects as easily corrigible by teaching and training as simple illiteracy, and my experience and observation have convinced me that the lack of such training produces not only much social friction but grave pathological results which seem quite unconnected with it and that social intercourse is a fine art with a technique which everybody can and should acquire.”

19. In the presence of about 80,000 people, including King George and Queen Elizabeth, the Princess Elizabeth, King Haakon of Norway, General Montgomery, and members of the Cabinet, England beat Scotland at Wembley by 6 goals to 2.

25. In a Supplemental Charter the title of the Institute of Chemistry was changed to the Royal Institute of Chemistry.

26. In the third war-time boat race over the Adelaide Course between Ely and Littleport, a distance of a mile and a half, Oxford beat Cambridge by three-quarters of a length in eight minutes and six seconds.

28. Quadruplets—two boys and two girls—were born at Heanor, Derbyshire, to Mrs. Nora Carpenter, aged 23, the wife of a serving soldier. One of the boys subsequently died.

29. Mr. Rodrigo Moynihan, painter, and Mr. James Fitton, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy of Arts.

— It was reported in the House of Commons that since the outbreak of war forty-five properties, comprising 34,125 acres, had been presented to the National Trust, among them 16 historic houses.

— A heavy snowfall in the Midlands during the week-end February 27-29 so affected some sections of the vital communications of the L.N.E.R. that 300 soldiers were lent by the military authorities to help to maintain them. It was not until Tuesday, February 29, that telegraph and telephone links in some districts were restored.

MARCH

1. Miss Alexandrina Peckover presented to the National Trust, Bank House, Wisbech, with about 46 acres of land. Bank House was built in 1722.

4. Triplets—2 boys and a girl—were born to Mrs. Kathleen Goodwin, of Ulcombe in Kent.

15. Mr. Alfred James Munnings, painter, was elected president of the Royal Academy.

21. The University of Oxford set up a Polish Faculty of Law, with its own dean possessing the power of a rector of a Polish university, including that of conferring degrees.

23. At the Bank of England, the 500th half yearly dividend was declared ; the first such dividend was declared on March 25, 1695.

31. Mr. W. J. Haley was appointed Director-General of the B.B.C., in succession to Mr. Robert Foot, who had resigned in order to become chairman of the Mining Association of Great Britain.

— Captain H. S. Goodhart-Rendel presented his house, Hatchlands, (built in the middle of the eighteenth century), with 421 acres of land near East Clandon, Surrey, to the National Trust. The property lies on the north side of the main Leatherhead to Guildford road.

— The National Fund, which was established in 1927 by an anonymous gift of 499,878*l.* to the nation, reached a value of 1,204,459*l.*

APRIL

1. It was announced that the pioneer of the jet propulsion plane, Group Captain Whittle, had transferred to the Government without payment the whole of his financial interest in Power Jets Ltd.

2. Double Summer Time began at 1 A.M. Greenwich Mean Time.

6. London's "Salute the Soldier" target was 165,000,000*l.* The amount collected was 166,629,273*l.*

— Professor Sir John Fraser, Surgeon to the King in Scotland and Regius Professor of Clinical Surgery at Edinburgh since 1925, was appointed Principal of the University in succession to Sir Thomas Holland.

12. Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, presented to the National Trust his two farms, Milbeck and Harry Place, in Great Langdale, Westmorland, with a total area of 289 acres.

18. Lord Catto was appointed Governor of the Bank of England in succession to Mr. Montagu Norman, who had held the position continuously since 1920.

20. Mr. Charles F. Tunnicliffe, engraver, and Mr. Ruskin Spear, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

21. Princess Elizabeth celebrated her 18th birthday.

22. Mr. F. Ernest Jackson, painter, and Mr. William Dring, painter, were elected Associates of the Royal Academy.

— A barony was conferred on the Rt. Hon. Sir Gavin Turnbull Simonds, a High Court Judge, on his appointment as a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary [Baron Simonds, of Sparsholt in the County of Southampton].

24. A newly published Bible, the first to be produced in Canada under the original letters patent of 1632, was presented to Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, by Mr. W. H. Clarke, of the Canadian branch of the Oxford University Press.

MAY

3. Mr. Edward de Stein, and his sister, Miss G. de Stein, gave Lindisfarne Castle, Holy Island (built about 1550) to the National Trust in return for a lease of the property to Miss de Stein.

6. Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Barbour, of Bonkseid, presented to the National Trust the northern half of the Falls of Tummel, Pitlochry, with a valuable stretch of woodland on the banks of the Tummel and the Garry, extending from the Coronation Memorial Bridge on the former river to the Bridge of Garry on the latter.

8. Dr. K. A. H. Murray was elected Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

17. Mr. Henry Clay was appointed Warden of Nuffield College, Oxford, in succession to Mr. Harold Butler.

22. Quadruplets—3 boys and a girl—were born in Southend Memorial Hospital to Mrs. Daisy Moxham, aged 38, wife of a flying officer. One of the boys subsequently died.

25. The Society of Women Journalists celebrated the Jubilee of its foundation.

31. Lady Montgomery-Massingberd, Major Norman Leith-Hay-Clark, and Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Montgomery-Massingberd, as trustees of the Gunby Hall Estate (on the edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds, near Spilsby, and built in 1700) presented the hall, its contents, and approximately 1,500 acres of land to the National Trust.

— The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children celebrated the 60th anniversary of its foundation.

— Mrs. F. H. Cook presented to the Red Cross Society the gift of Barnett Hill, together with 20 acres of woodland, situated about 4 miles from Guildford.

JUNE

2. The National Trust announced that it had purchased Seathwaite Farm, in Borrowdale, comprising 614 acres of enclosed land.

3. Quadruplets—3 girls and a boy—were born at Lewisham Hospital to Mrs. Edith Knee-Robinson, aged 32, the wife of a driver in the R.A.F. The boy subsequently died.

4. The Y.M.C.A. celebrated the centenary of its foundation.

8. In the King's Birthday Honours List an Earldom was conferred on Viscount Halifax, K.G., and a barony on Sir Claud Schuster, K.C., Clerk

of the Crown in Chancery and permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor [Baron Schuster, of Cerne in the County of Dorset].

12. The Metropolitan Water Board stated that London was experiencing the worst drought in 60 years.

17. Lord Rosebery's "Ocean Swell" won the fifth war-time Derby at Newmarket.

19. Under the will of the late Mr. Alfred Shuttleworth, industrialist and philanthropist of Lincoln, the sum of 150,000*l.* was distributed among hospitals, charitable institutions, and organisations in Lincolnshire.

20. The Baltic Mercantile and Shipping Exchange celebrated the bicentenary of its foundation.

JULY

1. A Viscounty of the United Kingdom was conferred on The Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bt. [Viscount Templewood, of Chelsea in the County of Middlesex].

2. Captain Charles A. Thompson established a new Transatlantic flight record by crossing from Foynes to New York in 18 hours 16 minutes. His aeroplane carried 19 passengers and 2,686 lbs. of mail.

3. In his will Mr. William Eichholz left 100,000*l.* to the Alfred Eichholz Memorial Clinic and Institute of Massage and Physiotherapy by the Blind, and 100,000*l.* to King Edward's Hospital Fund for London.

4. *The Times* announced that the Clava Cairns, a notable group of prehistoric monuments, had been presented to the National Trust for Scotland through the generosity of Mr. John G. Murray, of Clava.

11. The National Trust announced that Mr. E. W. Hunter had purchased and presented to the Trust 498 acres of Blackdown, to be held in memory of his wife. Blackdown lies between Haslemere and Fernhurst, and adjoins the southern end of the Trust's Boarden Door Bottom and Tennyson's Lane property.

20. Mr. John Howard Whitehouse offered to the University of Oxford the gift of Brantwood, on Lake Coniston, the home of John Ruskin, containing a collection of Ruskin's pictures and other treasures, as a permanent memorial to Ruskin. The offer was accepted on November 21.

26. The Directors of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. announced that they had offered to provide at nine universities in Great Britain, altogether 80 Fellowships for 7 years of the average value of 600*l.* per annum, primarily for research in physics, chemistry, metallurgy, and engineering.

26. The National Trust announced that Miss Matilda Talbot had presented to the Trust the abbey and village of Lacock, together with the manor farm, amounting to 300 acres in all, situated in the north-west of Wiltshire.

— On his 88th birthday Mr. George Bernard Shaw announced that he had arranged to give his house at Ayot St. Lawrence, Hertfordshire, to the National Trust to be maintained after his death as a literary shrine.

27. The Bank of England celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. On the occasion, a Barony of the United Kingdom was conferred on Mr. Montagu Norman, lately Governor of the Bank [Baron Norman, of St. Clere in the County of Kent]. The Court of Directors also decided to mark the occasion by establishing a trust fund of 100,000*l.*, to be known as the Houblon-Norman Fund, for the promotion of economic research.

29. The historic castle of Oakham, Rutland (founded in the reign of Henry II), which contains the collection of horseshoes given in accordance with ancient custom by monarchs and peers passing through the town, was presented to the County of Rutland by the owner, Captain Hanbury.

AUGUST

1. *The Times* announced that the Scottish National Academy of Music in Glasgow had had conferred upon it the right to the appellation "Royal."

4. *The Times* daily Air Edition on India paper first appeared.

12. An earldom was conferred on Lord Gowrie on his relinquishing the appointment of Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia [Viscount Ruthven of Canberra, of Dirleton, in the County of East Lothian, and Earl of Gowrie].

18. The historic house, The Binns, in the county of West Lothian, and its surrounding park lands, with family relics, portraits, and plenishings was presented to the National Trust for Scotland by Mrs. Dalyell of The Binns, and an endowment for its upkeep given by Lieutenant-Colonel Dalyell of The Binns.

SEPTEMBER

8. The first non-stop flight accomplished between London and Ottawa ; the time taken was 19 hours 9 minutes.

12. The trustees of the Nuffield Foundation made a grant of 10,000*l.* a year for 10 years for a Professorship of Child Health in the University of London, and the establishment of a post graduate Institute of Child Health.

14. *The Times* announced that The National Trust for Scotland had acquired the historic estate of Kinfaul in Wester Ross, extending to about 14,000 acres at the head of Loch Duich.

17. Double Summer Time ended at 3 a.m.

— Relaxation of black-out regulations came into force.

19. The Rt. Rev. David L. Prosser, Bishop of St. David's, was elected Archbishop of Wales.

26. At the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor of London announced that the Nuffield Foundation had made a grant of 225,000*l.* towards the 725,000*l.* required for the completion of the buildings of London House, the hall of residence in London for Dominion students.

29. Sir Frank Alexander was elected Lord Mayor of London for the coming civic year.

OCTOBER

5. The Cement Makers' Federation made a benefaction to the Imperial College of Science and Technology for the establishment of a Professorship of Concrete Technology at the City and Guilds College.

12. The Council of the Royal Society amended their Statutes so as to admit women to the Fellowship of the Society.

— Commemoration by the Society of Friends of the tercentenary of William Penn.

18. Sir Alexander Korda made a gift of 5,000*l.* to the University of Oxford for the purpose of sending a commission to study and report on the organisation and economy of departments of drama in selected American universities, and to inquire into methods of academic study not only in drama but also in the history and science of film production.

23. It was announced that Mr. Somerset Maugham, the author, had presented 10,000*l.* to King's School, Canterbury, of which he is an "old boy," for the purpose of establishing a scholarship.

26. The 1943 Nobel Prize for Medicine was divided between Professor Henrik Dam, of Copenhagen (in the United States since 1940), and Professor Edward A. Doisy, Professor of Bio-Chemistry at the University of St. Louis. The 1944 Prize for Medicine was divided between Professor Emeritus Joseph Erlanger, of Washington University, St. Louis, and Professor Herbert Spencer Gasser, Head of the Rockefeller Institution of Medical Research in New York.

These were the first awards of Nobel Prizes since 1939.

— Sir Robert McVitie Grant made a gift of 70,000*l.* to the University of Edinburgh to found a Chair of Dermatology—the first Professorship of its kind to be established in Britain.

NOVEMBER

1. Mr. Alic Halford Smith was elected Warden of New College, Oxford.

7. Mr. W. Russell Grimwade made a gift of 50,000*l.*A. to the University of Melbourne for the foundation of a school of bio-chemistry.

9. Nobel Prizes were awarded as follows : the 1944 Prize for Literature to Johannes Vilhelm Jensen, the Danish novelist ; the 1943 prize for Physics to Professor Otto Stern, research professor at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh ; the 1944 prize for Physics to Professor Isidor Isaac Rabi, of Columbia University, New York ; the 1943 prize for Chemistry to Professor Georg Hevesy, a Hungarian, formerly of Copenhagen University.

15. St. Hugh's College, Oxford, announced that an anonymous member of the college had made a gift of 20,000*l.* to be the nucleus of an endowment fund for the college.

17. *The Times* announced that the trustees of the Nuffield Foundation, in order to carry out one of its primary objects, the advancement of health, particularly by the furtherance of teaching and research, had offered the Universities of Durham, Glasgow, and Manchester grants totalling 150,000*l.* to assist them to carry out schemes of teaching and research in industrial health.

25. *The Times* issued its 50,000th number.

DECEMBER

4. It was announced that the trustees of the estate of the late E. L. Baillieu had given the University of Melbourne 105,000*l.*A. for a new library.

7. The Rev. J. H. S. Wild was selected by the Fellows of University College, Oxford, as Master of the College, in succession to Sir William Beveridge.

8. Quadruplets, all girls, were born at the Warrington General Hospital to Mrs. Ethel Brenda Green, the 23-year-old wife of a bus conductor. Two of the children later died.

12. The Warburg Institute, which was transferred from Hamburg to this country in 1933, was, with its valuable library, incorporated in the University of London.

14. *The Times* announced that an anonymous donor had given 50,000*l.* to provide housing assistance for disabled pilots and widows of pilots of the Royal Air Force and of the Royal Navy who have children.

19. Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M., presented to the National Trust, with an endowment of 4,000*l.*, Leith Hill Place, a property of some 470 acres close to the summit of Leith Hill—already National Trust property—and about five miles from Dorking.

31. It was officially stated in the House of Commons that the amount borrowed by the Government from the outbreak of war to December 31, 1944 was 13,975 million pounds sterling.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE IN 1944

LITERATURE

(Books marked with an asterisk are specially noticed at the end of this section)

THE year saw a continuance of the production of new books, though difficulties have accumulated. According to *The Bookseller* the total number of volumes published was 6,781, as compared with 6,705 in 1943. There was undoubtedly a wide interest in books among the public at home and an increased demand for British books overseas. Vigorous protests were made throughout the year against the restrictions on paper which Government policy has imposed. Some very moderate relaxation was obtained, but the delay in the production of even important books can be estimated from a note, in G. M. Trevelyan's *English Social History*, which is reviewed below, stating that the volume had appeared two years ago in the United States. The paper restrictions affected the reprinting of standard works even more than the production of new books. The public was anxious to buy books, both old and new, but it found that the necessary stocks were not available. Still, as the record below will show, the number of new works produced which have a reasonable probability of continued life and permanent interest is remarkable.

This record has had for reasons of space to exclude many of the volumes of "reportage" which the war has produced.

The production of literary criticism and biography was surprisingly well-sustained. *The Times Literary Supplement* led the way by devoting every week a whole page to an essay entitled *Menander's Mirror*. These dealt with the more fundamental problems of literary criticism, and though they seldom made open reference to the war, they reflected with great accuracy the changes of value and outlook which the war had induced in many minds. Their authorship was long a theme for intelligent speculation. The secret became an open one, for an artist declares his signature in his writing by his thought and his style. Their authorship was openly divulged by the publication of a collection of the essays as *Portraits in a Mirror* (Macmillan), by Charles Morgan. The year marked the passing of a great figure, "Q," Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch [see under Obituaries], who had been a writer of fiction and criticism, and in every way an exceptional Professor of English at Cambridge: his unfinished autobiography appeared as *Memoirs and Opinions* (Cambridge University Press); the volume was edited with an introduction by S. C. Roberts; a volume of Q's *Shorter Stories* (Dent) was also published. Another posthumous volume was Stephen Leacock's collection of essays, *How to Write* (John Lane). Stephen Haggard, the young actor and poet, who was killed in the Middle East,

left a poignant autobiographical fragment of himself and his principles as *I'll Go to Bed at Noon* (Faber).

An outstanding volume in English literary studies was * *A Critical History of English Poetry* (Chatto & Windus), by Sir Herbert Grierson and J. C. Smith. Some of the other impressive work in criticism dealt with literatures other than English. C. M. Bowra, in *Sophoclean Tragedy* (Oxford University Press), wrote an ample and impressive study which concentrated on the interpretation of the tragedies; while F. R. Earp, in *The Style of Sophocles* (Cambridge University Press), made a minute analysis of the style from the grandiose effects of the earlier plays to the later quieter but powerful control of vocabulary. W. F. Jackson Knight in * *Roman Vergil* (Faber), constructed a bold attempt to give a comprehensive view of Vergil's poetry. In *The Road to Hel* (Cambridge University Press), Hilda R. Ellis studied the conception of the dead in Old Norse literature. French poetry was admirably served by D. B. Wyndham Lewis's *Ronsard* (Sheed & Ward), which made at once a picture of an age, and a portrait of a poet, greater than most English readers have realised.

Russia was strongly emphasised in critical and historical studies. Janko Lavrin's *Tolstoi* (Methuen) is a brief but penetrating study. More elaborate though less original is Derrick Leon's *Tolstoi: His Life and Work* (Routledge). The enhanced interest in Russian literature was also shown by the publication of *A Book of Russian Verse* (Macmillan), in which C. M. Bowra edited a number of English translations from the Russian. Spain was represented by Arturo Barea's *Lorca* (Faber), a study of the poet assassinated in the Spanish Civil War, with some reflections on the Spanish character.

J. W. H. Atkins's *English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase* (Cambridge University Press), was a worthy successor to the author's *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*: the volume, which ends with a treatment of the influence of mediæval criticism on the Elizabethan period, is a valuable exploration of a difficult field. D. Udney Yale used scientific methods in literary criticism in *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary* (Cambridge University Press), an analysis on statistical methods, beginning with a study of Thomas à Kempis, to determine whether any data on the characteristics of style can be gathered from vocabulary.

A number of essays were published which either dealt with general themes or approached literary criticism without the severer disciplines of academic study. Among the volumes of general essays two distinctive collections came from the Sitwell family: Sir Osbert Sitwell's *Sing High! Sing Low!* (Macmillan), a volume of essays on varied themes, while Sacheverell Sitwell's *Splendours and Miseries* (Faber) was a profound study of the evil and cruelty of life in contrast to the beauty attainable in art, particularly the art of music. Robert Elkin, in *Queen's Hall* (Rider & Co.), told of a centre intimately connected with the performance of music in England: he recorded its history from the beginning with a children's party to the day of the fateful enemy attack on May 10, 1941. Another institution, connected in its early days with both literature and science, was chronicled in Sir Henry Lyons's * *The Royal Society* (Cambridge

University Press). In *Art and Scientific Method* (Faber) Martin Johnson considered the relations between the significant "non-representational" design of the scientist and the world of the artist.

Among other general collections was *From Shakespeare to Joyce* (Doubleday Doran), by the American critic E. E. Stoll: he applied the realistic criticism, already made familiar by his Shakespearean studies, to a number of themes. Alfred Noyes's *The Edge of the Abyss* (Murray) was a fierce, and it was thought in some quarters, an ill-balanced attack on modern literature. A. C. Ward wrote an epilogue to a new edition of G. H. Mair's *English Literature—Modern* (Oxford University Press). Richard Church gathered fifty-six brief studies of contemporary writers in *British Authors* (Longmans). In contrast B. Ifor Evans analysed the permanent and fundamental features of literature in England in *English Literature* (Longmans). In *The Craft of Comedy* (Muller) Athene Seyler and Stephen Haggard exchange letters in which the art of the acting of comedy on the stage is examined. The English Association continued its *Essays and Studies* (Oxford University Press) with a volume edited by Miss Ellis-Fermor: the volume dealt exclusively with Elizabethan and early seventeenth-century themes. Michael Sadleir, in a delightful volume, *Things Past* (Constable), explored a number of minor Victorian writers and included some essays on other themes.

Among volumes dealing with individual writers a prominent place must be given to J. B. Yeats's **Letters to His Son W. B. Yeats and Others* (Faber). Outstanding among the literary biographies was Miss Maisie Ward's life of *G. K. Chesterton* (Sheed & Ward), which combined the use of fresh material with sound individual judgments. Edward Thompson gave a just and discerning account of *Robert Bridges* (Oxford University Press): he admired Bridges as a man and poet but this did not affect his judgment. John Masefield continued his autobiography with a description of his days on the training-ship *Conway* in *New Chum* (Heinemann). An American writer, Lionel Trilling, drew some attention with a study of *E. M. Forster* (Hogarth Press) which helped to establish Forster, despite his limited output, in a foremost position. Miss G. B. Stern gave an instalment of her autobiography as *Trumpet Voluntary* (Cassell), a volume with an almost bewildering diversity of theme and incident. Douglas Sladen also produced a volume of reminiscences, *My Long Life* (Hutchinson), which has recollections of many contemporary figures. James Agate, in *Ego 6* (Harrap), continued his entertaining autobiography; he also collected a number of his theatrical criticisms in *Red Letter Nights* (Cape).

The Shakespearean criticism of the year was all of a high level. The late George Gordon's *Shakespearean Comedy and Other Studies* (Oxford University Press), may be uneven, but it has an excellent study of Shakespeare's diction. Sir E. K. Chambers, whose contributions to Shakespearean criticism have been profound, gathered a number of his essays, the first of which appeared fifty years ago, as *Shakespearean Gleanings* (Oxford University Press): the volume covered all aspects of Shakespearean study in the last half-century. H. S. Bennett, in *Shakespeare's Audience* (Oxford University Press), attempted to do justice

to those who first heard the plays. Alexander Pope's centenary was celebrated in a number of articles, as for example, in *The Times Literary Supplement* of June 3. Of *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* (Oxford University Press), edited by E. de Selincourt before his death, the first volume was published. J. C. Smith also issued *A Study of Wordsworth* (Oliver & Boyd). J. Bronowski, in *A Man Without a Mask* (Secker & Warburg), made an original study of Blake to show how the imagery of the Prophetic Books is affected by the poet's reaction to the Industrial Revolution. Walter Sidney Scott, in a handsome volume, *The Athenians* (Golden Cockerel Press), gave some previously unpublished correspondence between Thomas Jefferson Hogg and Shelley and others. W. H. Gardner made a detailed criticism of *Gerard Manley Hopkins* (Secker & Warburg), especially of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" and the sonnets. H. Levin, in *James Joyce* (Faber), prepared a sympathetic study of the novels, particularly of *Finnegan's Wake*. As one looks back over this list, which must inevitably be only a selection, one can feel encouraged by the way in which literary studies were being valiantly maintained.

Of the arts there were a number of studies, notable among which was Sir Thomas Beecham's *A Mingled Chime* (Hutchinson), which gave an account of his personal and musical contacts until 1923. Andrew Shirley, in *John Constable* (Medici Society), published a large number of plates of the painter's work with a commentary. John Rewald, with the assistance of Lucien Pissarro edited, as *Camille Pissarro* (Kegan Paul), Camille's letters to his son Lucien: he revealed himself fully in the letters which dealt with Impressionism and poetry. The interest in art was continuous throughout the year. Notable among studies of English artists were *Sickert* (Faber) with a number of reproductions, and an essay on Sickert's life by Lillian Browse and another on his art by R. H. Wilenski; and the Phaidon Press publication of a magnificent volume of plates of the work of *Augustus John*, with an introductory essay by John Rothenstein. Frank O. Salisbury, in *Portrait and Pageant* (Murray), recorded his recollections of some of the famous men he has painted. Sir Herbert Baker described his work in architecture in *Architecture and Personalities* (Country Life).

Of studies ancillary to literature and history a number appeared. R. A. C. Smith's *Bath* (Batsford) dealt with the city from Roman times to the period of the Regency. Mrs. Hessel Tiltman produced a genial study of Sussex life in *A Little Place in the Country* (Hodder & Stoughton). In *Windfalls* (Allen & Unwin) R. C. Trevelyan gathered a number of essays, some on literary themes and others on general and philosophical contemplations of life.

Apart from the biographies and memoirs considered in the literary section above a number of more miscellaneous collections appeared. A volume very difficult to place was Algernon Cecil's memorable *A House in Bryanston Square* (Eyre & Spottiswoode); the author described a house which was destroyed by enemy action, but more than a description of a house the volume was an account of his life there with "Allegra": it was a philosophy, and in many ways the spiritual history of an epoch.

Bernard Falk, in *The Berkeleys of Berkeley Square* (Hutchinson), gave a harsh and unflattering account of a family which from the seventeenth century thrust itself into wealth and prominence, if seldom into eminence, and acquired one of the most desirable and favoured sites in London. In *Norfolk Portraits* (Faber) R. W. Ketton-Cremer collected pictures of Norfolk worthies, mainly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. E. C. F. Collier edited the diaries of his mother, Lady Monkswell, as *A Victorian Diary, 1873-1895* (Murray): a great hostess, she knew the world of her day and had a shrewd eye and a neat style which combined to give quality to her record. In *From One Generation to Another* (Allen & Unwin) Helen Martindale produced an account of a public-spirited family and included her own experiences as a factory inspector. Jack Jones, in *The Man David* (Hamish Hamilton), gave an "an imaginative presentation, based on fact, of the life of Lloyd George from 1880 to 1914." Sir Gervais Rentoul published his autobiography as *This Is My Case* (Hutchinson): he portrayed his activities as a magistrate and a politician, particularly as a leader of a parliamentary group that investigated economic problems in 1931. Lord Onslow gave some account of his long record of public service both as a diplomat and a politician in *Sixty-Three Years* (Hutchinson).

A general account of the science of language was given by Margaret Schlauch in *The Gift of Tongues* (Allen & Unwin). Frederick Bodmer also published his remarkable book on linguistics, *The Loom of Language* (Allen & Unwin): the volume was edited and arranged by Lancelot Hogben, who also produced an ingenious artificial language, *Interglossa* (Penguin Books). In *On Native Grounds* (Cape) Alfred Kazin gave an interpretation of American prose.

In serial and political writing this has been a notable year. An exceptional place was occupied by a summary by G. B. Shaw, the Grand Old Man of English letters, * *Everybody's Political What's What* (Constable). This, and G. M. Trevelyan's * *English Social History* (Longmans), stood out as being in the forefront of the distinguished books of the year. In the sphere of the application of economic theory to contemporary affairs the leading place was inevitably taken by Sir William Beveridge's * *Full Employment in a Free Society* (Allen & Unwin). The volume, written with grace and clarity, may be regarded as a supplement to the Beveridge Report. Sir William Beveridge also wrote an introduction to the late John Hilton's *Rich Man, Poor Man* (Allen & Unwin), an examination of the unequal distribution of wealth given with all the human understanding that Hilton so effectively commanded. E. S. Conway, in *Post-War Employment* (Cape), considered the problem of the re-employment of men and women after the war.

To commemorate the 250th anniversary Sir John Clapham, in two imposing volumes, wrote the history of *The Bank of England* (Cambridge University Press). This official history did not, apart from an epilogue on "The Bank as It is," proceed later than 1914, as the author truly said that the Bank's later history "cannot with fullness yet be written." This gave special interest to a brief sketch by Reginald Shaw entitled *The Bank of England (1694-1944)* (Harrap). Among works dealing with

economic and political theory considerable discussion was caused by F. A. Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* (Routledge), in which it was argued that collectivist planning must lead to totalitarianism and so to serfdom. The case was vigorously stated, though Professor Hayek did not retreat to any extreme *laissez-faire* but admitted a minimum of arrangements by the State. R. G. Hawtrey's *Economic Destiny* (Longmans) was also assigned a prominent place: he analysed the inadequacies of modern economic life and considered the relative possibilities of competitiveness (capitalism), collectivism, and communism. His discussion was clear and detailed, and his balanced conclusion was that a controlled competitiveness may be made ultimately to develop into a reformed capitalism or into collectivism. John Laird, in *The Device of Government* (Cambridge University Press), dealt more theoretically with the nature of man as a political animal. The nature of man was also the theme of the more solid sections of H. G. Wells's '42 to '44 (Secker & Warburg), though a number of miscellaneous essays were also included. In an informed study on population and environment, *The Future of Economic Society* (Macmillan), Roy Glenday discussed historically the "equilibrium between population as a whole and environment as a whole:" in the closing chapters he considered the possibility that Liberty "which consists in social security" may replace Liberty "to do what the individual wants at the expense of social insecurity."

D. W. Hill, in *The Impact and Value of Science* (Hutchinson), analysed the use and misuse of the achievements of science and the neglect in modern life of scientific habits of thought. This was also one of the themes of a volume of essays which Julian Huxley collected as *On Living in a Revolution* (Chatto & Windus): the volume also dealt with the possibilities of post-war planning. Less confident about the future was Leopold Schwarzschild in *Primer of the Coming World* (Hamish Hamilton), which generally attacked the Utopianism of the pre-war period: the author attempted to face the future with realism. He ended by a defence of private enterprise, individual liberty, and the capitalist system. The same absence of optimism about the future was to be found in Leslie Paul's *The Annihilation of Man* (Faber), for he saw the progressive enslavement of the individual as the penalty paid by man for the increased powers given him by science and the machine: his imaginative volume was an examination of the general disruption of European civilisation in the period before the war. A more mystical approach to the same problem was to be found in Nicolas Berdyaev's *Slavery and Freedom* (Bles), where within the framework of a Christian Theism there was developed a philosophy that "human personality," the subjective element, is of supreme importance, rather than the collective realities of the "object world," such as society, church, and nation. The positive influence of religion was also stressed in Lewis Mumford's *The Condition of Man* (Secker & Warburg). H. J. Laski, in *Faith, Reason and Civilisation* (Gollancz), also expressed discontent with our pre-war condition, but suggested that the Russian Revolution produced a new climate of hope. John Middleton Murry, in *Adam and Eve* (Dakers), likewise sought for a better future, but through

a new personal life, which he outlines as a regenerated relation of man and woman.

All these volumes were produced as a result of modifications in fundamental thinking produced by the war. Related to them were a number of studies dealing with themes, which historically or practically are related to these theories. The "planners" may well turn to see in *The Peckham Experiment* (Allen & Unwin), by Innes H. Pearse and Lucy H. Croker, what was actually achieved in the Peckham Health Centre. Sir Henry Slesser analysed the effect of Liberalism on English life in *A History of the Liberal Party* (Hutchinson).

Among historical works an outstanding success was Miss C. V. Wedgwood's ** William the Silent* (Cape). Arthur Bryant increased his reputation as an historical narrator with *Years of Victory, 1802-1812* (Collins): in this he followed his earlier volume, *The Years of Endurance*, which gave an account of the first revolutionary war which ended in the Peace of Amiens with a record of the first phase of the Napoleonic War from the renewal of the conflict in 1803 to the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1812. Without undue emphasis he made plain the parallels with contemporary conditions. G. J. Renier gave an historical sketch and an interpretation of *The Dutch Nation* (Allen & Unwin), and R. W. Seton-Watson, in *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (Hutchinson), compressed the twelve hundred years of their history into a single volume survey. Milton Waldman's *Elizabeth and Leicester* (Collins) painted a lively but judicious picture of the Queen and of her most favoured subject. G. P. Gooch, in *Courts and Cabinets* (Longmans), collected thirteen studies of memoir writers and of the subjects about whom they wrote: taken together they gave an intimate picture of the political life of Western Europe from the seventeenth century onwards. W. G. Addison studied the development of ** Religious Equality in England (1714-1914)* (S.P.C.K.) in a readable volume. A. L. Rowse collected a number of essays on English character and themes as *The English Spirit* (Macmillan).

An authoritative volume on the five centuries of Anglo-Saxon civilisation was F. M. Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford University Press). Miss Mildred Campbell made a notable American contribution to English social history with *The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts* (Oxford University Press). Increased interest in the seventeenth-century "collectivism" of Gerard Winstanley was shown by Leonard Hamilton's *Selections from His Works* (Cresset Press). Brian Vesey Fitzgerald made a competent study of the *Gypsies of Great Britain* (Chapman & Hall).

A number of volumes united history to the movement and background of contemporary events. There was no need for Professor E. T. Salmon to underline the parallels in *A History of the Roman World, 30 B.C.—A.D. 138* (Methuen), in which he analysed the Empire of Augustus and its consequences. Mr. Alan Houghton thus mixed history and travel and interpretation in *Parts of Barbary* (Hutchinson), which described regions of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. A. J. Whyte interpreted modern Italy against the background of her past in ** The Evolution of Modern Italy*

(1715-1920) (Blackwell). M. H. H. Macartney, in *One Man Alone* (Chatto & Windus), considered Mussolini's record in Italy. Stanislaw Mackiesiez, in *Colonel Beck and his Policy* (Eyre & Spottiswoode), discussed a matter of some moment—the pre-war foreign policy of Poland. Derek Patmore, in *Images of Greece* (Country Life), combined description with some very beautiful photographs. Alexander Werth, in *Leningrad* (Hamish Hamilton) told the gripping story of the city under the siege.

Interest in Russia was conspicuous. B. H. Sumner, in his *Survey of Russian History* (Duckworth), wrote an authoritative volume. An interpretation combined with impressions by one who has seen Russia at first-hand was Walter Duranty's *U.S.S.R.* (Hamish Hamilton). George Bilainkin, in *Maisky* (Allen & Unwin), portrayed the Soviet Ambassador in England during the years of misunderstanding. These years were also the theme of W. P. and Zelda K. Coates in *A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations* (Lawrence & Wishart and the Pilot Press).

On contemporary themes Lord Maugham, Lord Chancellor in Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Government, set out a defence of the Munich policy in *The Truth About Munich* (Heinemann), while W. W. Hadley also stated a defence of Mr. Chamberlain in *Munich Before and After* (Cassell). Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, in *The Price of Liberty* (Blackie), considered whether the traditional British spirit can survive the war. In *A Preface to Peace* (Allen & Unwin) Harold Callendar, an American journalist of wide knowledge and experience, expressed his interpretation of contemporary international relations and of the ways in which they could be developed. The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery collected a number of speeches and articles on current political and international topics in *The Framework of the Future* (Oxford University Press). Michael Straight, in *Make This The Last War* (Allen & Unwin), advocated an internationally-planned society and the abolition of all imperialism. Another American, Ely Cuthbertson, the bridge expert, in the *Summary of the World Federation Plan* (Faber), put his faith in a world police force, but with a highly "theoretical" organisation. In contrast, it was illuminating to read *Unfinished Business* (Michael Joseph), the private diary of President Wilson's confidential interpreter at the 1919 conference, which is full of shrewd observations. Walter Lippman's ** U.S. War Aims* (Hamish Hamilton) embodied the views of one who commands a hearing in two continents. Sumner Welles, whose resignation from his post as Under-Secretary of State in 1943 caused considerable attention on both sides of the Atlantic, considered the past and present of international relations in *The Time for Decision* (Hamish Hamilton): he drew on his wide experience as an ambassador and as an official in the State Department.

While America explored the world, there was some exploring of America by English writers. Of these one of the most authoritative is D. W. Brogan; ** The American Problem* (Hamish Hamilton) from his pen was an interesting study. *My Friend America* (Quality Press), by Mary Weston, and *Uncle Sam* (Heinemann), by Clanton W. Williams, were intelligent attempts at interpretation, as was also *Our Two Democracies at Work* (Harrap), by K. B. Smellie. Two small but interesting volumes on,

the colonies appeared: in *The Future of the Colonies* (The Pilot Press) Julian Huxley and Phyllis Deane set out briefly the facts about the colonies and the responsibilities of the British people: the same problem was approached in an excellently balanced volume by E. A. Walker, *Colonies* (Cambridge University Press). The future of the colonies was again debated by Elspeth Huxley and Margery Perham in *Race and Politics in Kenya* (Faber).

It was only to be expected that the year should have produced some volumes on Germany, and on her treatment after the war, which reflected the attention given to the theme in current discussion. Herman Ullstein, in *The Rise and Fall of the House of Ullstein* (Nicholson & Watson), showed how the greatest of the German publishing houses was undermined by the Nazi regime. In *Germany Between the Two Wars* (Oxford University Press) Lindley Fraser described the German methods of propaganda. J. P. Meyer, in *Max Weber and German Politics* (Faber), prepared a learned work on the teachings of a philosopher, pre-eminent in Imperial Germany, whose influence has lived on into totalitarian philosophy. In *What To Do With Germany* (Hamish Hamilton) Louis Nizer discussed the possibility of the "re-education of Germany."

No attempt is made here to record the many volumes which dealt with different aspects of the war. They increased in number as the war proceeded. A bold venture was made by R. C. K. Ensor in his attempt to write *A Miniature History of the War* (Oxford University Press). The history of the rise of British Air Power, 1911 to 1939, was outlined by Hilary St. George Saunders in *Per Ardua* (Oxford University Press). Philip Guedalla, whose untimely death occurred at the close of the year [see under Obituaries], recorded the activities of the Air Force in *Middle East (1940-42)* (Hodder & Stoughton). Two volumes on German air-power were *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe* (John Long), by H. Herman, and *The Luftwaffe* (Faber), by C. G. Grey. Liddell Hart set down his *Thoughts on War* (Faber) from 1919 to 1939.

Other countries and problems were reflected in such volumes as Norman Bentwich's *Judea Lives Again* (Gollancz), and *Battle Hymn of China* (Gollancz), in which Miss Agnes Smedley described the history of her own life on the background of contemporary China. In *Balkan Background* (Hale) Bernard Newman explored the complicated inside story of Eastern European politics, and in *Hungary* (Macdonald) Tibor Mende provided a general account of that country. J. B. Trend made a brief assessment of Spanish civilisation in *The Civilisation of Spain* (Oxford University Press). The Cambridge University Press published for the British Society for International Understanding two small handbooks, one on *Belgium* and the other on *Rumania* (by C. Kovmos).

The year produced a wide number of volumes on religion and philosophy. Important among these was Miss Maude D. Petre's *Alfred Loisy* (Cambridge University Press), in which the work of the French Catholic Modernist philosopher was ably assessed. Percy H. Osmond studied the life of *Isaac Barrow* (S.P.C.K.), the mathematician who had Newton as his pupil and later became a noted theologian and preacher. John C. Heenan

produced an impression of *Cardinal Hinsley* (Burns & Oates). *A Twentieth Century Bishop* (Skeffington) recorded the recollections and reflections of Bertram Pollock, headmaster of Wellington and Bishop of Norwich; it had an introduction by Harold Nicolson. In *From Jesus to Paul* (Allen & Unwin) Joseph Klausner, in a volume translated from the Hebrew by W. K. Stinespring, gave, from the Jewish point of view, an able study of Saint Paul and of his work in making Christianity a world religion. James Moffatt, in *The Thrill of Tradition* (Student Christian Movement Press), considered "the throb of being in contact with some living truth or force which is older and larger than ourselves." In *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity* (Oxford University Press) W. L. Knox considered how the teaching in Galilee gained a hearing in the civilised world. Mrs. Lan Freed, in *Morality and Happiness* (Williams & Norgate), furnished an exposition and defence of psychological Hedonism. W. A. Curtis, in *Jesus Christ the Teacher* (Oxford University Press), considered the message of Christ as based mainly on the earlier gospels. Sydney Cave was concerned with the Christian conception of man in *The Christian Estimate of Man* (Duckworth). C. B. Moss, in *The Christian Faith* (S.P.C.K.) presented a detailed study of Anglicanism. The late Archbishop of Canterbury, in *The Church Looks Forward* (Macmillan), considered the relation of the Church to social life. In *The Cathedral Foundations* (Oxford University Press), F. A. Iremonger evaluated the part played by the Cathedrals in the religious life of the country. A. G. Herbert, in *The Form of the Church* (Faber), estimated the place of the Church in the life of the Christian. Oskar Kraus wrote of the work and philosophy of *Albert Schweitzer* (Black), and outlined his theory of "a reverence for life." In *Interpreters of Man* (Lutterworth Press) Gwilym O. Griffith reviewed secular and religious thought from Hegel to Barth. Trevor Gervase Jalland, in *The Church and the Papacy* (S.P.C.K.), considered the problem historically and he suggested that the papal tradition is based on Peter rather than on Rome. In *Christian Europe To-day* (Epworth Press) Adolph Keller declared that "human nature and the human mind seem to be at grips with some dark and incomprehensible power," which acknowledges no supernatural sanctions.

The "Butler" Act was the centre of much educational discussion with the publication of books and pamphlets. H. C. Dent, in *Education in Transition* (Kegan Paul), dealt with education through the difficulties and disappointments of the evacuation period to the promulgation of the new Act. Brian Simon, in *A Student's View of the Universities* (Longmans), published opinions which he collected as President of the National Union of Students in 1939-40. Among other works on education J. L. Brereton, in *The Case for Examinations* (Cambridge University Press), pleaded for reform rather than for abolition. *The World We Mean to Make*, by Maxwell Garnett (Faber), was in part an exposition of a conception of a Commonwealth of the United Nations, but it also dealt in detail with the education which England requires in preparation for that ideal. A. Wolf, in *Higher Education in Nazi Germany* (Methuen), threw light on the effect of the Nazi regime in technical schools and universities.

Among works difficult to classify there were many of considerable interest. H. D. Renner's *The Origin of Food Habits* (Faber) handled with an extraordinary diversity of information a theme of universal interest, and Claude Mullins' *Crime and Psychology* (Methuen) explored the relation of psychology to the investigation of crime in the courts. Eric Shipton wrote of mountaineering, and particularly of the Everest expeditions, in *Upon That Mountain* (Hodder & Stoughton). In *Thames Triumphant* (Studio Publications) Sydney R. Jones made out a good case for the claim that "this river of beauty, history, devotion, and freedom," is "the symbolic river of England." In view of the discussions on post-war planning, two timely productions may be specially mentioned—*Our Building Inheritance* (Faber), by Walter H. Godfrey, and *Architecture Arising* (Faber), by Howard Robertson.

Though the war inevitably reduced the number of novels published, the supply seemed still to be ample. Two outstanding volumes were W. Somerset Maugham's * *The Razor's Edge* (Heinemann), in the author's best style, and * *A Haunted House* (Hogarth Press), Mrs. Virginia Woolf's posthumous collection of short stories. Another posthumous publication was a last and uncompleted contribution by Sir Hugh Walpole to the Herries series, entitled *Katherine Christian* (Macmillan). A place of importance must also be given to the surviving selections of James Joyce's unfinished autobiography, published as *Stephen Hero* (Cape): the work was a remarkable picture of a growing mind, and at the same time an indispensable document for the study of Joyce.

One of the outstanding features of the year was the large number of works about America, or published in England by American authors. Louis Bromfield's * *Mrs. Parkington* (Cassell) tells the story of a rich matriarch. Nellise Child, in *If I come Home* (Peter Davies), also drew a picture of the wealthy women of America. James M. Cain followed *The Postman Always Knocks Twice* with *Mildred Pierce* (Hale), a study of self-indulgent American types of the generation before the war. *Tucker's People* (Gollancz) is Ira Wolfert's story of a lottery "racket" in New York at the tail-end of the depression. James T. Farrell held the mirror to the Chicago of the period, 1918-23, in *A Father and His Son* (Routledge). John Dos Passos, in *Number One* (Constable) delineated the shadier sides of American politics. David Cornel Dejongen's *Light Sons and Dark* (Gollancz) was a grim disclosure of the hardships of American rural life. Betty Smith's *The Tree in the Yard* (Heinemann) was a first novel concerned with a slum in New York. *End of Track* (Jarrolds) was F. Van Wyck Mason's robustious novel constructed around the building of the Union Pacific Railway. John Hilton asked that *The Story of Dr. Wassell* (Macmillan) should "be read as fiction," but it was based on the fact of courageous rescues of wounded American sailors out of Java after the Japanese invasion. L. A. G. Strong combined an American and an Irish theme in *The Director* (Methuen), where a group of film stars and their appendages come to Dennistown, in County Kildare. Compton Mackenzie carried his "The Four Winds of Love" into a fifth and final volume, *The North Wind of Love* (Chatto & Windus), a volume of a bewildering variety of theme in which

that of Scottish Nationalism stands supreme. Lovat Dickson, in *Out of the West Land* (Collins), painted a varied picture of life in Alberta. Sarah Campion, in *The Pommy Cow* (Peter Davies), continued her study of Australian life, carrying her main figure, Mo Burdekin, from Sydney to Capetown to fight the Boers in 1900 and to the Queensland Bush, where he meets his death in 1906. Gwethalyn Graham's Canadian novel, * *Earth and High Heaven* (Cape), was concerned with a theme abounding in poignant feeling. Eighteenth-century Ireland was portrayed in a vivid novel by St. John Gogarty, *Mad Grandeur* (Constable), while Wales was the setting of Rhys Davies's *The Black Venus* (Heinemann), where comedy combined with the study of manners. Some attention was attracted by the fantasy and symbolism of Peter de Mendelssohn's *The Hours and the Centuries* (John Lane), which has a French background.

Not unnaturally the war inspired a large number of novels. Among them H. E. Bates's *Fair Stood the Wind for France* (Joseph) was much commended. Philip Gibbs continued his topical presentations in fictional form with *The Battle Within* (Hutchinson), which covered the period from the final phase in Tunisia until the eve of the complete victory in Sicily. Hubert Nicholson, in *Here Where the World is Quiet* (Heinemann), used the industrial scene in the war period of Dunkirk for a novel of some power if of unequal achievement. Inez Holden was also concerned with industrial life in *There's No Story Here* (John Lane): she portrayed life in a vast shell-filling factory of 30,000 people. John P. Marquand, in *So Little Time* (Hale), extended his narrative from the German invasion of Norway to Pearl Harbour, though to give his theme perspective he searched back to the period before 1914 and to the decades between the two wars. Helen Ashton, in *Yeoman's Hospital* (Collins), fills in a twenty-four hour's period in a provincial hospital, and contrives to bring freshness and sympathy into her narration. Axel Kieland produced an exciting novel, *Live Dangerously* (Collins), illuminating the underground Norwegian movement. Among younger novelists Alex Comfort increased his reputation with *The Power House* (Routledge), where the main scene is a textile factory in one of the French Channel ports immediately after the German occupation. Neville Shute mingles love and warfare in Bomber Command for a convincing novel entitled *Pastoral* (Heinemann). This was also the background of Cecil Lewis's *Pathfinders* (Peter Davies). Norah C. James, in *Enduring Adventure* (Cassell), carried her characters forward from the early listless days of the war to the emotional crisis of 1940. In *Very Ordinary Seaman* (Gollancz) J. P. W. Mallalieu depicted a naval recruit's training and service at sea in a destroyer which escorts a merchant convoy on the Murmansk route. Johan Fabricus, in *Night Over Java* (Heinemann), described the guerrilla resistance in Java after the Japanese had completed their conquest of the Dutch East Indies. W. Townend, in *The Fennelfords* (Rich & Cowan), reviewed the home front in war-time. A novel inspired by the war was *Guerrilla* (Heinemann), in which Lord Dunsany depicted a small and symbolical country overrun by the Germans, combining allegory with straightforward realism. Miss I. A. R. Wylie's *Strangers Are Coming* (Cassell), in part a war novel, tells

how an American, holidaying in Poland, brought back with him a troupe of Central European refugees to his home town with results which he could not have anticipated. Robert Henriques followed the imaginative *Captain South and Company* with *The Journey Home* (Heinemann), a study and a forecast of the return of the soldier to civilian life. Stella Gibbons, in *The Bachelor* (Longmans), introduced a stranger into war-time Hertfordshire as a device for giving a picture of war-time manners. Richard Shearman, an American stationed in this country, in *The Unready Heart* (Faber), also provided an impression of war-time England, within the framework of a love theme in which it may be hoped that the woman is as untypical as she is unpleasant. Vicki Baum used Berlin in 1943 as the setting for a new novel, *Berlin Hotel* (Michael Joseph), which was wittily described as "*Grand Hotel* in war-time." In *The Sea Eagle* (Michael Joseph) James Aldridge told a tale of a few men left in Crete after the evacuation.

Such were some of the novels which the war produced in 1944. It is difficult as yet to discover within them any outstanding figure, but many of them recorded the various aspects of the extraordinary contemporary scene with faithfulness.

Among the novels on more domestic problems one of the most notable was Rosamond Lehmann's *The Ballad and the Source* (Collins), a clever and sophisticated portrait of a fraudulent woman character seen in part through the eyes of a child. Frank Swinnerton, in *A Woman in Sunshine* (Hutchinson), continued to explore character with a well-practised hand. Jean Ross wrote a straightforward "triangle" comedy in *Strangers Under the Roof* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). In *Where Helen Lies* (Heinemann) Margaret Lane constructed an intelligent novel on an unsuccessful marriage in pre-war England where the characters belong to the cultivated sections of the upper classes. *Passport to Paradise* (Collins) was another of Claude Houghton's clever combinations of melodrama and a psychological study. Marjorie Mack, in *The Educated Pin* (Faber), was far less pretentious and used fiction to build up a picture of Victorian life. Adrian Alington more obviously wrote a story in his sentimental comedy, *Rosie Todmarsh* (Chatto & Windus), set in the world of the old-fashioned music-hall. Howard Spring, in *Hard Facts* (Collins), set his novel in the Manchester of the 'eighties and used journalism as his theme. S. H. Lambert, in *Portrait of Gideon Power* (Jarrolds), drew a strong picture of an unpleasant popular preacher. An immediately pre-war setting with an angle on the war in Spain was contained in Philip Toynbee's impulsive narrative *The Barricades* (Putnam). Elizabeth Jenkins, if she agrees with the characters in her novel, *Elizabeth and Helen* (Collins), would not approve of Mr. Toynbee's figures, for her theme emphasised good manners and tradition. Adrian Bell, in *Sunrise to Sunset* (Lane), traced a picture of English rural life in Westmorland. R. Goodyear furnished a study of romantic realism in *Mrs. Loveday* (Gollancz), a novel which was compared in method to Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. Kathleen Wallace, in *Grace on Their Doorstep* (Heinemann), turned to the Cambridge of the earlier decades of the century for her background. Joyce Horner, in *The Wind and the Rain* (Faber),

gained some credit with a first novel in which she studied a young woman's love of an egoist.

Olaf Stapeldon's *Sirius* (Secker & Warburg), was an unusual novel: a scientific fantasy of a dog whose brains developed reactions similar to those of a human being as the result of experiments conducted by a Cambridge scientist. Mr. Stapeldon interpreted the fantasy in a confident manner and combined it with social satire.

As frequently in war-time, historical novels enjoyed popularity, and along with historical novels, stories set securely in the past. The outstanding success here was Elizabeth Goudge's **Green Dolphin Country* (Hodder & Stoughton). Winston Clewes's **The Violent Friends* (Joseph), on Swift's love for Stella and Vanessa, enjoyed no small popularity; while Senor Madariaga's novel of the Aztec civilisation, **The Heart of Jade* (Collins) combined historical facts with imaginative fiction in a most attractive fashion. Robert Graves, in *The Golden Fleece* (Cassell), was responsible for a remarkable novel around the voyage of the Argonauts. Margaret Irwin, who brought devotion and discretion to the service of the historical novel, studied, in *Young Bess* (Chatto & Windus), the earlier years of the Princess who was to be Queen Elizabeth. A novel which accepted the large historical scene was *The Grand Design* (Macmillan), by "David Pilgrim," where the assumption of a natural son for Charles II gives an ample setting of character and adventure for a Restoration picture. In *No Nightingales* (Michael Joseph) Caryl Brahms and S. J. Simon continued to use history as a subject for comedy, choosing on this occasion the age of Queen Anne. In *Folly's End* (Hutchinson) Doris Leslie used the mid-seventeenth century for a study in domesticity. Clemence Dane based her novel, *He Brings Great News* (Heinemann), on her research into the life of the naval officer who brought the news of Trafalgar to England. C. E. Vulliamy, in *Doctor Philligo* (Michael Joseph), continued to use an imaginary character for the portrayal of Victorian life; in this volume he presented the period 1886 to 1902 with a lively sense of humorous detail. Vaughan Wilkins chose an immense canvas in *Prodigal Pageant* (Cape), covering both Europe and America in the period of Napoleon. In **Young Tom* (Faber) Forrest Reid successfully handled one aspect of child psychology.

A novel about India which commanded considerable interest was Christine Weston's *Indigo* (Collins); it was concerned with the period from the Boer War to the outbreak of the First World War. Pamela Hinkson also used India as her background in *Golden Rose* (Collins) for the story of the lives of contrasted women. Mulk Raj Anand collected a number of short stories about India as *The Barber's Trade Union* (Cape). Interest in Soviet Russia again showed itself in the fiction produced in the year. Anna Louise Strong, the American writer, constructed in *Wild River* (Gollancz) the story of the effect of the Soviet system on a young orphaned peasant. The first volume of *The Tales of N. S. Leskov* (Routledge) introduced English readers to one of the least well-known of the classic figures of nineteenth-century Russian literature. *Soviet War Stories* (Hutchinson) offered a collection of Soviet stories and sketches

about the war by Boris Gorbator, Wanda Wassiliewski, Konstantin Simonor, and F. Panferov.

Several other volumes of short stories appeared during the year. Frank O'Connor's Irish stories, **Crab Apple Jelly* (Macmillan), contained some attractive studies. Gerald Kersh, in *The Horrible Dummy and Other Stories* (Heinemann), using contemporary settings, combined vigour with feeling. H. A. Manhood, in *Lunatic Broth* (Cape), was responsible for a great variety of brief and entertaining narratives. In *Ugly Anna* (Methuen) A. E. Coppard, long known for his short stories, published another volume.

Laurence Housman's play **Samuel the Kingmaker* (Cape) continued the author's original efforts at dramatising Biblical material.

An abundance of poetry was published during the year; the volumes mentioned below are inevitably selective. In *England* (Macmillan) the English Association made a collection of nearly 300 poems representative of the English spirit, character, and landscape; Harold Nicolson furnished the introduction. *Other Men's Flowers* (Cape) was a notable anthology by Field-Marshal Wavell, individual in choice and showing a preference for poems that could be spoken. One of the most ambitious works of the year was Francis Brett Young's *The Island* (Heinemann), an attempt through a great diversity of scenes and incidents to give an impression of Great Britain from the earliest times to the Battle of Britain. The most profound volume was T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* (Faber), which contained four poems all previously issued singly, "Burnt Norton," "East Coker," "The Dry Salvages," and "Little Gidding:" difficult, mystical, and at times obscure, these poems belong to a great tradition. Edmund Blunden's *Shells by a Stream* (Macmillan), though endowed with his characteristic imagery, was described as "perhaps more lyrical and subtle than the work of his descriptive period." Miss Edith Sitwell, in *Green Song and Other Poems* (Macmillan), exercised all her gifts in verbal and melodic surprise, with poignancy and what one reviewer justly called "radiancy." *The Burning of Leaves and Other Poems* (Macmillan) was a small posthumous collection of thirteen poems by Laurence Binyon. Frederic Prokosch, in *Chosen Poems* (Chatto & Windus), possesses a strange and individual beauty in its fluid and ample imagery. Herbert Read, in *A World Within a War* (Faber), showed a keenly analytical mind, using verse to explore the impact of the war on civilised mankind. Edward Thompson, in *100 Poems* (Oxford University Press), collected poems belonging to different periods of his development. John Pudney, in *Ten Summers (1933-1943)* (John Lane), was marked by incisiveness, particularly in the later war poems. David Gascoigne, in *Poems, 1937-1942* (Nicholson & Watson), explored the profounder emotions behind the contemporary scene in an elegiac mood.

Louis MacNeice extended his reputation with the broader sympathies and the technical skill of *Spring Board* (Faber). George Barker, in *Eros in Dogma* (Faber), wrote with considerable control of imaginative phrase and with a direct individual sincerity. Wilfrid Gibson, in *The Outpost* (Oxford University Press), collected a large number of glimpses of contemporary life. John Lehmann, in *The Sphere of Glass* (Hogarth), wrote with a ballad simplicity, while in *Poems From the Irish* (Blackwell), the

Earl of Longford gave renderings of Irish Bardic poetry. In *Poems from Ireland* the *Irish Times* gathered poems which had appeared in its pages since the war. R. C. Trevelyan translated *The Eclogues and the Georgics* (Cambridge University Press) with confident skill. *For This Alone* (Blackwell) was written by R. P. Mogg in a German prison camp. Miss E. J. Scovell wrote keen impressions of incidents and people in *Shadows of Chrysanthemums* (Routledge), and Alex. Comfort, in *Elegies* (Routledge), showed no small sympathy with those who suffered in the break-up caused by the war.

Lord Vansittart's collected poems, issued as *Green and Grey* (Hutchinson) had the additional interest of being the sensitive verses of a man with a public career and one conspicuous in the public eye. E. H. W. Meyerstein wrote a narrative poem *Azure* (The Richard Press). Miss Lillian Bowes Lyon, in *Evening in Stepney* (Cape), and Mr. Peter Yates, in *The Motionless Dancer* (Chatto & Windus), produced volumes of lyrics which were commended. A. L. Rowse, in *Poems Chiefly Cornish* (Faber), wrote of his own county, sometimes bringing autobiographical details into his studies. Sidney Keyes, who was killed in the last days of the Tunisian campaign, was represented by *The Cruel Solstice* (Routledge), recognised as a volume of promise. John Heath-Stubbs published *Beauty and The Beast* (Routledge), showing a delight in words, though a little over-conscious at times. Julian Symons, in *The Second Man* (Routledge), is marked by variety without the full concentration which poetry demands. Anne Rider, in *The Nine Bright Shiners* (Faber), wrote a volume individual and sincere and not without technical skill. *Five Rivers* (Faber), by Norman Nicholson, is a lively collection, particularly in his portrayal of nature and of the detail of Cumberland. Charles Williams, in *The Region of the Summer Stars* (Nicholson & Watson), used Arthurian legend in a symbolical manner, and J. B. Leishman continued his translations of German poetry in *Friedrich Hölderlin, Selected Poems* (Hogarth).

Of the above books the following have been chosen for special notice ; they are placed in the order in which they happen to appear in the General Survey :—

GENERAL LITERATURE

A Critical History of English Poetry, by Sir Herbert Grierson and J. C. Smith (Chatto & Windus).—The two authors have attempted a comprehensive study of English poetry. Though the task has been competently performed, one realises that it is almost impossible to compress such a vast theme into a single volume. One feels on several occasions that Sir Herbert Grierson, left with one of the authors, or even merely half a dozen of them, could have written in a more ample and revealing way. It may be that, owing to the exigencies of collaboration, the two authors did not sufficiently determine what should be left out of such a study. At times biography, and stage history and other matters stray in to occupy some of these precious pages. Possibly one is not sufficiently

grateful, for here is a volume which can be put confidently into the hands of anyone requiring an outline of the whole subject. What one misses is an element of originality, and that precision which the detailed judgment alone can give. Further, it must be conceded that the volume improves as it proceeds, and is a genuinely fresh contribution to the study of twentieth-century poetry. Seldom has the work of our younger writers received such a generous and understanding interpretation. One has no hesitation in suggesting that the volume will have a permanent place in our critical literature. It is on a fuller scale than Oliver Elton's *English Muse*, though it misses something of the unity which that volume preserved.

Roman Vergil, by W. F. Jackson Knight (Faber and Faber).—A genuine welcome was given to Mr. Jackson Knight's study of Vergil. It is extraordinary that after so much attention has been devoted to classical studies in this country, no such comprehensive survey of Vergil should have previously been available. Mr. Jackson Knight covers all aspects of the field, bringing into his discussion, the findings of classical archaeology and of modern scholarship. He has an excellent chapter on the world before Vergil and on Vergil's world, and a compact analysis of Vergil's life, with small but most effective chapters on the form and style of the poems themselves. Mr. Jackson Knight has some particularly interesting things to say about the language and versification. The volume is firmly written and the interest is sustained throughout. This is one of the works of classical scholarship of the war years which will maintain a secure place for itself.

The Royal Society, by Sir Henry Lyons (Cambridge University Press).—The late Sir Henry Lyons has written a history of the Royal Society, of its administration and its Charters, from the beginnings in 1660 to 1940. Sir Henry was for many years the Treasurer of the Society, and he had access to the Council minutes and the Journal Books. This material is amply used, and though at times the lay reader may find the detail excessive, the record is here for those who wish to follow the growth of the personalities of this great national Institution. Sir Henry Lyons saw the development of the Society as in three stages. In the last forty years of the seventeenth century those who wished to advance the "New Philosophy" founded the Society, and established it with success, though not without some preliminary difficulty. In the eighteenth century and, indeed, for the first twenty years of the nineteenth, the majority of the Fellows were not scientists. Within this period Sir Henry pays particular attention to Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Hans Sloane, and Sir Joseph Banks. After 1820 the control passed into the hands of men of science, and from then onwards the Society occupied itself with the Advancement of Science and Research. This volume does not attempt to summarise the work in science achieved by the Society, but it does show the changes and the administrative developments which made possible the Society's notable record in the modern period.

J. B. Yeats Letters to His Son W. B. Yeats and Others, 1869-1922, edited with a memoir by Joseph Hone (Faber).—This volume,

which is introduced by a delightful preface by Oliver Elton, is a remarkable and valuable book. Many readers may approach it with the belief that its interest will lie in the records of W. B. Yeats which it contains. Yet without diminishing the importance of that aspect it can be confidently asserted that the dominating attraction lies in the portrait of J. B. Yeats himself. Seldom can a father have written so wisely to his son of his art. One realises that this wisdom rose from J. B. Yeats's intense interest in his own art of painting. Many are the illuminating dicta which he makes on the practical problems which face a painter, particularly a portrait painter. Unworldly and unpractical he may have been, belonging to an Irish world which was romantic and hating the commercialism which he associated with England, but he had a genuine artistic quest of perfection. If his painting is as good as his writing, J. B. Yeats yet remains to receive due recognition. Some of the views on life are as trenchant as those on the arts of poetry and painting. All this, combined with Oliver Elton's preface, makes this one of the most important of the year's volumes of literary discourse.

Everybody's Political What's What, by G. Bernard Shaw (Constable), produced the most varied critical comment. It has been generally recognised as a surprising feat that one of Mr. Shaw's age can write with vigorous clarity. Probably this quality of style is the volume's outstanding feature, for Mr. Shaw has never been more animated within that range of pungent but seemingly conversational language which Swift would have admired and enjoyed. Of the matter it can be said that Mr. Shaw has said most of it before. This is the summary of the doctrines which he has declaimed for half a century. It can, however, be faithfully asserted that he has never exposed them with greater forcefulness, nor with a more trenchant irony. The volume, though it attracted many readers, had a mixed reception in the Press. It would be perhaps extravagant to expect that even as an old man Mr. Shaw could hope to write a volume without attracting controversy. Mr. A. L. Rowse, writing of this work, was typical of those who felt that Mr. Shaw had never understood the inwardness of British political institutions: "this kind of denigration of our institutions which used to be thought such a joke, is really very out of date." It was felt by some that Shaw was ungenerous to the British constitution in the war, inconsistent in the expression of his views, and liable to cling to old prejudices such as the equality of income. Some of the controversialists became heated over all this, but not so Mr. Shaw himself. Despite all his strictures on the human race he retains an Irish geniality which pervades the whole volume. Further, he can claim that he has introduced this volume with disarming modesty: "only an attempt by a very ignorant old man to communicate to people still more ignorant than himself such elementary social statics as he has managed to pick up by study and collision with living persons and hard facts." However different may be the views on the themes discussed, no one has denied the brilliance of style and presentation of this volume which Mr. Shaw says has been "written in my second childhood." The volume ranges over a great variety of subjects and includes, for instance, an attack on Pavlov for his

experiments on animals which can be fairly brought into comparison with anything in Swift.

English Social History, by G. M. Trevelyan (Longmans).—Professor G. M. Trevelyan's portrayal of six centuries of social history, from Chaucer to Queen Victoria, is in many ways the outstanding publication of the year. Readers have long been familiar with the grace of Professor Trevelyan's historical writing. He has been able to give a pattern, intelligible to the ordinary reader, in his descriptions of events and institutions. Throughout his historical career he has given particular attention to the social aspects, and in this volume of 200,000 words he devotes himself to them exclusively. He writes of the ways of life, the customs, and institutions of the English people, allowing political considerations to intrude as little as possible. His first plan was to begin with the Roman conquest, but when this proved impossible he commenced with the age of Chaucer, where material is already ample, and continued it as far as it can be at present conveniently continued into the nineteenth century. Though the picture he portrays is very varied, Professor Trevelyan is aware of the continuity in English life and emphasises those mediæval elements which have lived on in English life: "unlike dates 'periods' are not facts." He affirms that the one catastrophic change in English history was occasioned by the Black Death, which broke up the older systems of land tenure. The land is naturally one of his main themes, for around the land social life revolves until the mid-eighteenth century, and it was the land which made possible the woollen trade on which England thrived in the days before the Industrial Revolution. Though Professor Trevelyan does not ignore the suffering of the working classes, he emphasises that England before that Revolution was a beautiful place. Speaking of the eighteenth century he writes: "Indoors and out it was a lovely land. Man's work still added more than it took away from the beauty of nature." Some readers may think that the geniality which dwells in these pages is excessive, and certainly one would have expected a treatment of the Chartist Movement in such a volume. Professor Trevelyan cannot, however, be accused of ignoring the ways in which the face and spirit of England have suffered by the vulgarity and materialism of these last generations. Taken altogether, it is a great achievement, and it is likely to remain a standard work for a long time to come.

Full Employment in a Free Society, by Sir William Beveridge (George Allen & Unwin).—Social well-being is the aim of all political action in the post-war world. Not only freedom from fear is to be attained for the inhabitants of the civilised world, but also freedom from want. Sir William Beveridge has already won renown as the author of the Government's report on Social Security; he has increased the nation's indebtedness to him by providing a sequel which propounds a policy to ensure full employment in a free society. His is a long-term policy, and its aim is to bring about a state of affairs in economic life where, instead of the supply of labour being in excess of the demand for it, the demand for labour shall, in the long run, exceed the supply, or at any rate, shall balance the supply. Sir William desires to turn the labour market

from being chronically a buyer's market into being always a seller's market. What are his proposals? Sir William analyses the problem of unemployment, which has engaged his attention for many years, into its elements and so that the ordinary reader can follow him with ease. What causes unemployment? Sir William suggests that it arises in three ways: through unsteady and varying demand for the products of industry, through misdirection of demand, and through failure to organise the labour market. This brief summary hardly does justice to a long argument exceedingly well put. But it at least indicates the direction of Sir William's plan. If you have discovered the causes of unemployment, the attack on the evil must be an attack on the causes. It should therefore be the aim of State policy to maintain an adequate demand for the essential products of industry at all times—the demand should be evened out; to direct demand aright, and to organise the labour market by means of employment exchanges. Now the demand for the products of industry means spending. Sir William prefers the term outlay. "Employment," he avers, "depends on outlay"; therefore "if we want full employment . . . we must by one means or another ensure more outlay." That brings him to the interesting suggestion for a new type of Budget to be based on the man-power of the country and having as one of its principal purposes a long-term programme of planned outlay. The problem is handled in a masterly fashion, combining great learning and high moral purpose. Sir William suggests that it should be the common objective to make "Britain free of the great evils of Want, Disease, Ignorance and Squalor." His book must be accounted one of the distinguished publications of the year, and it is not perhaps too much to say that its influence on our own and future generations may compare with that of Adam Smith and Malthus on theirs.

William the Silent, by C. V. Wedgwood (Cape).—It was the general verdict that Miss Wedgwood had produced the best historical biography of the year. She has all the dramatic qualities of the newer school of historical narrative, but she writes with more discretion than some of our younger biographers, and she has a consistent loyalty to the truth of historical presentation. Seldom can any study have made a past period live more vividly, nor shown with such firmness the likeness of the main figure. William's life is certainly worthy of such a narrator. The son of a small Protestant princeling, he was brought up in the Court of the Emperor Charles V. Philip II, Charles's son, chose him as one of the chief instruments of his Government in the Netherlands. Born a Protestant, he had been brought up a Catholic, and he was loyal to the Emperor until he learned that Philip was determined to use Spanish troops to exterminate heresy in the Netherlands. He was thus drawn into patriotism by "pity and compassion for all these good people doomed to destruction." Miss Wedgwood portrays all the stages in William's career and shows that he was not as simple a character as some earlier historians have indicated. On this background of public events she portrays his private life. He was a strong personality, affable and widely loved, though he was destined to be known as "the Silent." She also gives

some picturesque details in her portrait of his four wives. A great, selfless character moves in this volume where a liveliness in description and a masterly use of detail combine so admirably with historical power.

Religious Equality in Modern England (1714-1914), by W. G. Addison (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge).—Mr. Addison began this study with an admiration of Gladstonian liberalism, and then discovering the largeness and importance of his subject, extended a history of the growth of civil and religious liberty from 1865 to 1885 into a survey of the development of unrestricted religious thought over two centuries. The resulting volume is valuable, and particularly timely in an age when the freedom of thought is imperilled. Mr. Addison opens with a brief but compact eighteenth-century prelude, and then proceeds to show how in Great Britain the American and French Revolutions retarded rather than assisted the advent of equality of any kind. He shows that about 1820 the old pre-Revolution liberalism recovered its strength. From this stage onwards his analysis is detailed and illuminating of the various elements in English society that entered into controversy, the Berthamites, the Radicals, the Nonconformists, and the more aristocratic Liberals. Much of the interest of his narrative lies in the fact that the evolution was not a simple one. He deals with the whole issue of religious and educational tests and disestablishment in a volume which is a valuable contribution to the development of English thought.

The Evolution of Modern Italy, 1715-1920, by A. J. Whyte (Basil Blackwell).—The unification of Italy and its emergence as one of the Great Powers of Europe is the theme of Dr. Whyte's excellent study. The consummation has received attention from many hands. It was Dante's dream; Machiavelli envisaged and advocated it; Swinburne welcomed it in some of his finest poetry; and not a few historians have narrated the sequence of events which led up to it. Dr. Whyte's book claims to unfold the tale in the light of recent Italian research. The result is a competent, workmanlike volume which was well worth while. Naturally, Dr. Whyte gives due attention to the personalities of the movement for the unification of Italy, one among the first being Pope Pio Nono, who for a time became the hero of liberal-minded men. But he quickly withdrew to the side of reaction. How could he have done otherwise? Was he to go to war with the chief Catholic Power in Europe which at that time was the embodiment of all that was oppressive and obscurantist? Yet his contribution to the course of Italian unity, limited though it may have been, should not be underrated. As Dr. Whyte writes: "The repercussions of Papal liberalism were felt at once all over Italy." But the road of the patriots was to be long and arduous. Their leaders, however, kept their zeal alive. Mazzini preached the doctrine of Republicanism, Garibaldi's daring, which inspired many besides his Four Thousand, was an example which had almost a magic effect, and the wise and bold statesmanship of Cavour, the admirer of English Liberalism and of the English parliamentary system, eventually succeeded by astuteness and patience in becoming the architect of Italian unity, which came into being in 1870. On all these aspects of the story Dr. Whyte is informative;

he is particularly illuminating in his summing up of the struggle. "The whole movement," he writes, "was alive with paradoxes and contradictions. Mazzini quarrelled with Garibaldi, and both hated Cavour. Victor Emmanuel intrigued with Mazzini, conspired with Garibaldi, and submitted with an ill grace to the genius of Cavour. Yet all were working for the same end." His study of the New Italy does ample justice to the part she played in the First World War and to the emergence of Fascism. "The whole system was discredited, no effort was made to defend it, and Italy surrendered her hard-won democratic freedom to a new system of force and compulsion." Such is Dr. Whyte's conclusion. It will pose the question in every one of his reader's minds : Will Italy possess strength enough to regain what she has lost ?

U.S. War Aims, by Walter Lippmann (Hamish Hamilton).—Walter Lippmann has followed his *U.S. Foreign Policy*, in which he exposed the difficulty of the doctrine of isolationism, with a volume in which he attempts to build up a constructive international policy for America. His study is wise, timely, and well-founded. He shows how the association of States, which has been developed for the prosecution of the war, must be consolidated and strengthened for the purposes of peace. He gives a critical analysis of Wilson's policy after the last war and shows the extent to which the Fourteen Points were unworkable. He sees the possible concentration of countries, as far as foreign policy is concerned, into those of an Atlantic Community and those within the Russian orbit. To these in the fullness of time would be added the Moslem, Hindu, and Chinese regions. It is of fundamental importance that neither Germany nor Japan shall be able to attach neighbouring countries to herself. The rights of small nations, Mr. Lippmann suggests, are not identical with the right to have an independent foreign policy. The Great States of the present Confederation must develop a Good Neighbour Policy towards smaller States which will entail a permanent relationship in peace and war. Germany cannot be included within the Atlantic Community as an armed nation, but a disarmed Germany might be received if Russia consented. The volume was justly described on its appearance as "a constructive contribution of the first order."

The American Problem, by D. W. Brogan (Hamish Hamilton).—Professor Brogan has already proved himself one of our most illuminating commentators on America. In this volume he analyses the way in which American civilisation developed and the effect of these circumstances on American life and institutions. He shows how the pioneers had not only to conquer the country but to strive with nature before they had mastered the incredible resources of this new world. In that endeavour the continual call was towards the West. Professor Brogan quotes Thoreau's comment that whenever he took a walk he went westwards : "I should not lay so much stress on this fact if I did not believe that something like this is a prevailing tendency of my countrymen. I must walk towards Oregon and not towards Europe." He examines the mentality of American men and women as it was defined in those pioneering days, and suggests that the enviable place which the American woman has

won, rests on the importance and authority which she had in those days of difficulty and danger. Professor Brogan also applies his conclusions to an interpretation of the American contribution to the war effort. The volume, which was widely noticed in this country, should serve on both sides of the Atlantic as an exceptional study in the interpretation of history.

FICTION

The Razor's Edge, by W. Somerset Maugham (Heinemann).—A varied reception greeted Mr. Somerset Maugham's latest novel. It was on all sides conceded that he had written with an effortless mastery of the story-teller's art. His prose moves so easily, and his depiction is so sure, that the reader is in danger of taking for granted the skill with which they are contrived. While all Mr. Maugham's adroitness was readily commended, some felt less sure of the purposes for which they were being employed. This novel is a study in mysticism, and moves at times in the world beyond reason. The central character, a young American airman in the last war, develops into a philosopher saint with mystical powers. It may be questioned whether, despite all Mr. Maugham's art, this central character has been made fully credible. There is certainly no diminution in the acrid realism with which Mr. Maugham displays other characters and scenes in the novel, and the interest which it aroused was proof that Mr. Maugham had succeeded in producing a work agreeable to the public taste.

A Haunted House, by Virginia Woolf (Hogarth Press).—This is a posthumous collection of Virginia Woolf's shorter pieces: six are taken from the earlier collection *Monday or Tuesday*; six have appeared in periodicals, and the rest are now published for the first time. They all serve to emphasise what English literature lost by her untimely death. A keen sensibility and lyrical power which, combined with her great mastery of prose, allowed her to portray the selected moments of experience in all their newly revealed significance. It may be possible to search in Proust or the psychological novels for parallels and influences, but one returns to the conclusion that her talent was highly original. Each of the scenes and interpretations in this volume shows that she knew that upper-class and cultivated England in which she moved with an uncanny sureness of perception. She was enough within it to be acutely sensitive of its values and of its etiquette, and yet she was outside, romantic, a little ironic, sensitive, and with the freshness of the vision of genius. It may be that these short pieces have not the importance of her novels, but they show with an enhanced clarity the nature of the mind that made the novels possible. Particularly interesting from this point of view is "An Unwritten Novel," where Virginia Woolf interprets her own methods, and then concludes by laughing at her own intuitions.

Mrs. Parkington, by Louis Bromfield (Cassell).—Mr. Bromfield's confident art in fiction is now well known on both sides of the Atlantic. He exercises it with undiminished gusto in this volume which portrays an incredibly old, and incredibly wealthy American widow. Mrs. Parkington at eighty-four has dignity, charm, and sagacity, and permits herself a

discreet, daily allowance of champagne to help her to face life and her family. It is difficult at times to realise that this is a character not wholly real, so well does Mr. Bromfield present his prodigious lady. Her family is disposed in situations which reveal major American social crises of the last generation; her husband belonged to the old ruthless school of wealth and exploitation, and although she inherits the material benefits she sees the evil of those unregenerate days living on and infecting the younger generation. Indeed, in every member of her family there is some taint, except in "Janie," who with her young man is an image of loyalty and perfection. It is here more than anywhere that one realises that Mr. Bromfield's art, despite all its dexterity, is a made-up thing, and answers to a formula. He has also many qualities that could lead him beyond this, but apparently when he remembers all that his many readers desire he refuses to use them.

Earth and High Heaven, by Gwethalyn Graham (Cape).—Gwethalyn Graham's skill lies rather in the novelty of her background and the interest of the problems she raises than in any subtle or intricate interpretation of character. The setting is in Montreal, and the social differences and conflicts of the English, the French-Canadians, and the Jews are presented with apparent authenticity. Erica Drake belonged to an old Montreal family and, instead of engaging herself to René Sevigny, a desirable French-Canadian lawyer, she fell in love with a Jew, Marc Reiser. The major theme of the novel is the struggle of Erica against her family. The danger in such a love as this is that the problem shall absorb the characters until they act only as part of an equation. This danger is not wholly avoided, though it must be admitted that in Erica's father a strong, and unusual personality has been firmly portrayed. It could also be argued that the pace slackens at the conclusion, and that the whole would have been stronger if the author had not determined that all should end happily, at least for this one pair of lovers, whatever might be their racial differences.

Green Dolphin Country, by Elizabeth Goudge (Hodder & Stoughton).—Here is a story—a very long and pleasant story indeed. It is of the nature of the tales that enthralled us in childhood, for it satisfies many of our demands for veracity and plausibility whilst never—or should it be hardly ever?—making us sad. Much unseen work has gone to the unfolding of the background which alternates between Guernsey and New Zealand in the middle years of the last century. Much trouble has been taken to get details of life, outlook, and costume invariably correct. Perhaps that is why now and again the canvas becomes overloaded, why the main figures hardly seem as human as one could ask, why they dance to the invisible string-pulling as in the theatre of the once-favoured marionettes. Yet when all is said, whether you are prepared to accept the possibility that even the most careless of young men in love could forget the exact Christian name of his sweetheart, or if you would scoff and deny this ever happening, the story of William Ozanne, the son of the Guernsey doctor who loved the bottle too well, and his devotion to his marriage-of-duty to Marianne Le Patourel does manage to keep its hold on your attention. It is so simple—the struggle between the dream-ideal of union with

Marianne's sister, Marguerite, and the hard, every-day materialism of the ambitious marriage-idyll which Marianne forces on her William once she has made him her own. Even their daughter Veronique would be but a pawn in Marianne's game of upward drive towards social and financial success were it not that at last the all-too pliant William takes a belated firm stand and saves his child's happiness, though he never attempted to do as much for himself. Tai Haruru and Old Nick, the companions of the early pioneering days in New Zealand, full of adventure and of bloodshed, are drawn in vivid strokes, and so is Captain O'Hara, bluff and good-natured as all hearty sea-captains ought to be. All have their allotted place and fill it, and yet there is room for the conventual life of Marguerite who sublimates the love she, too, bore William, and which she had to forego, by taking the veil. The author has tried to make both sisters her heroines with impartiality, but it is plain for all who read that Nun Marguerite, who lost so much has gained most, for she moves a fair and lovely-spirited figure right through to the very end. Here is a story indeed.

The Violent Friends, by Winston Clewes (Michael Joseph).—Mr. Winston Clewes has made a notable entry into literature during the year, for *The Violent Friends* appeared as a novel and was successfully produced as a play. He has chosen as his theme the character of Jonathan Swift and his relationship with Vanessa and Stella. For the historian, that is one of the stories for which the evidence is in a tantalising way incomplete. The novelist cannot remain in such uncertainties. He must impose his own complete picture. This Mr. Winston Clewes achieves without violence to probability, and if invention has to aid fact, it does so with discretion and respect. The complex, tormented figure of Swift arises from these pages, and he is shown firmly against the background of that Dublin which he so hated and which yet gave him the centre of some of his greatest triumphs. The reader is carried without confusion from domestic to historical scenes by a writer whose first performance shows a remarkable confidence and skill.

The Heart of Jade, by Salvador de Madariaga (Collins).—Señor de Madariaga, who has written biographies of Columbus and Cortés, now writes a novel of Aztec life, and of Mexico in the years of the conflict between the Indians and the Spaniards. The novel is very long, and it may be justly urged that its setting and its detail are more valuable than the narrative which holds them together. As the portrait of an age and of a civilisation the volume has unusual merits. The reader is led by the author's unusually clear visual imagination into an unfamiliar world which is revealed in all its colour and strangeness. The ceremonies and rituals are displayed, along with the social setting of the fabrics and garments which make up the detail of life. The reader may sometimes be overwhelmed though seldom confused. Señor de Madariaga has supplied a list of characters, historical and imaginary, so that one can check one's bearings amid the many figures he has recalled or created. The labour which must have gone into making this novel rewards the reader with a portrait of a civilisation to be obtained easily and vividly in the guise of fiction.

Further, it is affirmed that "all that happens in this novel, even the episodes which at first sight might seem most unlikely, are drawn directly or indirectly from things which actually happened or might have happened."

Young Tom, by Forrest Reid (Faber).—Mr. Forrest Reid has continued the chronicle of the life of a boy, Tom Barber, which he began with *The Retreat* and *Uncle Sam*. Chronologically, this is the earliest story in the series, though it is the last composed, but has the advantage that it can be read as an independent volume. It has been justly acclaimed as Mr. Reid's most successful portrayal of child-life. He avoids all the dangers of sentimentality and false emphasis, and supremely is he free of the overwhelming danger of tediousness that attaches itself so firmly to attempts of this kind. By invention of incident, by a radiant imagination, he makes the reader live in the boy's mind and in his actions. Though the other characters have independence, the reader is made aware of these through his perceptions. Such a volume might well have been neglected, for with all its charm it is conducted with supreme modesty. Fortunately Mr. Reid's originality has not been without recognition, and Tom Barber may well become one of the small but estimable group of permanent child characters in English fiction.

Crab Apple Jelly, by Frank O'Connor (Macmillans), is a collection of twelve Irish stories. It is recorded that W. B. Yeats said that the author was "doing for Ireland what Chekhov did for Russia." He deals with the Irish peasants and combines realism in detail with an interpretation of the inward and more spiritual aspects of life. Mr. O'Connor evidently has an intimate knowledge of the scenes and characters he portrays. It is true that poverty and loneliness are present in these tales but they are illuminated by a quality of Celtic fantasy that transforms any drabness which the scenes might otherwise possess. Mr. O'Connor has gifts of humour and sentiment which on the whole he uses with discretion, but his outstanding possession is a poetic quality in narration, never more acceptable than in the short story.

Samuel the Kingmaker, by Laurence Housman (Cape).—Laurence Housman here continues his art of converting history into drama, and in this instance he deals with biblical drama. His interpretation of Samuel's character may, as he admits, give offence to some of his readers. He deals with these matters frankly in his preface: "the word of the Lord, which came so frequently to Samuel, was not the word of a God who has any right to our respect, but only the word of a prophet jealous of his own interests, greedy of power, vengeful, double-dealing, and deceitful." Mr. Housman in his preface states a case that the free and intelligent treatment of Old Testament history would strengthen rather than weaken the findings of Christianity. Those who are prepared to allow Mr. Housman this liberty or interpretation will find a skilfully constructed piece. Samuel, the self-seeker, divides Israel to further his own power and to defeat Saul, whose rise to kingship he has resented. In the concluding scene, the Witch of Endor, who plays a significant part in the play, summarises Mr. Housman's conception of Saul and of Samuel.

ART, DRAMA, CINEMA, AND MUSIC

I. ART

NINETEEN FORTY-FOUR was a difficult year for artists and art dealers, though many of the difficulties were overcome with commendable speed. Enemy air raids in the early months seriously damaged the St. James's district of London, involving the premises of several well-known dealers and of an old-established firm of art auctioneers. Later, when conditions were beginning to improve, came the flying bombs, which again caused some exhibitions to close. The Royal Academy, however, remained open daily, including Sunday afternoons, until August 7, when its most successful summer exhibition in recent years was concluded. Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods were fortunate in holding the most important picture sale of the season a week before the first flying bomb fell.

In January, at the Royal Academy, Queen Marie of Yugoslavia opened an exhibition of her country's art, organised by the Yugoslav Embassy and the British Council. Other rooms of Burlington House were occupied, simultaneously, by an exhibition organised by the British Colour Council, described by one critic as an attempt at "pigeon-holing the rainbow." The 176th Summer Exhibition was opened to the public on Saturday, April 29, instead of on the first Monday in May, the customary opening date. Galleries IV, V, VI, and VII were available for the first time since 1940, enabling a larger number of oil paintings to be hung. Alfred Drury's statue of Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., which, before the war, stood in the courtyard of Burlington House, was placed in the Central Hall, there being a scarcity of sculpture exhibits of a sufficiently imposing size, owing partly to the shortage of materials. Another innovation was the hanging of a very large water-colour, Dame Laura Knight's "Bomber Construction," on the centre of the first wall in Gallery III. The choice of medium for this picture may also have been dictated by war-time needs. A feature of the exhibition was the good work contributed by some of the newly-elected Associates, Messrs. James Fitton, Edward Le Bas, Rodrigo Moynihan, Vivian Pitchforth, Ruskin Spear, and Edward Wadsworth. Among works purchased under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest were paintings by Mark Gertler, Henry Lamb, A.R.A., Gilbert and Stanley Spencer, Sir William Rothenstein, and Lucien Pissarro, and a Portland stone figure of "Aphrodite" by Charles Wheeler, R.A. Included among the exhibits were a number of portraits and other subjects painted for the Nation's War Records. A picture by Sir Walter Russell, R.A., was purchased for the National Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide. Mr. Augustus John, O.M., showed a portrait of Field-Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery, and another portrait which attracted much attention was Mr. James Gunn's "Pauline in the Yellow Dress." The new President, Sir Alfred Munnings, sold all of his seven pictures, and nearly half of the total number of exhibits was sold, the best result for twenty-five years.

Five different exhibitions were held in the Royal Academy's rooms between October and December, those of the London Group, the Royal Institute of Oil Painters, the Firemen Artists (their final war-time exhibition), the Royal Society of Portrait Painters, and the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours.

The monthly exhibition of masterpieces at the National Gallery was discontinued towards the end of February, but in March, the Gallery was able to hang, in place of the usual "picture of the month," Reynolds's portrait of Dr. Richard Robinson, Primate of Ireland, lent by the Barber Institute of Birmingham. This fine picture, an heirloom of the Robinson family, was purchased for the Barber Institute by Dr. Thomas Bodkin in Dublin, in July, 1943. In April, an important picture by Niccolò dell'Abbate, from the Margam Castle sale of 1941, was placed on view, and in May, Gainsborough's charming picture of his two young daughters was shown. After a further blank period, "Landscape: Sunset," by Rubens, was exhibited in November, and Rembrandt's "Adoration of the Shepherds" during the Christmas season.

Pictures by war artists continued to attract visitors to the Gallery, and an exhibition of about fifty oils and water colours by Canadian artists was opened early in the year by the Duchess of Kent. In March, two rooms were devoted to the works of our own war artists, who were celebrating their fifth anniversary. Notable contributions to this collection were made by Mr. Richard Eurich, Mr. R. V. Pitchforth, Mr. Edward Ardizzone, Mr. Charles Pears, Mr. Robert Austin, Sir Muirhead Bone, and by Mr. Leslie Cole, with pictures of Malta. The first exhibition in London of pictures by American war artists was also on view, and in October a further selection by British painters included works by Dame Laura Knight, Mr. Henry Lamb, Captain William Coldstream, Mr. Thomas Hennell, and Mr. Edward Bawden. Over fifty paintings of "War at Sea" by Mr. Norman Wilkinson, presented by him to the War Artists Advisory Committee, were on view from September until the end of the year.

At the National Portrait Gallery, the Duke of Gloucester opened in April an exhibition of work by Royal Air Force artists. The same Gallery housed the Arts and Crafts Society's show in September, the first to be held for three years. It comprised examples of wood-engraving by the Society's President, Mr. John Farleigh, pottery by Mr. Bernard Leach, glass from the Whitefriars Works, illuminated writing by Mr. Graily Hewitt, and bookbinding by Mr. Douglas Cockerell.

A small selection of the fifteen hundred water-colour drawings "Recording Britain," presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum by the Pilgrim Trust, was exhibited in the only room available at the Museum for the display of pictures. It included pleasing drawings by Mr. Martin Hardie, Mr. Stanley Anderson, Mr. S. R. Badmin, Mr. W. Russell Flint, and Mr. Charles Knight, among others. At the same time, early engravings and books of views recording "Old London" from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, were displayed at the end of the same gallery, adjoining the Library.

In addition to the Exhibiting Societies already mentioned, which held their shows at the Royal Academy, the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours and the Royal Society of British Artists were able to exhibit, as usual, in their own homes, and also to extend hospitality to some of their colleagues. The Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours held their 221st exhibition in the spring, and another show in the autumn. The following were also on view at their galleries: 12th Exhibition of the National Society, annual exhibition of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, retrospective exhibition of decorative paintings and drawings by Maxwell Armfield, exhibition of modern French pictures from Algiers, arranged by the French Committee of National Liberation and the British Council, and opened by the French Ambassador, paintings by Frank Goulding, and annual exhibition of the Royal Society of Miniature Painters. The Royal Society of British Artists held a joint exhibition, in the summer, with the Royal Institute of Oil Painters, and their winter exhibition was a large one, consisting of more than five hundred paintings and drawings. Their galleries were also used for a show of contemporary art by the Artists' International Association, the 24th Annual exhibition of the United Society of Artists, and the 95th exhibition of the New English Art Club, from which last purchases were made by the Contemporary Art Society.

Exhibitions at the smaller galleries were also numerous since fine art businesses must be kept alive until the advent of better times. Messrs. Thomas Agnew & Sons held their 71st annual exhibition of water colours, and this was followed by "Old Masters from Five Centuries" and by another exhibition of Old Masters in the autumn. Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. inaugurated a successful series of small exhibitions, including etchings by the late Arthur Briscoe, drawings by Sir Muirhead Bone, etchings of Normandy and Brittany by J. S. Cotman, etchings by Canaletto, mezzotints and etchings by Sir Frank Short, R.A., water-colours by Mr. A. M. Hind, and drawings by Mr. Claude Muncaster. The Fine Art Society hung a Memorial Exhibition of water-colours by the late Harry Morley, A.R.A., and their spring exhibition consisted of early English water-colours, their summer exhibition of oil paintings and modern water-colours, and their autumn exhibition of a further selection of early English water-colours and drawings. At Walker's Galleries the 40th annual exhibition of water-colours was held, and the Leger Gallery had two exhibitions of water-colour drawings: "Rowlandson—until the Present Day." Old Masters shown by Messrs. Arthur Tooth & Sons included important paintings by Canaletto, from the Farnborough Hall Collection, and by Guardi. The Leicester Galleries showed the following: Paintings, drawings, sculpture, and prints from the late Sir Michael Sadler's Collection, sculpture and drawings by Frank Dobson, A.R.A., sculpture and paintings by Jacob Epstein, paintings and drawings by the late Glyn W. Philpot, R.A., pictures by Anthony Devas, Michael Rothenstein, and Ethelbert White, and pastels by various artists. Their 12th summer exhibition of works by "Artists of Fame and Promise" was arranged in two parts during July and August. Messrs. Reid & Lefèvre opened their

spacious new gallery with paintings by Robert Bevan and drawings by Keith Vaughan, and Messrs. Wildenstein held a loan exhibition of English and French pictures : " From Constable to Cézanne," in aid of the Airborne Forces Security Fund.

Among loan collections organised by the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts to tour the Provinces, was one of British Narrative Paintings from the Tate Gallery, which opened at Liverpool early in January, and included pictures by W. P. Frith, W. Mulready, E. M. Ward, Augustus Egg, and other artists now considered " unfashionable." Later in the year, C.E.M.A. arranged an exhibition of works by forty-six members of the Royal Society of Painters in Water-colours, which started a tour of provincial centres early in August. Another C.E.M.A. exhibition, of French paintings lent by Mr. H. J. P. Bomford, was shown at Manchester, Birmingham, and other provincial cities, and led to a somewhat acrimonious correspondence in *The Times* on the importance of attribution. From this tilting by experts, there emerged the indisputable fact that, in the words of the President of the Royal Academy, " a catalogue cannot be too correct," and that therefore more care might conceivably be taken in compiling guides to loan collections exhibited with an admittedly educational aim.

Another important loan exhibition in the provinces was one of Portraits by Old and Modern Masters organised by Mr. William de Belleruche as part of the educational work of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations. Miniatures from the Duke of Portland's collection, and paintings by Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Lawrence, and Hoppner, lent by the Duke of Devonshire and others, were among the works which were shown at Nottingham.

At the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, there was a memorial exhibition of drawings by Gavin Bone (1907-42), son of Sir Muirhead Bone, and at Cheltenham Art Gallery, an exhibition by Miss Margaret Gere which included oil-paintings on glass, and a retrospective exhibition of the work of Mr. Francis Dodd, R.A. Pictures by the late P. Wilson Steer were shown at Temple Newsam, where the tenth annual exhibition of the year's acquisitions for Leeds Art Gallery was also held. This included a portrait of a lady by Whistler, which is said to have been left unfinished by the artist.

An article in *The Times* called attention to the fine quality of the growing collection of pictures belonging to the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, of which Dr. Thomas Bodkin is Director. The Corporation of Liverpool accepted for the Walker Art Gallery the bequest of the Walter Stone collection of sporting pictures, including examples by Henry and Samuel Alken, Charles Towne of Liverpool, J. F. Herring, H. B. Chalon, J. Sartorius, and Dean Wolstenholme.

On January 7 Messrs. Sotheby & Co. celebrated their bi-centenary as " Auctioneers of Literary Property and Works illustrative of the Fine Arts." Founded in 1744 by Samuel Baker, a well-known book-seller, who began by holding a few auction sales of books, the firm removed from their old premises in Wellington Street, Strand, to their present rooms, in 1917. Since then they have held an increasing number of sales of pictures. Their

first sale of the 1944-45 season consisted of pictures from Lord Weymouth's collection, and during the season good prices were obtained for prints, drawings, miniatures, and oil-paintings.

Christie's enjoyed their most successful season for many years. Several important sales of pictures were held, including those of the late J. Pierpont Morgan's collection, removed from his Hertfordshire residence, on March 31, and Mr. L. W. Neeld's collection from Grittleton House, Wiltshire, on June 9. Previous to the Morgan sale, the National Gallery, with the help of the National Art-Collections Fund, purchased from the executors four panels by Giovanni di Paolo da Siena depicting "Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist." Among the chief items offered at auction were a panel of "The Virgin and Child," by Matteo di Siena, purchased for the Barber Institute of Birmingham University, a triptych of the School of Duccio, two portraits of noblewomen by Nattier, and an interesting early eighteenth-century conversation piece by Philip Mercier. The Neeld pictures included Constable's "Vale of Dedham," which was bought for 20,000*l.* before the sale by the trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland. An auction record for a portrait by Rubens was created when Messrs. Agnew paid 16,000 guineas for his "Pieter Pecquius, Chancellor of Brabant." A purchase from this sale was also made by the Barber Institute of Birmingham, which added to its collection a fine Gainsborough portrait of Tenducci, the Italian singer. Immediately after the Grittleton House sale, pictures from other sources were offered. These included two large views of London by Samuel Scott, the property of Lord Hatherton and painted for his ancestor, Sir Edward Littleton. They were purchased for 3,800 guineas by a famous English institution.

Messrs. Robinson & Foster once more suffered the misfortunes of war, when their premises—the well-known Willis's Rooms—were destroyed by enemy action on the eve of a picture sale. After the firm's removal to a less central part of the town, its activities were mainly confined to the sale of furniture, silver, and *objets d'art*.

Various gifts of pictures and sculpture were received by the Tate Gallery. They included an oil-painting, "Italian Landscape," by Richard Wilson (1714-82), given by Miss Eileen Brenton to replace Wilson's famous picture, "The Destruction of Niobe's Children," whose loss in an air raid was announced early in the year. Another eighteenth-century oil painting added to the collection was a "Campaign Scene" by Captain Marcellus Laroon, and among other acquisitions were pictures by Anton Mauve, Jacob Maris, Jean-Charles Cazin, Pierre Bonnard, Charles Conder, Gilbert Spencer, and Sir William Nicholson. A picture by Richard Wilson, "Classical Landscape," was also among those accepted by the Trustees of the Tate Gallery from Miss M. H. Turner, a collateral descendant of J. M. W. Turner. Included in this gift were an unfinished landscape by the great painter himself, a circular panel by Claude, two small paintings by Sir James Thornhill, and a number of Turner relics, such as a palette and some colours. Miss Turner also made gifts to four different departments of the British Museum, the chief items being books and manuscripts, old silver plate, and English drawings and engravings.

News was given of Mr. Walter Hutchinson's intention to establish in London a gallery devoted to English sporting pictures. He acquired for the nation the two fine portraits by Stubbs of the racehorses, "Gimcrack" and "Turf," from Lord Bolingbroke's collection, sold at Christie's in December, 1943. These, together with the famous Tattersall collection of portraits of racehorses, and pictures from Mr. G. D. S. Bennett's collection, also acquired by Mr. Hutchinson, are to form the nucleus of the new "National Gallery of British Sports and Pastimes" to be housed, after the war, on the top floor of Gloucester House, Park Lane.

The Burlington Magazine issued its 500th number in November, its first appearance having been made on March 15, 1903, since when it has dealt with every aspect of the Fine Arts.

II. THE DRAMA

In one respect, the year 1944 was memorable in the history of our stage; for it saw the first successful attempt to break down the tyranny of the long run which had held the West-end in its grip as far as living memory goes. On August 31 the Old Vic Company, led by Ralph Richardson, Laurence Olivier, and Sybil Thorndike, opened a season at the New Theatre with a repertory consisting of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, and Shaw's *Arms and the Man*. A few weeks later John Gielgud presented a similar venture at the Haymarket, his plays being Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Somerset Maugham's *The Circle*, and Congreve's *Love for Love*. Both seasons were still drawing the public when the year under review ended, and each company was to add a fourth play to its stock early in 1945.

When we consider with what passionate unanimity London playgoers had ignored all previous efforts to tempt them to go to any theatre at which the same play was not being offered at the same time every night, the success of these two seasons becomes a portentous event. If it is objected that in war-time playgoers are so eager to get to the theatre that they will accept conditions to which in peace-time they would never submit, the answer is that in the last war playgoers would not go to this kind of play in any conditions at all; and the inescapable conclusion offers itself that the standard of public taste in the theatre is rising. At any rate, a precedent has been established. In future, a manager who gives his actors a chance to escape the deadly monotony of playing the same part night after night through a long run will not court inevitable ruin.

Apart from these two groups of productions, there was nothing startling to record in the year's theatre-going. Like its predecessor, 1944 was a year of prosperity—prosperity broken only when the flying-bomb season opened. These missiles, when they first appeared, had a strong deterrent effect on playgoing, and some theatres closed. Soon, however, people got used to the new weapon, and attendances went back to something like normal. The later weapon, the rocket-bomb, did not affect attendances at all.

There was a quite impressive output of new plays during the year, but nearly all of these came from established dramatists. Indeed, only one serious play by an unknown author had any striking success throughout the year—Joan Morgan's *This Was a Woman* (Comedy). Conditions militated against the aspirants in every way. The temper of the public was to flock in huge numbers to the successful plays, and to neglect the others altogether. Since managers must either find efficient plays or lose their money, they naturally tended to look for the work of accredited craftsmen, and to avoid trusting themselves to inexperienced technicians.

This policy certainly succeeded, for the number of plays by old hands, and the average length of their runs, were both remarkable. To begin with, no fewer than three plays in this category ran through the year. They were Noel Coward's *Blithe Spirit* (Duchess), Terence Rattigan's *While the Sun Shines* (Globe), and—except for a visit to the Forces—Esther McCracken's *Quiet Week-end*. It is significant that as the year closed each of these authors had a second play running strongly. Mr. Coward's *Private Lives* was at the Apollo; Mr. Rattigan's *Love in Idleness* (in which Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne appeared for the first time in a play not previously seen in New York) at the Lyric; and Mrs. McCracken's *No Medals* at the Vaudeville.

Yet one more pluralist among the old guard was Frederick Lonsdale, for his *Another Love Story* (Phoenix) was running concurrently for a time with the revival of his *The Last of Mrs. Cheyney* (Savoy).

In addition to these room was found during the year for J. B. Priestley's *How Are They at Home?* (Apollo), Eric Linklater's *Crisis in Heaven* (Lyric), Kate O'Brien's *The Last of Summer* (Phoenix), Reginald Beckwith's *A Soldier for Christmas* (Wyndham's and Vaudeville), James Bridie's *It Depends What You Mean* (Westminster), Peter Ustinov's *The Banbury Nose* (Wyndham's and St. Martin's), and Daphne du Maurier's *The Years Between* (Wyndham's). Not all these plays by known authors were successes, but most of them had fair runs.

Besides all these, there were four obstinate American successes, one of which *Arsenic and Old Lace* (Strand) ran throughout the year. The others were *Uncle Harry* (Garrick), *To-morrow the World* (Aldwych), and *There's a Family* (Saville).

It is a simple mathematical conclusion from the foregoing list that there were very few theatres left over in which, with all the will in the world, a manager could take his chance of bringing out a play by an unknown author. Of the thirty-four theatres open in central London, fourteen were housing musical shows during the whole or the greater part of the year. Of the remaining twenty, three must be written off because they were occupied all through the year by plays put on in 1942 or 1943. The New Theatre and the Haymarket, the Savoy and the Aldwych must be added to this category, since they were occupied all the year by managements whose interest lay wholly in revivals.

Of the thirteen theatres still unaccounted for, no fewer than seven were occupied at the year's end by one or other of the established English writers already mentioned, two more by farces of no importance but

considerable drawing power, and two more by successes from America. That left only the tiny St. Martin's and the still tinier Arts Theatre; and both, at the turn of the year, were in the hands of a group of actors whose first purpose was certainly not to find new plays but to show how well they could do in old ones.

This analysis makes it clear, not only that in 1944 the theatre had succumbed to the temptation to live on its capital, but also that it must face a similar temptation in the year to come. It is a temptation not to be avoided in time of war, when the soldier on leave provides an eager and constantly shifting public.

Is this review of the year's stage activities to end, then, on a note of pessimism? By no means. Two important considerations argue quite the contrary. The first is that the health of the theatre is at all times to be gauged not by the means of supply but by the strength and quality of demand—in other words, by the taste of the public; and whatever else may be proved by the above list of the successes of 1944, it does emerge that the public taste was quite astonishingly high for war-time, and by no means low in comparison with the pre-war years.

The second consideration is that the great majority of the unknown authors were engaged during the year in helping in one capacity or another with the war. That is, they were engaged in absorbing, in a highly intensified form, the human and emotional material out of which their plays will be fashioned.

These plays, when they come, will not deal with war. They will deal with the problems, the people, and the emotions of the peace years. But they will represent the digested and assimilated experience, the knowledge of humanity, the understanding which can never come from merely imagined emotions, which their authors have gathered during the war years.

The young dramatists in the year under review wrote few plays strong enough to shoulder their way on to the stage, because they were still at school. The school of war is a hard one, but those who graduate from it have been thoroughly taught. We shall have no reason in 1950 to regret the silences of 1944.

III. THE CINEMA

The growth of monopoly seriously troubled the film industry during the year. The independent producer looked like being squeezed out. Having made his picture, he found it almost impossible to get it shown.

Control in the film world had largely fallen into the hands of three men. It was estimated that Mr. Arthur Rank held about half the facilities available for production. Already head of Odeon and Gaumont-British, he also acquired the British and Dominion Film Corporation. Sir Alexander Korda, head of Metro Goldwyn Mayer, London, who already owned the Denham studios, acquired still more space by buying the Amalgamated Studios at Elstree. These studios were built in 1936-37 but, owing to a slump following their completion, were never used. They were later

acquired by the Prudential Insurance Company and controlled by the Government. During the year they were decontrolled, and will revert to film production at the conclusion of the war. Along with the studios Sir Alexander took over about a hundred acres for development and outdoor work. At the same time he sold his large holdings in United Artists Corporation, so as to be able to devote all his energies to his British projects. Mr. Max Milder, head of Associated British Pictures and Warner Brothers, London, is the third big power.

The Films Council raised and examined the whole question. The Council is a body appointed by the Board of Trade to advise on the administration of the Cinematograph Films Act of 1938, which required the production and showing of a quota of British films. The Council is composed of ten trade and ten independent members.

A committee was appointed to advise on measures to stop the growth of the monopoly in the trade. In August they brought out a report. This alleged that Odeon and Gaumont-British and Associated British Pictures could by their bargaining power squeeze out pictures not made in their own studies. They thought the gamble of super-films was not necessary to establish British pictures, and preferred a larger number of medium priced features showing "sincerity without ostentation." They suggested that a limit should be put on the cinemas that may be controlled by any one company. The Government should reserve studio space on reasonable terms for the independent producer. An independent renting organisation should be set up which would gradually develop into a strong national undertaking to develop independent products. In their opinion too much money went to America. From 1939 to 1943 American companies collected 70,000,000*l.* from Great Britain. Yearly box office takings amounted to 110,000,000*l.* and some 25,000,000 people visited Great Britain's 4,750 cinemas.

The report made a deep impression, and though no legislation followed Mr. Dalton came to an agreement with Mr. Arthur Rank that he would acquire no more film interests except those for which he was already in negotiation. At the close of the year, under this last heading, Mr. Rank took over an important West-end London cinema—the Regal.

The two schools of British picture making, those of local and those of world appeal, can be admirably studied in the year's output of British pictures. From the Ealing studios, where Mr. Michael Balcon long fought the battle of the independent man, came one of the best pictures of the year. "San Demetrio, London," the story of a tanker, was the most convincing picture of the war at sea, till "Western Approaches," shown later in the year, proved even better. Two other modest pictures gave real hope of a break-away from the Hollywood tradition and an honest attempt to show the real England to the world. These were "A Canterbury Tale," uneven but with excellent moments and beautiful landscape work, and "Tawny Pipit," a tender little tale, with the same touch of authenticity. They were both gentle pictures, with rural settings, but though the detail was done with loving care, the stories left much to be desired.

The believers in the big production were also well represented. "This Happy Breed," was an expanded technicolour cavalcade of Mr. Noel Coward's play of the same name. It followed the fortunes of a lower middle-class family through two wars, with a wealth of accurate detail and a curious inaccuracy of feeling. An excellent cast was headed by Miss Celia Johnson.

A more important picture was "Henry V," the first serious British attempt to bring Shakespeare to the screen. It was done handsomely with an artistic use of colour and nothing spared in horses or men. The version was cut on popular lines, designed to appeal to a wide public. It opened and closed with the ingenious device of a production at the Globe. Mr. Lawrence Olivier made a spirited king.

A fine war picture, falling between the two schools, was "The Way Ahead," in which Carol Reed showed how civilians are made into soldiers. The cast was headed by David Niven.

"Tunisian Victory" proved how much more impressive fact is than fiction. Such was the desire to bring war to the home front, that several camera men were killed during the screening.

Nothing very outstanding came from America, where the studios marked time, uncertain whether to continue making war pictures or get ready for the peace which seemed to them to be always round the corner. One of their most ambitious efforts was "The Song of Bernadette," one of the few purely religious pictures to be screened, and which discovered a new star in Miss Jennifer Jones. Biography still tempted producers. Miss Greer Garson and Mr. Walter Pidgeon were totally unconvincing in the life of Monsieur and Madame Curie. It was even more disturbing to one's respect for truth to find Miss Merle Oberon, beautiful, in tight fitting white trousers, playing George Sand in "A Song to Remember," which was a Hollywood version of the life, love, and music of Frederick Chopin. In contrast, "The Hitler Gang" was a straightforward narrative of the rise to power of the Nazi Party.

The best pictures were the least pretentious. "Double Indemnity," with Miss Barbara Stanwyck and Mr. Fred MacMurray, was that rare thing, a convincing murder story. "Laura" was a better than usual piece of detection. "The Hard Way" gave Miss Ida Lupino another opportunity for one of her clear-cut intelligent characterisations, while "The White Cliffs of Dover" was an honest if not wholly successful attempt to bring the Alice Duer Miller poem to the screen with Miss Irene Dunne as the heroine. Mr. Alfred Hitchcock was not at his happiest in "Lifeboat," but it brought back Miss Tallulah Bankhead to the screen. A very remarkable documentary picture was "The Forgotten Village," a John Steinbeck view of Mexico. A welcome dash of satire came from Preston Sturges in "Hail the Conquering Hero." A new child star, Margaret O'Brien, did excellently in an original story called "Lost Angel."

Realism came from France and Russia. "Journal de la Resistance," was first-rate, and the story of the Kharkov trials was brutally and brilliantly told in "Justice Is Coming."

IV. MUSIC

The year saw the last chapter in the life of one of the country's greatest men of music—Sir Henry Wood. When he reached his seventy-fifth birthday on March 3 a remarkable demonstration of good will took effect in various tributes and ceremonies. The most important occasion was a concert at the Albert Hall on March 25 sponsored by the *Daily Telegraph*. The London Philharmonic, London Symphony and B.B.C. orchestras were joined together on the platform, and Sir Henry's associate conductors, as at the Promenades, were Sir Adrian Boult and Mr. Basil Cameron. Lord Camrose announced that the proceeds of the concert, amounting to eight thousand pounds, were to be devoted to Sir Henry's Fund for "a new concert hall for the people, adequate for the needs of London, to be erected in his name." The Queen and the Princesses were present, and one of the greatest audiences ever seen in the Albert Hall. Later in the year Sir Henry's career was to reach its climax with the Jubilee Season of Promenade Concerts (June 10 to August 12). The opening night saw Sir Henry at his desk, and a greeting such as comes to few men. A few days later the flying-bomb attack on London began, and by the end of the month the authorities found it necessary to forbid the use of the hall. This social and musical calamity was a great grief to Sir Henry, and there can be no doubt that it seriously affected his health. On August 10 he was too unwell to conduct a concert in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the first "Prom."; and on August 19 he died. [See under Obituaries.] He was the greatest builder of modern musical Britain, irreplaceable in his arduous, self-sacrificing toil, in his influence, his personality, and the affection in which he was held by the profession and the public.

Although the plans for the fiftieth season were defeated, they form part of the contemporary record, as they stand for the continuance of a policy. The practice of presenting new works at the Promenades had been restored in 1942 after being in abeyance for some years. In that year nineteen works had been included; in 1943, over twenty. The choice for 1944 was of unusual interest, for several of the eighteen works had been specially written in honour of Sir Henry and his Jubilee season. Among the composers who thus paid tribute were Sir Granville Bantock (Two Hebridean Sea Poems), Ian Whyte (Festival March), Sir Arnold Bax (Legend), Alan Bush (Fantasia on Soviet Themes), and the American Roy Harris (Chorale for Orchestra). Stravinsky offered his "Four Norwegian Moods" and Hindemith his ballet overture "Cupid and Psyche" for first performance in this country, and Shostakovich sent the score of his Eighth Symphony. Other Soviet works in the list were chosen from scores presented to Sir Henry by the Soviet Embassy and the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations. The works that achieved performance were those of Bantock and Phillips, and a Violin Concerto by the American Samuel Barber that won a considerable popular success with its geniality and accomplished writing. Of the other works specified in the syllabus some half-dozen were broadcast before the end of the year and will be mentioned in the summary below.

At other periods of the year orchestral concert-giving in London kept to its war-time pattern and largely to its war-time repertory. The bulk of it needs no description, consisting as it did of week-end concerts at the Albert Hall, the Cambridge Theatre and elsewhere given by established agencies with the usual orchestras playing standard music under various conductors. Visits by other than London orchestras had an enlivening and somewhat disturbing influence. In the spring the reconstituted Liverpool Philharmonic, which had been particularly busy in the north for a couple of years, gave concerts for war-workers in and about London. Four concerts were given in May by the B.B.C. Orchestra, which, after its long domicile at Bedford, ranked in these times as a visitor. The Royal Philharmonic Society, breaking with long-established custom, employed the Hallé Orchestra on May 26, the Liverpool Philharmonic on November 18, and the B.B.C. Orchestra on December 9 (when Sir Adrian Boult, who conducted, was awarded the Society's Gold Medal). The effect of these incursions was to strengthen the suspicion that the standard of the London orchestras had been lowered by constant touring, frequent changes of conductor, and lack of proper rehearsal. The lesson was driven home particularly by the well-rehearsed playing of the B.B.C. Orchestra and the all-round artistic discipline shown by the Hallé Orchestra after its recent renovation and intensive training under John Barbirolli. A commentary on the situation was afforded when Sir Thomas Beecham revisited England after a long stay in the United States and conducted some concerts by his old orchestra, the London Philharmonic; the playing at once assumed a quality that had been associated with this orchestra only in pre-war days.

One of the busiest of war-time impresarios, Mr. Jay Pomeroy, gave his second festival of Russian music with the London Symphony Orchestra from June 2 to June 8. New works chosen for the six concerts were the Suite from the ballet "The Golden Age" by Shostakovich, the music by Prokofiev to the film "Lieutenant Kije," and Kabalevsky's Symphony No. 2 in E minor. Other concert-room novelties of the year were Medtner's third Piano Concerto, played by the composer on February 19 and the Chorale by Roy Harris (written for the Promenades) on October 21—both of these at concerts by the Royal Philharmonic Society. Two movements of a symphony by Randall Thompson were played at an evening dedicated to America's Thanksgiving celebrations on November 23. Events of the year included a visit of Yehudi Menuhin to England in the autumn; in the course of a busy tour he played to Service audiences and gave concerts that greatly assisted various war-time charities. At a concert in Bedford on November 15 the B.B.C. Orchestra was put in the hands of M. Charles Münch, a well-known conductor from Paris.

Choral concerts in London were largely of a routine nature. The chief departures were Bach's Mass in B minor performed by the Bach Choir under Dr. Reginald Jacques on May 5 and Delius's "A Mass of Life," by the Royal Choral Society under Dr. Malcolm Sargent on May 13. The Croydon Philharmonic Society, which had attained to a metropolitan position under Mr. Alan Kirby, gave Elgar's "The Apostles" on April 29.

The Goldsmiths' Choral Union under Mr. Frederick Haggis was also active, the climax of its work being Beethoven's Mass in D on September 30. The most discussed choral work of the year was an oratorio by Michael Tippett entitled "A Child of Our Time." The libretto, written by the composer, deals with the incident of November, 1938, when a young Jewish refugee shot a German diplomat in Paris, and anti-Jewish feeling flared up in Germany under official encouragement. Thus the theme of the work is sociological rather than religious; but it is allied to oratorio by the tone of its treatment and the symbolism of the words, which have a likeness to biblical declamation and prophetic utterance. The music is cast in a modern idiom, austere, devoid of sentiment and conventional rhetoric, dramatically intense not so much in its own nature as in the use of the colour and human impulse of the voice. Where the narrative gives occasion for a contemplative pause the words and melodies of Negro Spirituals—the songs of an oppressed race—are introduced in the manner of the chorales in Bach's Passions. This curious and unexpected choice is held to have justified itself by the sensitive and appealing manner of its use. The first performance was given at the Adelphi Theatre on March 19 under the management of the London Philharmonic Orchestra with the collaboration of the London Region Civil Defence Choir and Mr. Tippett's choir at Morley College. Mr. Walter Goehr conducted.

The Boosey and Hawkes concerts continued to provide up-to-date programmes of chamber music and small-scale orchestral music. Among the new works presented were (February 26) a Piano Sonata by the American Aaron Copland and a revised version of Tippett's String Quartet; (September 28) songs by Alban Berg and Mahler, Tippett's cantata "Boyhood's End" for tenor and piano; (October 7) Britten's "Rejoice in the Lamb," a festival cantata for mixed chorus and organ, Rubbra's "The Revival," and works by Poulenc, Ireland, Kodály and Hindemith; (November 18) a Piano Concerto by Janáček, and a new String Quartet by Vaughan Williams; (December 9) a Prelude, Arioso and Fugue for strings by Honegger, "Soliloqui," a new work for cello, strings and chorus by Rubbra, and Britten's "Les Illuminations." At a concert by the Walter Goehr Orchestra (November 25, at the Friends' House) the music included a set of Dances Concertantes by Stravinsky.

The National Gallery concerts continued throughout the year. In commemoration of the fifth anniversary (October 10) the committee issued a book of the concerts, descriptive and largely statistical. The list of artists (to March 1944, when it was compiled) comprised 202 pianists, 91 violinists, 33 viola players, 53 cellists, 49 wind players, 135 singers, 52 chamber music ensembles, 22 conductors, 13 orchestras and 13 choirs. Still more impressive was the fifty-page catalogue of the works performed. Composers numbered more than 400. The song-list comprised over 500 by seven principal song-composers. On the instrumental side the chief features were complete series, such as all the Beethoven String Quartets (three times), all the Violin Sonatas of Mozart and Beethoven (twice), all the chamber works of Brahms, the complete chamber works of Beethoven, and Mozart's 21 Piano Concertos. Artists had received 15,000*l.* in fees,

and 10,000*l.* had been paid to the Musicians' Benevolent Fund. The third season of similar concerts at the Royal Exchange began in June and continued into the autumn. The report of the 1943 season stated that the admissions (one shilling) had totalled nearly forty thousand.

In the broadcasting of music no important development has to be recorded, except that the change in the programme bearing a "Forces" label raised the quality of music under that heading. As long as the service for home listeners in Britain consisted of two simultaneous programmes these were maintained on different cultural levels. The Forces Programme, being the less concerned with the arts, contained little music of the best kind, except as an occasional concession. In February this was supplanted by a General Forces Programme drawn from the various existing broadcasts to the troops overseas; these, not being divided into upper and lower levels, covered a wider cultural range than the former Forces programme. A better class of music was thus admitted to the alternative service for home listeners. There is still (at the end of 1944) a difference; while those broadcasts which could be described as musical events are still mainly given in the Home Service, the taboo on art music is less pronounced in the G.F.P. than it used to be in the F.P.

Of the works introduced by broadcasting, the following had the greatest interest: "Diary of a Young Man," by Janáček, a song-cycle on a subject reminiscent of Schubert's "Die schöne Müllerin" (February 13 and June 1); Hindemith's Symphony in E flat (February 20); Cecil Gray's opera "The Women of Troy," a setting of Euripides (April 5); Prokofiev's seventh Piano Sonata (May 4); the eighth Symphony by Shostakovich (July 13); Bartók's Violin Concerto (September 20); a Fantasy Concerto for piano by Eugene Goossens (November 1); "Africana," No. 1 of West African Mood Pictures, by a West African composer, Fela Sowande, and "My Country" by a Basutoland composer, Michael Moerane (November 17); and Prokofiev's choral "Toast to Stalin" (December 21). Of these the two that proved to be outstanding were the Bartók concerto and the Shostakovich symphony; in each case it was felt that the composer's brilliance of invention brought an extreme personality within the range of ordinary comprehension and enjoyment. Early in the year Mr. Arthur Bliss gave up his post as musical director to the Corporation, and was succeeded by Mr. Victor Hely-Hutchinson.

C.E.M.A. (Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts) and E.N.S.A. (now Department of National Service Entertainment) continued to provide a great number of concerts at all kinds of places in all parts of the country, the former body largely for civilian audiences, the latter entirely for the Services and war-workers. The work of these organisations having been described in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1942 and 1943, it is enough to state here that its general character was maintained and its operation extended. On April 1 the London Philharmonic, London Symphony, Liverpool Philharmonic and Hallé Orchestras entered into full association with C.E.M.A. The object was a unified organisation of orchestral music throughout the country, and a better financial position

for each orchestra, with a consequent improvement of its working conditions. In conjunction with the B.B.C. the Council gave an important series of concerts in cathedrals and churches. The E.N.S.A. service of special concerts for the Forces was always on the increase; a booklet issued in the late summer stated that nearly 3,000 had been given in the period September, 1943, to July, 1944. From July onwards a number of concert and entertainment parties were at work in France. Early in the year a party of six well-known artists went on a tour of the Mediterranean and Near East, giving fifty concerts in forty-nine days. John Barbirolli and other conductors went to Italy to conduct famous resident orchestras at concerts for the troops. Local E.N.S.A. music-making was set on foot in all military regions overseas.

Music in the provinces was marked less by notable events than by raised standard and growing repute of the three principal orchestras. The Liverpool Philharmonic, after being thoroughly reconstructed, began a new existence with the season of 1943-44, giving more than a hundred concerts under its own and other auspices. The Hallé Orchestra had also been re-formed and freshly trained under John Barbirolli. Its Manchester concerts, which had been held in two local cinemas since the destruction of the Free Trade Hall, were transferred to the Albert Hall and Belle Vue, and increased in number. This orchestra also travelled extensively. The Birmingham City Orchestra, under George Weldon, went through a similar renewal, but by the end of the year had not come out into the open so much as the two Lancashire orchestras.

No outstanding operatic enterprise has to be recorded. The chief ballet of the year was "A Miracle in the Gorbals," by Robert Helpmann, with music by Arthur Bliss, produced at the Princes Theatre, London, on October 26 by the Sadler's Wells company. The chief publications of the year were Sir Thomas Beecham's reminiscences, entitled "A Mingled Chime"; "The Baton and the Jackboot," by Dr. Berta Geissmar, describing her experiences as concert manager of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in the early years of the Third Reich; the first issue of "Music of our Time," the annual edited by Max Hinrichsen and Ralph Hill; "Queen's Hall, 1893-1941," by Robert Elkin; a volume comprising Tovey's Articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica"; a seventh volume of Tovey's Essays in Musical Analysis, entitled "Chamber Music"; and a re-issue in smaller form of Dolmetsch's standard book on "The Interpretation of Music of the 17th and 18th Centuries." Gramophone recordings included Vaughan Williams's fifth Symphony and Holst's "Hymn of Jesus."

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR

THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture.—In Great Britain all aspects of production were further intensified. New feeding stuffs were developed from yeast cultivation and from forest and other products; interesting research was done on the preservation of feeding stuffs, and on the food preferences of stock; the sunflower was developed as an oil-seed crop, and there was great interest in new rubber and fibre-producing plants. In Empire agriculture the need was recognised for organising research and survey with the aim of working out an ecological interpretation of the less developed regions and their mode of life; in most tropical lands the need is urgent to increase the fertility of the soils and to prevent their further erosion. Considerable use was made of aerial photography in agricultural survey. Certain plantation crops, especially tea and cocoa, seem to be increasingly menaced by the spread of virus diseases. Publications included Boerger's "Investigaciones Agronomicas," Sampson and Crowther's "West Africa Commission, 1938-39: Crop Production and Soil Fertility," Ashby and Evans' "Agriculture of Wales and Monmouthshire," the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux' "Alternate Husbandry," Browne's "Source Book of Agricultural Chemistry," Millar and Turk's "Fundamentals of Soil Science," Russell's "Minerals in Pasture: Deficiencies and Excesses in Relation to Animal Health," Anderson's "Introductory Animal Husbandry," Garner's "Cattle of Britain," Kelley's "Zebu-cross Cattle in N. Australia," and Osvald's "Potatis."

In forest products research interesting work was done on the nature and control of wood deterioration due to sap staining; and new methods were developed which make wood nearly as hard as steel by transmuting it into a new material part wood and part plastic. Publications included the Royal Scottish and English Forestry Societies' "Report on Forest Policy," Cheyney's "American Silvics and Silviculture," Boulton and Jay's "British Timbers," and Wise (*edit.*), "Wood Chemistry."

Botany.—Systematic, ecological, and more general volumes included Täckholm and Täckholm's "Flora of Egypt, I," Abrams' "Illustrated Flora of the Pacific States, II," Descole (*edit.*), "Genera et Species Plantarum Argentinarum," Exell *et al.*, "Vascular Plants of S. Tomè," Muenscher's "Aquatic Plants of the United States," Yuncker's "Flora of Niue Island," Billington's "Shrubs of Michigan," Munz's "The Genus *Fuchsia*," Fosberg's "Polynesian Species of *Hedyotis*," Correll's "Orchids of Texas," Rupp's "Orchids of New South Wales," Christensen's "Pteridophyta of Samoa," Cain's "Foundations of Plant Geography," Dice's "Biotic Provinces of N. America," Rikli's "Das Pflanzenkleid der Mittelmeerländer, II, III," Bowerman's "Flowering Plants and Ferns of Mt. Diablo, California: their Distribution and Association into Plant Communities," Webber and Batchelor (*edit.*), "The Citrus Industry, I.

History, Botany and Breeding," Hawkes' "Potato Collecting Expeditions in Mexico and S. America, II. Systematic Classification of the Collections," Erdtman's "Introduction to Pollen Analysis," Chaney *et al.*, "Pliocene Floras of California and Oregon," Engard's "Organogenesis in *Rubus*," Rodgers' "American Botany, 1873-92," and Brimble's "Flowers in Britain."

In plant physiology interesting work was done on auxins and auxin precursors; on the aerosol method in the use of growth regulators with plants; on the application of spectroscopy in the diagnosis of mineral deficiencies and excesses in plants; and on the carotenoid and other plant pigments from mineral oil and marine deposits. Books included Hoagland's "Inorganic Nutrition of Plants," Schopfer's "Plants and Vitamins," Rayner and Neilson-Jones' "Problems in Tree Nutrition," and Schaede's "Die pflanzlichen Symbiosen."

The world-wide survey for agar-producing seaweeds led to greatly increased knowledge of the distribution and systematics of the Rhodophyceae. Cryptogamic books included Smith's "Marine Algae of the Monterey Peninsula," Coker and Beers' "Boletaceae of N. Carolina," and Graham's "Mushrooms of the Great Lakes Region."

In plant breeding it was increasingly recognised that formal genetics is of less importance than the building up of new systems of variation through species crossing and polyploidy and the induction of new and desirable variation by experimental means. An important new technique was developed of obtaining new plant hybrids from incompatible crosses by means of culture of excised embryos on malt media. Work on the physiology of pollen in relation to the effect of polyploidy on incompatibility factors in diploids gave promise of wide usefulness in fruit production. In numerous cases it was confirmed that the vitamin, protein, alkaloidal and other useful content of induced tetraploids of economic plants is very considerably higher than in the diploid parent. Colchicine treatment enabled the synthesis of new wheat species of high chromosome number and valuable properties. Contrary to British and American findings, Russian workers continued to report the transmission of characters from one plant to another by grafting.

Zoology.—Comparison of giant early man from Java and South China suggested that *Gigantopithecus* is an ancestral hominid form which has been reduced in size and massiveness as it developed in the direction of modern man. Up to the present the antiquity of human artefacts and skeletal remains in Australia has been non-proven, but the Keilor skull, which combines Australoid and Tasmanoid characteristics in about equal proportions, seems definitely to belong to the Riss-Worm interglacial phase of the Pleistocene period. Work on the Mount Olorgesailie Site confirmed its outstanding importance in relation to Acheulean man and the associated fauna in East Africa. Volumes included Weidenreich's "Skull of *Sinanthropus pekinensis*: a Comparative Study on a Primitive Hominid Skull."

Books in the more general fields of zoology included Cole's "History of Comparative Anatomy: from Aristotle to the Eighteenth Century,"

Grant's "Atlas of Anatomy," Wood Jones' "Structure and Function as seen in the Foot," Howell's "Speed in Animals," Agar's "Contribution to the Theory of the Living Organism," Sheldon's "Process and Polarity," Mečnikov's "Darwinism," Lukin's "Darwinism and Geographic Regularities in Variation of Organisms," Westoll's "The Haplolepidæ, a New Family of Late Carboniferous Bony Fishes: a Study in Taxonomy and Evolution," Shimer and Shrock's "Index Fossils of N. America," Sverdrup *et al.*, "The Oceans," Discovery Report, XXII, dealing primarily with whales and Bryozoa, Hosking and Newberry's "Birds of the Day," Nice's "Behaviour of the Song Sparrow and other Passerines," Smith's "Fauna of British India, III," and Bishop's "Handbook of Salamanders."

In genetics there was fruitful extension of study from the classical *Drosophila melanogaster* to other species, and much work was done on the heterochromatic segments in the nucleus which seem to play an important role in speciation. Mustard oil, a naturally occurring substance, was found to increase the gene mutation rate in *Drosophila*. Books included Schrader's "Mitosis," Patterson's "Studies in the Genetics of *Drosophila*, III," and Dobzhansky and Epling's "Contributions to the Genetics, Taxonomy, and Ecology of *Drosophila pseudoobscura* and its Relatives."

A fish-farming experiment in Scotland showed the beneficial effect of fertilisers, and suggested that the excessively low productivity of the sea as compared with the land is due to the scarcity in the former of nitrogen and phosphorus. It indicated that application of fertilisers combined with hatching operations might become a practical means of improving the yield of inshore fisheries and, further, that the urgent problem of fishery conservation may be solved not by the limitation of fishing but by the increase of the fish population by increasing the amount of nutrients in the waters. Books included Munro's "Australian Species of *Scomberomorus*," Eddy and Surber's "Northern Fishes, with Special Reference to the Upper Mississippi Valley," Nichols' "Fresh-Water Fishes of China," and Schultz' "Catfishes of Venezuela."

In applied entomology it was increasingly recognised that whilst chemical control of insect pests is the best and most widely used method it results in the selective elimination of the more susceptible strains of pests and thus tends to build up a population of more resistant strains, *i.e.*, such artificial selection is promoting the evolution of pest populations resistant or immune to pest control methods. Much attention was given to the insecticidal action of chemically inert dusts which abrade the epicuticular wax film and so cause the insect's death by drying. D.D.T. (dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane) proved its value in the control of louse-borne typhus and showed promise of wide usefulness in agricultural and veterinary pest control. The aerosol method, developed for the control of malaria, found wide application in the control of agricultural pests. Books included Snodgrass' "The Feeding Apparatus of Biting and Sucking Insects affecting Man and Animals," Blackwelder's "Checklist of the Coleopterous Insects of Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and S. America," Burks' "N. American Parasitic Wasps of the Genus *Tetrastichus*: a Contribution to Biological Control of Insect Pests," Ross'

"The Caddis Flies or Trichoptera of Illinois," Cooley and Kohls' "Argasidae of N. America, Central America, and Cuba," Hinton *et al.*, "Insect Pests of Food," and Stokoe's "Caterpillars of the British Butterflies."

General Physiology.—In cellular physiology interesting new conceptions were formulated intimately relating cell and tissue growth and differentiation with virology, genetics, and cancer research. These conceptions involve a positive influence of the cytoplasm based upon unattached determinants vested in a molecular system depending for its permanence upon a chemical rather than a morphological equilibrium, and which shows a limited capacity for independence of the mechanically stable nucleus. In ophthalmology further work on colour vision supported the view that in the retina there are three varieties of cone corresponding respectively to red, green, and blue light, and there was advance in knowledge of the chemical aspects of the visual process. In hormone research progress was made in the artificial induction of lactation and the control of ovulation in farm animals by means of implantation and oral treatments; experiments on rabbits showed that hyaluronidase increases the fertilising power of sperm; and evidence supported the view that thyroxine is the actual circulating thyroid hormone, and that it is formed by the transformation of diiodotyrosine. Promise was shown by thiouracil in the treatment of hyperthyroidism. Two other interesting events were the synthesis of quinine and of the amylopectin component of starch. Further improvements in the resolving power of the electron microscope permitted the direct study of giant molecules such as those of dextran and levan, of the action of germicides on individual cells, and of the structure of bacteria, viruses, and bacteriophages. An ingenious instrument devised during the year is the phonoelectrocardioscope. This permits simultaneous direct visual recording of the phonocardiogram, electrocardiogram, and sphygmogram, with amplified auscultation through a binaural stethoscope, and it has immediate and wide application not only in medicine but in veterinary science and general biology. Books included Fleming (*edit.*), "Recent Progress in Psychiatry," the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Disease's "Pain," Livingston's "Pain Mechanisms," Göthlin's "The Fundamental Colour Sensations in Man's Colour Sense," Gantt's "Experimental Basis for Neurotic Behaviour," Plesch's "The Blood Pressure and its Disorders, including Angina Pectoris," Hoffman's "Female Endocrinology," Broster's "Endocrine Man: a Study in the Surgery of Sex," Goldzieher's "The Adrenal Glands," Seitz *et al.*, "Vitamine und Hormone und Ihre Technische Darstellung," Richter's "Total Self-Regulatory Functions in Animals and Human Beings," Abramson's "Vascular Responses in the Extremities of Man in Health and Disease," Babkin's "Secretory Mechanism of the Digestive Glands," Beard's "Creatine and Creatinine Metabolism," the Faraday Society's "Modes of Drug Action," and Glasser (*edit.*), "Medical Physics."

Health and Disease.—During the year there was greater appreciation of the fact that medicine has been concerned too much with how people die and not enough with how people live. This led to increased attention to social medicine and to the consideration of the patient as an individual

inseparable from such environmental factors as the anxieties of a job and a home, economic insecurity, the fear of poverty, and ignorance of how to live a healthy life and how to use leisure. The importance was stressed of health education in the youth service of the future. Books included Linder and Grove's "Vital Statistical Ratios in the United States, 1900-1940," Goodenough's "Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Schools," Sigerist's "Civilisation and Disease," Sappington's "Essentials of Industrial Health," Rolleston and Moncrieff (*edit.*), "Industrial Medicine," Hunter's "Industrial Toxicology," and Rosen's "History of Miners' Diseases: a Medical and Social Interpretation."

There was intense interest in problems of nutrition, and it was realised that although a vast amount is known about the way people should be fed there are not the requisite social or economic conditions, the trained personnel, or the equipment for the work to be done adequately. There was also greater appreciation of the fact that although human nutrition may, physiologically, be a matter of calories, vitamins, and minerals, people actually eat food and not nutrients. In the eating of food, smell, taste, sight, touch, etc., are primary factors, and the special senses offer a fruitful and new method for nutritional research. Great attention was also paid to the importance of habit in the psychological and cultural pattern of human nutrition. There were serious famine conditions in areas of China and India and in certain of the devastated countries of Europe. Books included Renner's "The Origin of Food Habits," and the U.S. National Research Council's "The Problem of Changing Food Habits."

Research on the vitamins continued actively. Potatoes were found to be a rich source of vitamin A and, further, that weight for weight, the nitrogen in potatoes has a biological value at least equal to that of whole wheat. Vitamin B1 seems to be manufactured by the intestinal bacteria of humans, a finding likely to change earlier views of vitamin requirements. Certain of the B vitamins appear to be necessary for the production and regeneration of the blood. Work on the vitamin B2 complex showed that many of these substances have widely differing chemical structures and are not vitamins in the strict sense of the term. Many rich sources of vitamin C were discovered, especially unripe walnuts; and it was found that thiourea serves as a protector of ascorbic acid in large-scale industrial production. Considerable improvements were made in the microbiological assay of vitamins. Yeast protein was developed on an industrial scale as a rich and very quick source of food for livestock and man. Books included Jacobs (*edit.*), "Chemistry and Technology of Food and Food Products," and Batley's "The Constituents of Wheat and Wheat Products."

Health in war was a focus of attention. Valuable research was carried out on the overcoming of human limitations in high flying and quick manoeuvring; and, in relation to shipwreck conditions, chemical methods were devised for making sea-water potable. There was increased realisation of the danger of the war-time spread of diseases and disease vectors from one country or continent to another and steps were taken to obviate

this. Blood transfusion remained an urgent problem, and great improvements were made in the large-scale processing of serum and plasma; alternatively, isinglass and despeciated bovine serum were substituted for human plasma. Nerve "banks" for the supply of quick frozen and dried nerve fragments for nerve grafts were developed. In the treatment of burns tannic acid was largely abandoned owing to its adverse effect on the liver, and dried plasma sheets were used successfully. Concentrated serum albumin was used for saving lives threatened by shock from wounds, and fibrin film and fibrin foam proved valuable in surgery of battle wounds, especially brain surgery. Gas gangrene and typhus were practically eliminated; new sera were developed which greatly reduce invalidity time in cases of fractures and gross soft-part wounds, and placental extracts which improve the "taking" and growth of skin grafts. The processes and techniques of rehabilitation, both physical and psychological, were greatly advanced. Books included Taliaferro (*edit.*), "Medicine and the War," Bauer's "Aviation Medicine," Hoff and Fulton's "Bibliography of Aviation Medicine," Zim's "Man in the Air," Critchley's "Shipwreck Survivors, a Medical Study," Sladen (*edit.*), "Psychiatry and the War," Colson's "Rehabilitation of the Injured," and Davis' "Principles and Practice of Rehabilitation."

In the field of microbic disease antibiotic substances, especially penicillin, were the focus of attention. The industrial production of cheap, abundant, and reliable penicillin is still to seek, but great progress was made in mass culture methods of growing the fungus and in extracting, preserving, and standardising the product. Three varieties of penicillin have now been isolated in pure culture and distinguished chemically, and penicillin 2 (or G) was adopted as the international basis of standardisation. Much light was thrown on the chemistry, bacteriology, and pharmacological properties of penicillin, and it was tested on numerous pathogenic organisms and diseases including tropical ones. In the body penicillin stops the growth of the invading bacteria whilst the leucocytes ingest them. Pathogenic viruses, the tubercle bacillus, and almost all the Gram-negative bacilli are resistant to penicillin, nor can it act on susceptible bacteria when these are in dead tissue, or in the centre of abscesses or masses of pus, neither can it affect bacterial toxins. A combination of "phenoxetol" (ethylene glycol monophenyl ether) with penicillin gave promise in the treatment of wounds, burns, tuberculous cavities, and cases of infected dermatitis. The promise shown in 1943 by patulin in the treatment of the common cold was not confirmed. It is now clear that many moulds produce penicillin-like substances, and that the same antibiotic may be produced by several fungi or one fungus may produce more than one antibiotic. Several antibiotics were crystallised and their chemical nature determined; without exception all mould antibiotics other than penicillin so far examined, are poisonous. Evidence indicated the widespread occurrence of antibacterial substances in green plants, including the alga *Chlorella*. Books included the *British Journal of Surgery*, Special Issue, "Penicillin in Warfare," and Merck & Company's "Penicillin."

In cancer research a primary feature is the recognition of the multiplicity of carcinogenic stimuli, and the outstanding problem is that of correlating these diverse phenomena. Thus the occurrence of spontaneous mammary cancer in mice is determined by the influence of the maternal milk-borne factor, the genetic constitution of the strain, the composition of the diet, and the effect of hormones, especially the sex hormones, whereas, with the chemical carcinogens the milk-borne factor, hormones, and genetic constitution seem to be relatively unimportant. Books included Stern and Willheim's "Biochemistry of Malignant Growths," and Oberling's "The Riddle of Cancer."

In more general fields of work valuable research was done on cross infection by bacteria, especially in common respiratory diseases, and on their control by aerosols, adequate lighting, ventilation, and freedom from dust. The swine influenza virus was purified and characterised. Good progress was made in the typing of typhoid, paratyphoid, and food-poisoning bacilli with the *Vi* bacteriophage. The active principle in the transformation of pneumococcal types was isolated and purified: the transformation seems to be a "gene mutation," and is an example of a controlled mutation by a specific chemical agent. Of new disease treatments one of the most interesting was the widespread use in the United States of immune serum globulin, a by-product of blood plasma for transfusion, which proved satisfactory as a protectant against measles. Books included Moore's "Textbook of Pathology," Forbus' "Reaction to Injury," Wright's "Studies on Immunisation, II," Biraud's "Lexique polyglotte des maladies contagieuses," O'Hara's "Air-Borne Infection," Becker and Obermayer's "Modern Dermatology and Syphilology," Kampmeier's "Essentials of Syphilology," Marshall's "The Venereal Diseases," Lapin's "Whooping Cough," Rich's "The Pathogenesis of Tuberculosis," Swartz' "Medical Mycology," Nauss' "Medical Parasitology and Zoology," Culbertson's "Medical Parasitology," Huff's "Manual of Medical Parasitology," Kudo's "Manual of Human Protozoa," Weinman's "Infectious Anemias due to *Bartonella* and related Red Cell Parasites," Soper and Wilson's "*Anopheles gambiae* in Brazil," Winslow's "The Conquest of Epidemic Diseases," and Knaysi's "Elements of Bacterial Cytology."

Social Biology.—The general recognition of the importance of science to the war effort led to greater appreciation of the need for increased scientific research as the basis of post-war progress. This need demands a re-examination of our whole educational system with respect to the provision of adequately trained and broadly educated workers for scientific research, and the balancing of the immense needs for scientific and technical training by competent education in the liberal arts and humanities. The support of research and the utilisation of its results demands some understanding by the general community of the value and significance of scientific research and, therefore, the general education of the community is involved. A grasp of scientific methodology becomes more and more indispensable for the successful practice of the arts of life and, if the culture of the modern age is to have any meaning and relevance, it must be deeply imbued with scientific ways of thought. Further, while research specialists

are essential, the whole trend of modern scientific study demands that they should be competent to move freely across the compartments of science which are at present imposed by its teaching and organisation. Biologists, in particular, must concern themselves more with the generalisations and relationships of science, and pay more attention to the analytic and synthetic processes and less to the mere description of phenomena. Increased recognition of the part that biological science can play in human progress led to greater appreciation of the total inadequacy of the funds at present devoted to it, and also to weighty suggestions for the establishment of a system of international scientific liaison so that new knowledge may be spread more adequately and brought to bear more rapidly upon human problems: such a system would have especial value for India, China, and the scientifically undeveloped countries.

The need was recognised for far greater attention to social anthropology and for the study not only of material cultures and trends but of a group's psychological possessions, its traditions, beliefs, customs, ideals, and of their repercussion upon social conduct. The essential characteristic of human behaviour is its specificity, due to the particular social and material circumstances in which it occurs. This implies that traits of personality are relations rather than qualities, *i.e.*, they are functions of the interaction between the individual and his environment, and are not inherent in the individual. Note may be made here of the greatly increased interest taken by scientists in extra-sensory perception and of their recognition that the phenomena demand serious scientific consideration. Numerous Reports were published on the organisation of medical, scientific, and industrial teaching and research, and on the relations of science to the social community. Books included Brend's "Foundations of Human Conflicts: a Study in Group Psychology," Fleming's "Social Psychology of Education," Dent's "Education in Transition: a Sociological Study of the Impact of War on English Education, 1939-43," Mullins' "Crime and Psychology," Conklin's "Man, Real and Ideal," Wells' "42-44: A Contemporary Memoir upon Human Behaviour during the Crisis of the World Revolution," and Johnson's "Patterns of Negro Segregation."

The slightly increased trend of the birth-rate in Great Britain and the U.S.A. was again shown in 1944. There was also increased recognition of the importance of pre-natal mortality in relation to the population problem. The idea became more widely held that Western countries have passed their periods of population expansion, but that the features which characterised the nineteenth century in Western Europe and the U.S.A. will, in the near future, characterise Eastern Europe and Asia, since these regions are learning how to control their death-rates and to use machines. It is becoming more generally recognised that national population policies are practicable and essential but that they cannot be settled in isolation, and should be settled on a basis of international agreement: emphasis was given to this by urgent problems of large-scale migration of populations. Books included Notestein *et al.*, "The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union," and Thompson's "Plenty of People."

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

The bulk of the papers published during the year were of a theoretical character, and nothing was made known concerning the remarkable advances believed to have been made during the war. The paper of greatest general interest was perhaps that by J. Frenkel, which first appeared in the *Vestnik. Acad. Sci. U.S.S.R.* in 1943, and then, translated into English, in *Nature* (Sept. 30 and Oct. 7). It dealt in a singularly lucid manner with the problems of modern physics—theoretical, experimental and technical—classified as macroscopic (problems relating to the properties of material bodies) and microscopic (problems relating to elementary processes and particles). Two remarkable suggestions were made: first, the possibility of the direct utilisation of solar energy by using photo- or thermo-elements to convert it into electrical energy, and secondly, that of obtaining energy on an industrial scale by using uranium fission produced by neutron bombardment. Among the macroscopic problems mentioned was that presented by meta-magnetic substances—substances which at moderate temperatures behave as ferromagnetics but which lose their magnetic properties at both high and low temperatures. Attention was directed to the problems of nuclear fields, in particular to the possibility that the mass of the neutron may be due to the nuclear field just as that of the electron is due to its electromagnetic field. An interesting survey of the present state of nuclear field theory was given by Flint in a lecture to the Physical Society (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*).

Dingle (*Phil. Mag.*, Aug.) formulated a relativity theory of temperature, putting into mathematical form ideas discussed with greater generality in his Halley Lecture (*Nature*, June 17). Milne gave a comprehensive sketch of his theory of kinematical relativity in the James Scott Lecture to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The fundamental postulates of the theory were criticised by Dingle (*Nature*, Mar. 17), and certain mathematical aspects by W. Wilson (*Phil. Mag.*). McVittie (*Nature*, Oct. 14) gave a survey of cosmological investigations, including the models of the universe proposed by Eddington and Milne and a model of his own based on astronomical observations and Einstein's gravitational equations.

In one of his last papers Eddington (*Observatory*) concluded that the time scale for the evolution of the universe is definitely less than 9×10^{10} years. Quoting this statement, Hunter (*Nature*, Sept. 9) summarised the results of the recent mathematical work of S. Chandrasekhar (*Ann. New York Acad. Sci.*, 1943; *Astrophys. J.*, Jan. 1944). This lays down the foundations of a statistical theory of stellar dynamics which gives support to the short-time scale— 10^9 to 10^{10} years—instead of the 10^{12} or 10^{13} years deduced from the assumption that equipartition of translational energy has been established between the stars. There is now indeed evidence that this condition of "thermal equilibrium" has not yet been established. The current theory that stellar energy is produced by the synthesis of helium from hydrogen favours the short-time scale. Gamow contributed a paper on the evolution of contracting stars, concluding with suggestions as to the cause of supernovæ (*Phys. Rev.*).

The *Annual Report* of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, for the year

1943-44 stated that, during the period under review, no further damage had been caused by enemy action. At Greenwich itself a restricted programme of astronomical observation was carried out. Work at the out stations included the maintenance and improvement of the time service, the rating of watches and chronometers for use in H.M. Forces, the production of the Nautical Almanac, and the usual magnetic observations. Three quartz clocks were installed but were not ready for use as primary standards. Sun-spot activity during the year was at a minimum; there was one great magnetic storm and twenty smaller ones. Short wave radio fade-outs occurred on five occasions; one taking place when no spot was visible on the solar disc, a most unusual occurrence.

A discussion on Solar Phenomena and some allied Geophysical effects held by the Royal Astronomical Society in March opened with an account by H. W. Newton of his investigation of data relating to solar flares and magnetic storms—a “flare” being a region on the sun’s surface showing bright spectral lines, in particular bright H α lines. Of 37 very large flares, concerning which data were available, 27 were followed by magnetic storms, 17 of them “great.” The time interval was about 26 hours, the period required for the corpuscular stream from the flare region to reach the earth. The relation between the less intense flares and magnetic storms is indefinite, and small storms which occur at the 11-year cycle minima remain unexplained.

Fessenkoff (*Astrophys. J.*, 1943) suggested that the cloud of cosmic dust in the neighbourhood of the sun which, by scattering solar radiation, gives rise to the zodiacal light, is due to collisions between meteors and asteroids. This dust cloud would form an oblate spheroid round the sun and there would be, in addition, a dense ring of particles in the asteroid zone—the latter causing the uniform band of light visible along the entire ecliptic throughout the night. Abbott (*Sky and Telescope*) stated that there is a close connexion between changes in the clouds of calcium gas seen on the sun in calcium spectroheliograms and changes in the solar constant, the latter preceding the former by two days. He stated also that in many places weather features tend to repeat with a period of 273 months and still more clearly with a period of 546 months.

Warren (*Phys. Rev.*) pointed out that the atom annihilation hypothesis of cosmic ray origin put forward by Millikan, Neher, and Pickering does not require that the primary particles produced should be electrons. The originators of the theory concluded that this must be the case to explain their observations of the latitudes on the earth’s surface at which the various bands appear. Hazen (*Phys. Rev.*) investigated cascade showers and star showers (nuclear disintegrations) in lead due to cosmic rays at a height of 10,000 feet, and concluded that while cascade showers are largely initiated by electrons, nuclear disintegrations are due to neutrons and protons, the former being chiefly responsible for the lower energy “stars” and for the appearance of single heavily ionising particles. The star particles themselves are mostly neutrons and protons.

Seaborg (*Rev. Mon. Phys.*, Jan.) gave a table of all known isotopes, indicating the probability of their existence, their abundance, the radiation

emitted, their half life, and the energy of their radiation. The table occupies 24 pages, each containing details of about thirty isotopes. Tin apparently has most—twenty-four. Lougher and Rowlands (*Nature*, Mar. 25) described experiments to determine the stability of the five pairs of neighbouring isobars. Current theory of the stability of atomic nuclei indicates that the nucleus of higher energy should undergo radioactive change and transform into the other. Only in the case of the osmium isotope mass 187 isobaric with a rhenium isotope was any evidence of instability obtained. Proca (*Nature*, Nov. 25) showed how, starting from the Dirac-Lagrangian and taking full account of the Lorentz invariance, it is possible to set up an equation for a fundamental particle which, in the restricted relativity approximation, does not obey the law of conservation of energy. It is possible that properties of this kind would replace the need for the existence of the neutrino which still lacks direct experimental confirmation.

Cockroft discussed the cyclotron and the betatron in an address to the Electronics Group of the Institute of Physics in February (*J. Sci. Inst.*). The new cyclotron in the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism, Carnegie Institution, Washington, was put into use. It has taken four years to build, weighs 225 tons, is 12 feet high, 30 feet long, 20 feet wide, and generates particles of 15 million electron volts.

Jaffé (*Phys. Rev.*) modified his statistical theory of liquids to give an equation of state for gaseous and condensed monolayers. His results are in satisfactory agreement with such data as are available. In the Guthrie Lecture (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*) Hildebrand gave an account of his work on the liquid state. The lecture was summarised in *Nature* (Aug. 19). The problems of rheology continued to attract attention, and a number of papers on various aspects of the subject appeared in the *Journal of Scientific Instruments*.

Two papers in the *American Journal of Physics* were of exceptional interest. In February Mueller and Rossini reviewed the present status of the calorie and the joule in thermodynamics and thermochemistry and, in August, there was a most helpful paper by Darrow on the concept of entropy considered both from the thermodynamical and statistical viewpoints. Schumann and Garrett (*J. Amer. Chem. Soc.*) measured the vapour pressure of beryllium between 1170° and 1340° K. by the Langmuir method. Their calculated value of the latent heat of vaporisation at 1250° K. was 78,800 cal. per mole. Hunt (*J. Sci. Inst.*) gave an account of the properties of beryllium copper and its use in instrument design. Rolf (*Phys. Rev.*) measured the accommodation coefficient of helium on platinum at temperatures between 77° and 373° K. Strong van der Waals adsorption appeared at 77° K.

The *Journal of the Optical Society of America* contained, in April, a paper dealing with Radiant Energy and its Measurement, prepared by the Committee on Colorimetry appointed by the Society. It suggested a new nomenclature for the quantities commonly used and gave a useful summary of experimental apparatus and procedure. In May there was a similar paper dealing with colour. In this number also Maksutov described catadioptric meniscus systems, showing how objectives sensibly

free from both chromatic and monochromatic aberrations can be constructed by combining a meniscus lens and a spherical mirror. Faick and Fonoroff (June) gave full details of a precision method for the rapid determination of the refractive indices and dispersions of samples of glass by the immersion method. Babcock (Jan.) discussed the construction of single order diffraction gratings ruled on rolled aluminium plate. Barnes (Feb.) described an optical bench in which all the holders are supported on magnetic stands made of alnico resting on a steel base plate.

Rymer and Bulter described a useful non-recording microphotometer and Houstoun an ultrasonic diffraction grating (*Phil. Mag.*, Mar.). Fawcett (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*) gave an interesting account of the origin and development of the Lovibond system of colorimetry and its use in connexion with the colour scale published by the Commission Internationale d'Eclairage in 1931. Harding (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*) described a yellow glass colour filter for colour temperature measurements. Preston (*J. Sci. Inst.*) reviewed methods of microscopy with light, electrons, and X-rays.

Stiles (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*), in a lecture to the Physical Society, discussed in some detail current problems of visual research. In particular it was pointed out that variations in the visual threshold are probably due to quantum fluctuations in the supposedly constant flashes of light. Göthlin (*J.O.S.A.*), from observations of the threshold of vision, using monochromatic light of gradually increasing intensity, concluded that the short wave fundamental in human colour sense is blue and not violet as supposed by Young and Helmholtz. Hartridge (*Nature*, Jan. 8) discussed the two rival forms of the trichromatic theory of vision, namely that which supposes that every cone in the retina can respond to all three fundamental colours and that which postulates three kinds of cones, one responding to each colour. He concluded that the latter is more probable.

Tolansky (*Phil. Mag.*, Mar.) described new interference phenomena observed when "Newton's rings" are viewed by transmitted light from a small source at the principal focus of a converging lens and the plane and curved reflecting surfaces are highly silvered. The maxima are then very narrow and, as the angle of incidence is increased from zero, the fringes begin to double—the phase change at reflection at a metallic surface depending on the plane of polarisation of the light. The rings are distorted by irregularities in the reflecting surfaces of the lens or plate and this distortion provides a very sensitive test for such defects (see also *Nature*, Feb. 12). In another paper Tolansky (*Phil. Mag.*, Aug.) discussed how a Fabry-Perot interferometer should be set up to avoid the presence of ghost images and scatter rings which may lead to confusion in the examination of hyperfine structure.

Lord Rayleigh (*Roy. Soc. Proc.*) discussed the formation of pebbles and (*Proc. Phys. Soc.*) gave an account of an ingenious modification of Sir Isaac Newton's experiment (1675) on the spinning and floating of light bodies in an electric field. Kendall (*Nature*, Feb. 5) and Millest (*Phil. Mag.*, May) endeavoured to confirm Ehrenhaft's discovery of a magnetic current which produces electrolysis when the poles of a magnet are immersed in acidulated water. Millest did not obtain any effect when the

poles of the magnet were coated with tin and the electrolyte was free of air. Kendall considered that the phenomena he observed could be explained by the movement of ions of high magnetic susceptibility in a non-uniform magnetic field. Stoner, in his Kelvin Lecture (*Nature*, July 1), gave a very clear account of the nature of ferromagnetics and of what occurs when they are magnetised.

A few papers dealing with ultra-short electromagnetic waves (*e.g.* on use of wave guides) were published, but any considerable account of work on this and on allied subjects cannot appear until the war is over. Makinson and Fraser (*Phil. Mag.*) described the measurement of ultra-high frequency fields by measuring the couple on a small metallic strip set at an angle of 45° to the electric vector and by observing the rate of rise of the meniscus in a thermometer containing *n*-propyl alcohol whose bulb is placed in the field. Lay (*Nature*, Nov. 11) described the use of high frequency currents (such as are used in medical diathermy) for the thorough warming of kaolin poultices and for cooking cakes and light pastries. The power used was 650 watts at 50 million cycles per second.

The production of synthetic rubber in adequate quantities for war purposes has been an outstanding triumph of chemical industry but many problems remain to be solved. Some of these were discussed at a meeting of the Division of Rubber Chemistry of the American Chemical Society in April. One of the outstanding problems is that of the vulcanisation of the butadiene-styrene polymer (GR—S.) which is used. It has been found that humidity is of vital importance and that the time required can be reduced by the addition of small quantities of finely powdered copper. This has the added advantage of increasing the resistance to ageing. Products with greatly increased resistance to deterioration by heat are obtained by using certain alkyl phenol sulphides as vulcanising agents.

Among many conferences, lectures, and discussions arranged during the year the following may be mentioned: a Conference on X-ray Analysis in Industry, at Oxford, at the end of March (Institute of Physics); a lecture on Chemistry in the Service of Man, by Dr. E. F. Armstrong (Royal Society of Arts), and another on the Non-destructive Testing of Metallic Components, by Dr. B. Chalmers (Physical Society); discussions on band spectra, the use of contact lenses for the correction of eye defects, and the practical measurement of lens aberrations (all Physical Society).

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1944

MOMENTOUS as were the many events of 1944 they failed to have any material bearing on trade and industry. This was because industry and all its related problems had become firmly established on a war-time basis, and little occurred to disturb the economic stability which had thus been achieved. In all important spheres, operations continued under official direction which, on the whole, appeared to be obtaining its objective in a manner which circumstances perforced to be acceptable. The national war effort was calculated to have reached its maximum in the earlier months of the year and was maintained until June when France was invaded by the Allied forces. The success which attended this operation exceeded all expectations, and although the hope that the war in Europe would cease by the end of the year was not fulfilled, progress was sufficient to encourage a belief that the end would not be unduly delayed. But relief at such a prospect was not without anxiety for the industrial community. For so extensive had been the dislocation to industry during the war that great efforts would be needed to restore trade to a satisfactory level, particularly under the circumstances that seemed likely to prevail. For while trade in the domestic market was probably assured for some years ahead, success in that direction would largely depend on the export trade, on which no such confidence could be felt. Prominent among the many anxieties in this respect was that of the costs of production, which, despite the widespread control of all essentials had steadily advanced throughout the war years. Another problem was that of the supply of raw materials, for although the Allies were understood to hold large quantities surplus to their requirements, their variety was strictly limited. Stocks of many others equally essential were very low, especially of those whose production had been drastically curtailed or suspended owing to the war. Transport was another question which threatened to present grave difficulties. The loss of ships during hostilities has been enormous, and while many had been replaced, few were considered suitable for peace-time purposes. Because of inadequate maintenance and persistent overloading the railways were in urgent need of extensive overhaul, and much the same applied to the road services which had been depleted to far below their pre-war strength. These were among the first essentials to a restoration of trade and industry, and although all called for an instructional lead from official quarters before any plans could be made for their resuscitation, little guidance was forthcoming. Part of official reticence on the problems confronting industry could be attributed to the fact that much of post-war policy would need to depend on those adopted by other nations, the position of many having been materially changed by the opportunities presented by the war. Thus the problem was almost as much international as national, and until the position could be more clearly defined progress, of necessity, would be slow. But an important step in that direction occurred in July when representatives of forty-four nations assembled at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, U.S.A. This meeting concluded

in a tentative agreement on a plan for the stabilisation on international rates of exchange on co-operative lines. [See under Public Documents.] The principal objective was to avoid competitive depreciation of currencies, a practice which, in the past, had invariably led to a fall in prices and increased unemployment, often with results as disastrous to those who promoted it as it was to those against whom it was directed. Another of its aims was the elimination of exchange restrictions which, hitherto, had been a serious handicap to world trade. The scheme involved the creation of a monetary fund of 10,000,000,000 dollars, part of which was to be subscribed in gold, and the remainder in local funds of the countries participating, in agreed proportions. These were to be adjusted from time to time according to any fundamental changes that occurred in the position of the member States. It was on this point that the scheme encountered its strongest opposition, mainly because it appeared that no adequate provision had been made to safeguard any specific nation against an undue depletion of its gold resources. The scheme, however, was a little too complicated to be readily appreciated in its entirety, but the assurance given by official and other authorities that depletion would not be excessive did much to secure final approval, which promised well for the ultimate acceptance of the plan. The proposal was the most ambitious of its kind ever attempted, and constituted a measure of the immense difficulties which were so widely anticipated would follow the restoration of peace. For Britain the problem was emphasised by the enormous burden of her foreign indebtedness which Lord Keynes estimated at 12,000,000,000 dollars, all of which was due to the need of supplies for the prosecution of the war. Total expenditure during the first five years of hostilities was officially calculated at no less than 25,000,000,000*l*.

As less than half had been raised from taxes the national debt had reached 16,855,021,365*l*. by March, 1944, the increase on the year being 2,781,538,106*l*. Much was due to the obligation to sacrifice the greater part of the export trade which, since 1939, had declined by 70 per cent. in volume and 50 per cent. in value, while at one time imports were down by 60 per cent. in value, the true significance of which may be gauged from the fact that prices were far above the pre-war level. In 1940 exports, including munitions, amounted to 411,160,762*l*., or 28,375,000*l*. less than in 1939, and in 1941 there was a further decline to 365,378,757*l*. In the following years munitions were excluded from the figures, owing to the introduction of the Lend-Lease arrangement with the United States. Thus a decline of 94,513,237*l*. in 1942 to 270,865,520*l*. was more apparent than real. But the tendency was maintained until the close of 1943, when trade exports dropped further to 232,778,051*l*. In 1944, however, there was a recovery to 258,052,150*l*., a little more than half the total for 1938. If allowance is made for the lower prices of six years ago, the decline in exports is substantially larger. Much the greater part went to British possessions overseas, these countries receiving 174,959,000*l*. in 1942, 149,220,000*l*. in 1943, and 169,804,000*l*. in 1944, when foreign countries received only 88,248,000*l*. In 1943 and 1944, shipments to these areas amounted to 83,568,000*l*. and 95,907,000*l*. respectively. The recovery in exports during

1944 was due to a change in circumstances, chief of which was that war requirements passed their maximum, more particularly for goods of a capital nature, while the need of replacements for the Services proved less than anticipated.

This released an appreciable volume of labour, particularly in the engineering and allied industries, and as it spread to other trades a large re-distribution of man-power became necessary. A substantial portion was directed to the export trades, not only because of the need for foreign and Dominion currencies, but also because it was desirable to stimulate trade in that direction as early as possible, and on as large a scale as circumstances would allow. Owing to the urgent need of supplies of all kinds the trend of imports during the war years has been the reverse of exports, notwithstanding the severe curtailment of civilian consumption. In 1940, there was an increase of 266,600,000*l.* at 1,152,100,000*l.* Owing to limitations imposed there was a drop of 7,000,000*l.* in 1941 to 1,146,100,000*l.* This was followed by a further fall in 1942 to 1,003,100,000*l.* which excluded imports of munitions amounting to 202,500,000*l.* These rose to 657,900,000*l.* in 1943 when other imports of 1,216,800,000*l.* showed a recovery of 213,700,000*l.*, much of which was due to the rise in prices. These facts were revealed in a Government publication which showed that, since 1939, one-third of the adult population were now in the Services or munitions industries. Out of some 16,000,000 women, some 2,750,000 more than in pre-war days were in the forces or industry. The less essential trades had lost over one-third of their employees. A reduction of 21 per cent. had been made in the consumption of civilians, who were spending only 54 per cent. of their total incomes, the balance being saved or absorbed by taxes. Although the United Kingdom contained only some 10 per cent. of the total population of the British Commonwealth, it provided seven-eighths of all munitions, three-fifths of the armed forces, and suffered 72 per cent. of Service deaths. More than 1,000,000,000*l.* of overseas assets had been sold, and in their place more than 2,300,000,000*l.* of overseas debts had been contracted. In the meantime, the nation had each year borrowed a declining proportion of its increasing expenditure. Thus the Budget closed with a total revenue of 3,038,548,000*l.* or 131,000,000*l.* more than anticipated, while expenditure was 63,000,000*l.* less than expected at 5,799,000,000*l.*, notwithstanding an addition of 106,000,000*l.* to the original estimated figure of 5,756,000,000*l.* Revenue thus provided 52½ per cent. of expenses as against little more than 50 per cent. in the preceding year, and the deficit declined from 2,817,516,000*l.* to 2,761,139,000*l.* This was 193,608,000*l.* less than anticipated. Satisfactory as these results were from a revenue point of view, they did not warrant a further addition to taxes, especially when evidence was increasing that the war was rapidly reaching its climax. Moreover, most of the additional 182,000,000*l.* required for the current year may accrue from taxes previously imposed, the full effect of which had yet to be reached. But the hope if not prospect of peace led to a number of worth-while concessions to the trading community entirely with the object of enabling industry to keep abreast of modern requirements.

Money Market and Banking.—The events of 1944 failed to bring about any material change in the operations of the banks. As a result of the steady outlay of public funds for war purposes, which occasionally exceeded 20,000,000*l.* a day, bank deposits continued to expand, until at the close of the year those of the clearing institutions established a new high record of 4,544,931,000*l.*, the rise on the year being 513,221,000*l.*, which compared with an increase of 403,089,000*l.* in 1943. Part of the increase was due to a further decline to 113,000,000*l.* in the demand for Tax Certificates, mainly because profit earnings as a whole were generally smaller than in the preceding year. Most of the additional deposits were absorbed by Treasury Deposit Receipts, which increased by 359,000,000*l.* to 1,666,500,000*l.* Much of the remainder was placed in trade bills, the call for Deposit Receipts having led to a reduction in new Treasury Bills. The rise in the bill portfolio was no less than 11 per cent. at 146,722,000*l.* Most of the increase occurred in the later part of the year when the course of the war took on an aspect which appeared to bring about certain changes in banking policy. One of these was a tendency to retain an ever-increasing proportion of total assets in the most liquid form. Thus by the end of December the ratio of cash, money at call, bills, and other readily realisable assets amounted to 55·2 per cent. of total deposits, whereas before the war they seldom accounted for more than 30 per cent. Thus the ratio of investments to deposits was reduced from 28·6 to 25·6 per cent., although their total of 1,164,583,000*l.* showed an increase of 10,833,000*l.* as against those of 1943, when the increase was 33,396,000*l.* Meanwhile, there was a small recovery in loans which, by March, had reached 772,245,000*l.*, or nearly 7 per cent. above the low record touched in November, 1943. Part of this rise of 28,500,000*l.* in three months was probably due to tax demands which normally reach their highest at that period of the year. Subsequently, the total fluctuated widely, but the indications were that the demand for bank accommodation was likely to increase as the European conflict came nearer to its close. This impression was strengthened in December when the final figures of 753,535,000*l.* revealed an increase of 10,495,000*l.*, in contrast with a shrinkage of 29,754,000*l.* in 1943, and it was the first recovery in this item of bank assets for several years. But in spite of this revival they represented no more than 16·5 per cent. of deposits as against 18·4 per cent. in the preceding year. Thus the two chief earning assets of the banks were increased by upwards of 21,000,000*l.*, whereas in the preceding year the rise was little more than 3,300,000*l.*, but the ratio they bore to deposits was only 42·2 per cent. against 47 per cent. in 1943. In pre-war days it was nearer 70 per cent. Their effect on earnings, however, was largely offset by further increases in expenses for there was no evidence that the banks had yet become liable for Excess Profits Tax, notwithstanding that the volume of business was of record dimensions. This was reflected in the returns of the London Bankers' Clearing House, which showed that the cheques cleared had risen by 5,537,455,000*l.* to a new high record of 62,644,564,000*l.* But this increase of 9·7 per cent. was appreciably smaller than in 1943, partly because

industrial production had lost some of its tempo. Another factor was that the demand for currency notes continued to expand, the note circulation of the Bank of England rising more or less steadily to the eve of Christmas when it established another record of 1,242,036,914*l.* Although the rise of 149,961,987*l.* was 15,294,292*l.* smaller than in 1943, it again necessitated three increases of 50,000,000*l.* each in the fiduciary issue, which thus reached the unprecedented level of 1,250,000,000*l.* But in spite of many adverse circumstances which tended to become more acute, all banks were able to maintain their dividends, and most made additions to reserves of one kind or another. Prospects that the war would cease sooner than anticipated tended to quicken interest in the post-war problems of finance. Two developments in this direction were outstanding. The first appeared in April when a coterie of unnamed experts outlined a scheme for an International Monetary Fund of 2,500,000,000*l.* as an integral part of a plan to stabilise currencies, one of the first essentials in any attempt to secure international co-operation in trade and industry. The plan appeared to be a compromise on the Keynes and White proposals of 1943, and as it promised to be more acceptable than either, the United States called a conference of the Allied Nations to discuss its possibilities. After undergoing a number of amendments designed to allay the anxiety felt as to the part gold would play in the operation of the Fund, the scheme secured almost unanimous approval. Meanwhile, a monetary agreement had been secured with France and Belgium, and a similar arrangement was being negotiated with Holland.

New Capital Issues.—No material change was made in the regulations governing the raising of fresh capital, although in September some modifications were announced in favour of those calculated to assist the export trades. Nevertheless, according to a compilation by the Midland Bank, the net amount of new capital raised declined from 8,583,000*l.* to 7,576,000*l.*, nearly all of which assisted the war effort in one direction or another. This was exclusive of loans raised by the Government through the various war savings organisations, the grand total of which fell from 2,006,922,900*l.* to 1,819,903,545*l.* Part of this decline was due to rising prices and, in the later months, to the discontinuance of overtime in war factories, several of which were actually closed. Thus, small savings declined from 843,357,269*l.* to 750,006,112*l.* Notwithstanding the issue of a new series of 3 per cent. Savings Bonds, large savings were also disappointing, the total of 1,069,897,433*l.* comparing with 1,154,507,120*l.* in 1943. This was largely because most loans on offer failed to meet the need for short-dated securities now that the war was within measurable distance of terminating. To meet this situation the 2½ per cent. National War Bonds were withdrawn in November when the total had reached 2,045,600,000*l.* This was followed by the issue of Exchequer Bonds. As these are to be repaid in 1950, interest was fixed at 1½ per cent. per annum, the lowest rate paid on any marketable security since the war began. This encouraged other borrowers, notably town, county, and Dominion authorities, to carry out conversion operations, replacing existing securities with others at a lower rate of interest, frequently for smaller capital sums.

As operations of this kind helped to strengthen official control of the capital market, similar facilities were granted to several industrial undertakings. New capital obtained by these borrowers was invariably from shareholders or from private sources, one of the largest being 2,000,000*l.* in 4½ per cent. Preference shares for the General Electric Company.

Foreign Exchanges.—Little occurred in the foreign exchange market until the later months of the year when a considerable portion of Greece, Italy, and Western Europe became free of the enemy by the advance of Allied forces. It then became necessary to re-establish rates of exchange for France and Syria. These were fixed at 200 francs and 883 pesetas to the pound respectively, the former comparing with the pre-war figure around 177. The Congo rate of 176·5 was arranged for Belgian francs, and 10·64 for Dutch florins. All were provisional, and intended mainly to facilitate relations with the Allied Powers. But in Greece, so great had been inflation during enemy occupation, that the old drachmæ, which before the war was quoted around 550 to the pound, had lost all value. It was thus decided to introduce an entirely new drachmæ with an exchange value of 600, one of which was exchanged for 50 billion of the old. As with other currencies, dealings in all were subject to official regulations which remained as they were in 1943.

Gold and Silver.—Operations in the bullion market were again limited by the restrictions imposed on the disposal and application of the metals. All gold continued to be absorbed into official channels at the unchanged price of 168*s.* per fine ounce. Most of it was held by the Exchange Equalisation Fund, which was reliably reported to hold some 400,000,000*l.* The South African output declined from 12,800,021 to 12,227,228 ounces, chiefly because of insufficient labour and materials. Silver was maintained at 23½*d.* per oz. Imports on private account were small, but the Government imported large quantities under the Lease-Lend agreement with the United States which also made substantial quantities available to other countries under similar arrangements. These were in addition to the 100,000,000 ounces assigned to India, where speculation again caused sharp fluctuations in the price. Although a considerable quantity was again absorbed by industrial processes, it was reported to be less than in 1943, Britain's consumption for war purposes being estimated at 14,000,000 to 18,000,000 ounces.

The Stock Exchange.—An abundance of money in the hands of the public, coupled with limited opportunities for its suitable employment, sufficed to maintain a satisfactory volume of business for the stock markets, and in many cases, prices reached their highest points since the war began. Yields fell to exceptionally low levels, notably of British Government stocks, which thus did little more than reflect the growing confidence as to the outcome of the struggle. Dominion stocks followed a similar course. Many European bonds also improved, those of the Allied Nations on the restoration of their freedom, actual or prospective, and those of the enemy on speculation as to a resumption of interest payments. Brazilian stocks moved up despite a dubious funding scheme, but most other South American issues receded, chiefly because of the Governments

NEW CAPITAL ISSUES

	1944.	1943.	1942.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	6,688,000	7,059,000	3,871,000
Other British Countries including India and Ceylon	397,000	645,000	36,000
Foreign Countries	491,000	879,000	—
Total	7,576,000	8,583,000	3,907,000
Percentage for Overseas Borrowers	6.47	10.24	0.9

MONEY AND DISCOUNT RATES

1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
BANK RATE AVERAGE.				
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
DISCOUNT RATE (THREE MONTHS' BANK BILLS) AVERAGE.				
1 0 10	1 0 7	1 0 7½	1 0 8	1 0 7
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE AVERAGE.				
0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0
SHORT LOAN RATE AVERAGE.				
1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
TREASURY BILL (TENDER) RATE AVERAGE.				
1 0 6.6	1 0 1.5	1 0 0.82	1 0 0.83	1 0 0.95

BANK OF ENGLAND RETURNS

	End December, 1944.	End December, 1943.	End December, 1942.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion	2,107,677	1,156,190	1,112,691
Note circulation	1,238,643,935	1,088,681,948	923,429,669
Public deposits :—			
Bankers'	260,673,293	234,274,273	223,402,159
Other accounts	52,283,676	60,355,993	48,820,957
Reserve (notes and coin) . .	13,463,742	12,474,242	27,683,022
Ratio	4.23 per cent.	4.09 per cent.	9.84 per cent.
Government securities :—			
Discounts and advances . .	5,105,957	2,473,482	3,481,018
Securities	12,264,263	15,916,160	25,758,075

LONDON BANKERS' CLEARING HOUSE RETURNS

	1944.	1943.	Increase or Decrease on 1943.
	£	£	£
First quarter . . .	15,995,961,000	14,203,867,000	+ 1,792,094,000 (12·6 per cent.)
Second quarter . . .	15,861,673,000	14,123,458,000	+ 1,738,215,000 (12·3 per cent.)
Third quarter . . .	14,771,347,000	14,343,285,000	+ 428,062,000 (2·9 per cent.)
Fourth quarter . . .	16,015,583,000	14,436,499,000	+ 1,579,084,000 (10·9 per cent.)
Grand total . . .	62,644,564,000	57,107,109,000	+ 5,537,555,000 (9·7 per cent.)

LONDON CLEARING BANKS' MONTHLY RETURNS

	(000's omitted.)				
	Deposits.	Bills Discounted.	Treasury Deposit Receipts.	Advances.	Investments.
1944	£	£	£	£	£
January . . .	3,962,175	138,133	1,305,000	741,836	1,148,544
February . . .	3,896,801	123,478	1,264,000	752,739	1,140,986
March . . .	3,988,172	113,144	1,331,000	772,245	1,136,205
April . . .	4,016,747	148,613	1,314,000	754,297	1,162,429
May . . .	4,050,692	174,113	1,309,500	755,633	1,161,416
June . . .	4,100,189	202,447	1,245,500	770,280	1,169,150
July . . .	4,121,383	212,909	1,310,000	755,036	1,175,170
August . . .	4,160,883	210,555	1,337,000	741,712	1,179,689
September . . .	4,251,115	208,535	1,443,500	735,189	1,182,658
October . . .	4,342,379	169,522	1,566,500	734,675	1,171,735
November . . .	4,397,858	197,933	1,547,500	737,653	1,192,018
December . . .	4,544,931	146,722	1,666,500	753,535	1,164,583

PROVINCIAL CLEARING FIGURES

Town.	Amount, 1944.	Increase or Decrease on 1943.	
	£	£	per cent.
Birmingham	90,201,000	— 18,582,000	or 17·0
Bradford	94,055,000	— 3,088,000	or 3·1
Bristol	34,139,000	+ 749,000	or 2·2
Hull	30,403,000	+ 885,000	or 2·9
Leeds	59,912,000	+ 2,585,000	or 4·5
Leicester	41,451,000	+ 59,000	or 0·1
Liverpool	264,679,000	+ 29,040,000	or 12·3
Manchester	170,732,000	— 244,776,000	or 58·9
Newcastle-on-Tyne	88,596,000	+ 8,828,000	or 11·0
Nottingham	21,004,000	— 1,349,000	or 6·0
Sheffield	47,861,000	+ 780,000	or 1·6

FLOATING DEBT

	Dec. 31, 1944.	Dec. 31, 1943.
	£	£
Ways and Means Advances :—		
By Bank of England . . .	59,250,000	65,250,000
By Public Departments . . .	587,705,000	366,960,000
Treasury Bills outstanding . . .	3,805,995,000	3,115,200,000
Treasury Deposits by Banks . . .	1,794,500,000	1,401,000,000
Total	6,247,450,000	4,948,410,000

failing to acknowledge their obligations to bondholders, notwithstanding the fact that owing to the war, all were enjoying exceptional prosperity. In other directions developments were more satisfactory, especially in the second half of the year, when the successful invasion of France brought the termination of the war appreciably nearer. But while support was sufficient to cause a general advance in quotations the rise was more pronounced in those securities which stood to gain most from the restoration of peace, many being dependent on luxuries of one kind or another which had suffered severely from restrictions imposed by the war. These included radio, rayon, and gramophone shares, Decca Records making a spectacular rise from 16s. 6d. to 59s., while entertainment shares received a stimulus from proposals for expanding the market for British films after the war. Chief exceptions to the general trend were overseas investments such as dollar securities and South American railways, the former being depressed by the effect of increasing costs. Nearly all the latter lost ground because of their inability to secure just treatment from the countries in which they operate, but French railway bonds recovered sharply on release of the lines from German control. British railways were adversely affected, first, by continued agitation for nationalisation, and secondly, by refusal of the Government to raise the rental paid for their use, a third factor being the obscurity which surrounds their post-war position, especially as it was suggested that Government control of the lines would need to be maintained for several years after the war. Meanwhile, the senior stocks improved, partly on their security and the yields obtainable. Although international politics threatened the outlook in certain respects, oil shares made further headway, notably Attocks and Ultramar, both of which reported promising developments on their respective properties. There was also a widespread recovery among rubber shares, mainly because of the successes attained against Japanese forces which gave promise that rubber estates would be recovered far sooner than was anticipated, whilst the popularity of tea shares was enhanced by news that the Government had increased its prices for the new crops to cover the higher costs of production.

Bank and insurance issues continued to move in line with comparable securities, the latter being assisted by a growing belief that Government plans for extending national insurance would prove less harmful than was

formerly feared. Further gains occurred in beer and tobacco shares, the reports of both recording further records and suggesting that peace would ease their difficulties without impairing their prosperity. Knowledge of the huge demands that awaits the abandonment of rationing assured good support for store shares, despite evidence that rationing meanwhile was steadily reducing their turnover. Similar considerations were responsible for further gains among textile descriptions whose prospects were brightened by the possibility of exceptional export opportunities, especially for rayon. All of these made notable headway, British Celanese providing a feature late in the year by announcing a dividend of 15 per cent., the first Ordinary distribution since the company was formed some twenty-four years ago. Bradford Dyers also attained prominence by resuming Ordinary dividends after a lapse of fourteen years, and Horrockses, Crewdsons came to the fore as a result of doubling its dividend, which raised the shares from 31s. to 59s. 9d.

The purchase of Lamport & Holt by the Blue Star Line emphasised the break-up value of other shipping shares whose cash resources had been enlarged by compensation for the loss of vessels, and the shares responded accordingly. Despite reports that operations were less active and the difficulties which may be caused by prices on the return of peace, coal and iron issues also advanced, features including a fusion of the Powell Duffryn main collieries and an amalgamation of Richard Thomas & Co. with Baldwins, although both encountered strong criticism. Motor shares were prejudiced during the first half of the year by uncertainty as to the post-war car duties. Although these proved disappointing in some respects, they were generally considered an improvement on those at present in force, and the shares rose on the prospect of an expanding market. Constant discussion of world-wide air services after the war assisted a further advance in the leading aviation descriptions, confidence in the remainder being helped by reports of the steps many had taken to enter other fields of activity. Apart from British Plaster Board, Ltd., whose products were in special request for temporary repairs, completion of war contracts brought current operations in the building trade to a very low level. Nevertheless, the shares received support on the enormous volume of work that will need to be done at the first opportunity, when demands on the public utility services may reach fresh high records. This helped to assist equipment shares, notably electric, which were considered to have the most promising outlook, others improving on the restoration of more normal conditions. Nearly all miscellaneous industrial issues continued to advance, most of which must be attributed to the satisfactory trading conditions likely to prevail during the first year or two of peace. Although most mining shares also participated in the upward swing of prices, it was the least spectacular of any, mainly because operations were handicapped in various directions. Threats of strikes aggravated the shortage of labour which, together with the difficulty of obtaining adequate mining equipment, precluded all but the minimum of prospecting and development. Many mines were thus obliged to encroach on their ore reserves which were often reduced to such a level that milling had to be curtailed. These

circumstances helped to increase expenses with the result that smaller dividends became the rule rather than the exception. Support was thus largely confined to the leaders, especially those which had interests in the new mines of the Orange Free State where developments continued sufficiently hopeful to cause a further rise of 46s. 3d. in the Blyvooruitzicht 10s. shares to 127s. 6d., while the 10s. shares of West Witwatersrand Areas gained 5l. 7s. 6d. at 15l. Meanwhile, Eastern tin issues responded to the encouraging news from that area, but other base metal shares weakened on a reduced demand for such metals. Diamonds, too, fell back on a notable contraction in sales.

Commodity Prices.—Various circumstances brought about a number of changes in the price of certain commodities. Prominent among them was cotton which, in April, was raised by 4½d. per lb., owing to the rise in the cost of imports. This was the first change since early in 1943 and raised the price to world parity. Jute advanced by 3l. per ton, which was also due to the rising costs of production, a similar reason leading to an advance of 25l. in the price of tin which thus reached 300l. per ton. It was hoped that this decision would increase supplies, which had been barely sufficient to meet essential needs. Copper, however, had been accumulated in substantial quantities, and the Government decided to terminate its agreement with producers. World output was estimated at 2,750,000 tons per annum as against a normal production of barely 2,000,000 tons. There was a similar excess in both lead and zinc, and it became possible to make larger allocations of these metals to meet civilian needs. Although world stocks had reached record levels, the United States made the surprising decision to introduce a subsidy for raw cotton. Meanwhile, owing to labour shortage, factories worked to only half capacity, and a similar position prevailed in regard to wool, world stocks being calculated at three years normal supply. Nevertheless, the Government decided to buy all Australasian wool until one year after the war. Chiefly because of an increase in miners' wages there was a sharp rise in the price of coal which, together with tin and cotton, was the main reason for an advance of 7 per cent. in the *Times* index of raw materials, food prices rising by only 0·2 per cent. Since 1939, food prices had risen by 75·5 per cent., industrial materials by 54·1 per cent., and all commodities by 61·7 per cent.

Group.	Dec. 30, 1943.	Dec. 30, 1944.	Inc. or Dec. per cent. on Dec. 1943.
Cereals	219·2	216·4	— 1·3
Meat and fish	190·0	190·0	—
Other food	170·2	170·9	+ 0·4
Total food	191·1	191·5	+ 0·2
Iron and steel	208·1	208·1	—
Other metals and minerals	146·3	161·9	+ 10·7
Cotton	148·9	190·0	+ 27·6
Other textiles	196·1	197·7	+ 0·8
Other materials	149·1	156·0	+ 4·6
Total materials	169·5	181·4	+ 7·0
Total all commodities	177·8	185·1	+ 4·1

Iron and Steel.—After being fully occupied in the earlier months of the year when the demand for essential needs was as large as ever, especially for shipbuilding material, activity in the iron and steel trade steadily declined until, at the close of December, output had fallen by about 10 per cent. below that of 1943. This was mainly because new contracts for the heavier types of material which followed completion of earlier orders, were generally for smaller quantities. This was partly due to the fact that demand for building purposes had become almost exhausted, and consumption of the many special steels which the war had stimulated was on a much smaller scale. Consequently, more attention was given to repairs, renewals, and other work deferred on account of the war, much of which had become urgent, especially in those areas which had suffered damage at enemy hands. The outlet in this direction was, however, limited, largely because of the absence of a centralised policy on the part of the authorities, and more attention was given to exports. These requirements covered a wide range of goods, and to attract orders prices were reduced. Some reduction was long overdue, for British steel prices had advanced to around 50 per cent. above 1939, and 25 per cent. higher than those of the United States, a fact which emphasised the need of new and up-to-date plant. Exports thus rose from 134,649 tons to 219,475 tons, their value being 8,502,669*l.* as against 9,827,017*l.* in 1942 when 257,622 tons were sent overseas. But operation of the Excess Profits Tax offset the smaller turnover and safeguarded profits sufficiently to enable most dividends to be maintained.

The Coal Trade.—Despite many efforts to improve the situation, the position of the coal industry in 1944 continued to cause the gravest anxiety. For notwithstanding a steady addition to the labour force, part of which was due to directing to the mines men called up for national service, and increasing wages and other inducements, the output of mined coal declined from 194,450,000 tons to 185,470,000 tons. Fortunately, there was an appreciably larger production from the Government open-cast sites which, at 8,650,000 tons, was almost double that of the preceding year. Nevertheless, the total output of saleable coal declined from 198,880,000 tons to 194,200,000 tons, and as requirements were larger than ever, drastic economies were imposed on all classes of consumers, many of which caused acute hardships. These were aggravated by the need to raise the price of coal in August by 4*s.* per ton in order to provide for increased wages, which earlier in the year a National Reference Tribunal had awarded miners. Meanwhile, the levy imposed under the Coal Charges Order Fund was increased from 5*s.* to 8*s.* per ton. Although the industrial demand tended to ease in the later months, owing to a decline in working hours, it was not sufficient to preclude a further shrinkage in exports. Consequently, the value of coal shipments fell from 6,190,150*l.* to 4,529,450*l.*

Tinplates.—The tinplate industry was among many which was largely pre-occupied with the problems of the future. New mills erected just prior to the war had proved so satisfactory that there was every prospect that many old mills would become redundant a year or two after the restoration of peace. In South Wales, fears that developments may produce a change

in the location of the industry led manufacturing interests in that quarter to seek assistance from the Board of Trade. Operations, meanwhile, were again confined to a limited number of selected plants, the demands on which were fully maintained, and because of minor reliefs from other obligations the supply of raw materials was slightly greater. Output was thus a little larger than in 1943, and although the bulk was again absorbed by the domestic market, there was sufficient to permit exports of 15,434 tons, mostly to the Dominions. This compared with 14,841 tons in 1943, but it amounted to only a third of the quantity in 1942.

Shipbuilding and Shipping.—As in the case of all other industries vital to the war effort, nothing was officially disclosed as to activities in the shipbuilding yards. But there was every reason to believe that the output of new tonnage was again sufficient to replace all losses with a useful margin, notwithstanding a resumption of enemy attacks at sea in the closing months of the year. These proved far less serious than in earlier years, and consequently the volume of repair work was on a much reduced scale. Thus, although the yards continued to devote the greater part of their energies to war requirements, these subsided sufficiently to allow the building of more ships of normal types. This helped to restore part of the much depleted mercantile fleet which was thus enabled to increase supplies of certain imports. Up to June 268,300 of naval tonnage had been built, the total for the whole of 1943 being 497,746 tons. The addition to the mercantile fleet was, however, of small consequence to shipping as a whole, and owners continued to be as much concerned with the future as with the present, the latter aspect of its affairs being more or less assured under the terms on which its operations are conducted on behalf of the Government. Nevertheless, the post-war demand for new tonnage, especially of liners and other special craft, is bound to be exceptional, and it was proposed that owners and builders should co-operate in order to make the most of shipyard capacity. The large amount of tramp tonnage built in recent years threatens to have serious consequences for the world's mercantile marine, which has become unbalanced in relation to normal requirements. This led the General Council of British Shipping to propose an International Shipping Conference to discuss the future.

Insurance.—Despite the limitations the war has imposed on operations which became still more restricted by the increasing shortage of personnel, the volume of insurance was maintained at a satisfactory level. In some respects, however, it was not quite up to that of 1943, especially in regard to life business, interest in which was restrained by prospects of a comprehensive plan of social insurance on a national scale. This was brought appreciably nearer by publication of the Government's own scheme which, although apparently based on that proposed in 1942 by Sir Wm. Beveridge, differed from it in several important details. While it extended benefits in certain directions it curtailed them in others, and prospects of its acceptance were enhanced by the fact that it was calculated to cost a little less. An additional measure, late in the year, was a plan to supersede the Workmen's Compensation Acts by another more in line with modern views and requirements. The two schemes, which were widely endorsed,

involved the abolition of Approved Societies, a status which many companies found useful in securing contacts of a more profitable nature. Apart from claims in respect of fires and thefts, which circumstances had permitted to become more serious, there were few developments of importance. Losses at sea declined sufficiently to allow further reductions in premiums, but restrictions placed on motor vehicles kept operations in that quarter at a very low level. Meanwhile, a rise in general expenses was to some extent offset by the accretion of funds, and most companies were able to show satisfactory earnings and maintain their dividends.

Textiles.—Although obligations arising from the war tended to accentuate difficulties in various directions, the textile trades as a whole continued to be reasonably remunerative. Even the cotton industry, which in April received a shock when the controlled price of the raw material was raised 4½d. per lb., was not unduly handicapped. This was because its effect was offset by a series of rebates from public funds which left the margin of permitted profits virtually unchanged. Meanwhile, demand for all kinds of yarns and fabrics was fully maintained. Of certain materials the output of which continued to be adversely affected by inadequate labour, was often below essential requirements, and it was necessary to adjust production according to priority claims. As these were larger than ever, the balance was barely sufficient for civilian needs. Nevertheless, the value of exports rose from 34,174,000*l.* to 37,029,000*l.*, the bulk going to United States and Dominion markets. The industry worked to the limit of its available resources, which were approximately half the 1939 capacity. In the meantime, a good deal of attention was given to its post-war prospects, anxiety in this respect being increased by the report of an official mission to the United States under the direction of Sir Wm. Platt. This mission reported that the efficiency of the trade was far below modern requirements, and although it aroused a good deal of criticism, it appeared clear that the industry cannot be expected to flourish without extensive reorganisation and new equipment. The Cotton Board Control intimated that the industry was prepared to spend some 43,000,000*l.* on new plant after the war. Circumstances for the wool section was not unlike those for cotton; a shortage of labour being one of the main obstacles preventing manufacturers from making the most of their opportunities. These were often exceptional, for demands for woollens of all kinds were more than sufficient to absorb the output and although civilian consumption was again severely curtailed, exports dropped from 18,644,000*l.* to 15,464,000*l.* The shrinkage occurred mainly in those to North and South America, partly because of transport difficulties. This led to a stoppage of overtime in the later months of the year, when exports received a stimulus from a reduction in war charges which permitted slightly lower prices for the raw materials allocated for the purpose. There was little to indicate that any material change occurred in the rayon or silk industry. Output, regulated on lines similar to other textiles, was understood to have compared favourably with that of 1943, much of the output being used for the making of tyres with synthetic rubber. Home consumption was again severely limited, which allowed exports to rise from 12,683,176*l.* to

16,358,225*l.* Nearly all went to the Dominions, and thus helped to redress the balance of payments due to those countries.

Oil and Rubber.—While operations of the oil industry continued to be obscured in the national interest, sufficient was known to indicate that despite the ever-increasing quantities absorbed by the Allied war efforts, production and deliveries were fully up to requirements, success in the later respect being assisted by an extensive system of pipe-lines connecting the key points of the country. It did not, however, permit of any relief for civilian needs, notwithstanding that indigenous production had increased to around 700,000 tons per annum, one natural oilfield having reached 100,000 tons a year for the first time. But largely because of the steady depletion of the known oil fields of the world, much transpired in the international sphere. An early announcement was that the United States Government would co-operate with private interests in big developments in the Middle East involving new refineries and a pipe-line from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. But attempts by Britain, America, and Russia to secure further oil concessions from Iran met with a refusal to entertain such proposals until after the war, while an agreement between Britain and America on production and distribution encountered much criticism from certain quarters. Trading conditions were generally satisfactory and, although local circumstances here and there caused some decline in profits, dividends were mostly maintained.

As all the chief growing areas remained in enemy hands, the rubber industry was again obliged to rely on the synthetic article. Although not equal to natural rubber in many important respects, it sufficed to serve all essential needs, including civilian wants. Efforts to increase the supply of real rubber were generally unsuccessful, mainly because all areas were already producing their limits while others were handicapped by local conditions. The International Rubber Regulation Scheme came to an end in April, and in order to discuss the future of the plantation industry, which was now threatened by the artificial products, a meeting of British, Dutch, and American interests was convened in July. By November an agreement had been reached as to the steps to be taken to rehabilitate the industry when the Eastern plantations are recovered.

Motor, Aircraft, and Films.—Aircraft was another industry in which interest centred more on the future than on the present, current operations again being obscured by the withholding of information. But it was revealed for the first time that the output of aircraft of all types in 1940 was 15,049, which compared with 2,924 in the preceding year. In 1941, the number rose to 20,093, in 1942 to 23,671, and in 1943 to 26,263. Although the first half of 1944, with 14,609 constructed, gave promise of a further increase, there was apparently a decline in the second half, production being curtailed owing to losses proving far smaller than anticipated. Consequently one or two factories were closed or devoted to other work when the future prospects of the industry received more attention. Attempts to secure co-operation with the United States in this direction proved abortive, and although both rail and shipping companies reaffirmed their intentions to operate air services, little was

accomplished, partly because the Government failed to define its attitude beyond stating a decision to create a separate Ministry for civil air services. The motor industry continued to concentrate on providing the needs of the forces, not only of vehicles, but tanks and other specialised types, while it also made a substantial contribution of shells and light arms of various descriptions. These proved sufficient to allow a modest increase in the manufacture of normal products, both for the home and export markets, and preparatory work was done with models for post-war markets.

The film industry continued to enjoy considerable prosperity, mainly because few were out of employment and war conditions limited the scope for competing attractions. The opportunity was thus taken of strengthening the industry to provide for the possibilities of the future, particularly in regard to production. These efforts, however, inspired a request from the Board of Trade that no attempt be made to consolidate the leading exhibitors, mainly, it seemed, to avoid the disadvantages that invariably arise from a monopoly. Fears of such a possibility became so marked that an official committee appointed to investigate the position recommended legislation to check further developments in that direction. Meanwhile, current operations were again hampered by technical difficulties arising from lack of studio space, insufficient materials, and shortage of labour, all of which contributed to a further decline in output.

LAW

THE year 1944 was not spectacular in the realm of law. There was considerable legislative activity, directed largely to post-war problems, on which Parliamentary feeling on occasion ran high; the courts gave a number of useful, but no epoch-making decisions.

Early in the year an Act of importance both to the public and the profession was passed. The Supreme Court of Judicature (Amendment) Act, *inter alia*, fixed the number of the judges of the High Court at not less than twenty-five nor more than thirty-two, and provided that every judge should be attached to such Division of the High Court as the Lord Chancellor might direct, provided that the minimum numbers be five for the Chancery, seventeen for the King's Bench, and three for the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Divisions. Following on this, three additional High Court judges were appointed to the last-named Division. This made possible the trial of all classes of matrimonial causes at certain Assize towns, as recommended by the Wedgwood Committee, and judges of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division were sent on circuit to relieve King's Bench judges of divorce work in the large towns, where the burden was most onerous. In spite of the arrangements just outlined, the arrears of divorce causes in London remained considerable.

During the year the Government continued its practice of first outlining in White Papers its policy in certain major matters, following these, after Parliamentary discussion, by Bills. In this form it foreshadowed its intentions as to several branches of post-war reconstruction. Schemes were promulgated for housing (temporary and permanent), for demobilisation, for the post-war civil service and, in particular, for a system of compulsory insurance of a comprehensive nature, providing for children's allowances and absorbing into itself health and unemployment insurance, pensions, etc. The subject of an important White Paper was the inclusion of Workmen's Compensation in the social insurance system under the title of Industrial Injury Insurance, benefits, no longer related to earnings, being payable out of a fund to which the State, the employer, and the workman would all contribute. One feature of the new arrangement caused much discussion in legal circles, *viz.*, the transfer of the administration of compensation to a Government Department and the supersession of the arbitration of the County Court by that of a special *ad hoc* tribunal. Only part of this programme reached the stage of legislation during 1944, but it should here be noted that the ground was broken for the comprehensive social insurance legislation to come by the passing of a Ministry of National Insurance Act, which transferred to one new Minister powers formerly exercised by several.

Departmental committees appointed earlier continued to consider Rent Restriction and Company Law Reform without reaching the stage of making a report. An Advisory Council was appointed to assist the

Home Secretary with advice and suggestions relating to the treatment of offenders, the chairman of which is Birkett, J.

In the legislation of the year first place should be given to the Education Act of 112 sections, organising the statutory system of education in three stages—primary, secondary, and “further” education. [See under English History.] In regard to the last-named, every local education authority is required to secure the provision of “(a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age,” that is, 15, “and (b) leisure time occupation in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit” by such facilities; that is, persons over compulsory school age (5-15) and under 18 not in full-time attendance at any school or other educational institution may by notice be required to attend county colleges for “such further education, including physical, practical, and vocational training, as will enable them to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and will prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship.” The period of attendance is to be either one whole or two half days in each of forty-four weeks in every year or one continuous eight-week period or two continuous four-week periods. No fees are payable for admission to or education in any school maintained by a local education authority or any county college, save that, where board and lodging is provided by the authority, fees in accordance with an approved scale are exigible in respect of it. Voluntary schools and “independent” schools are fitted into the scheme, the latter being the subject of a special register open to public inspection.

The Town and Country Planning Act makes provision for the acquisition and development of land for planning purposes and for assessment of the compensation payable. It contemplates, in particular, the redevelopment of areas of extensive war damage and the re-location of their population and industries, extensive powers being given to the local authority to interfere with easements, to extinguish highways, rights of way, etc., and to disregard restrictions as to the development of burial grounds and open spaces. There are, however, safeguards for buildings of special architectural or historic interest. Compensation in connexion with the acquisition of land is based on March, 1939, prices, with supplementary compensation in certain special cases. The Disabled Persons Employment Act provides for vocational training courses and industrial rehabilitation centres, and for payment to persons attending courses. “Disabled person” is not confined to the war-disabled, although these receive preferential treatment, but means a person “who, on account of injury, disease, or congenital deformity, is substantially handicapped in obtaining or keeping employment, or in undertaking work on his own account of a kind which, apart from that injury, disease or deformity, would be suited to his age, experience, and qualifications.” There is provision for a register of disabled persons, and obligations as to the employment of a quota of such persons in substantial staffs. The Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act lays on employers an obligation to re-employ Service men and women for a minimum period of six or twelve months, according to their length

of previous employment. They are to be employed, where reasonable and practicable, in their pre-war jobs and on terms and conditions not less favourable than those which would have applied but for their being on war service. Where this is impossible, employment is to be in the most favourable occupation and on the most favourable terms and conditions reasonable and practicable. An interesting feature is the setting up of Reinstatement Committees to whom persons may apply who claim that their rights under the Act are being denied them. From the decisions of such committees they may appeal further to an umpire, whose decision will be final.

A statute of general interest, the Validation of War-Time Leases Act, arose out of the Court of Appeal decision in *Lace v. Chantler* that a lease for the duration of the war was invalid, as the term was uncertain. The Act provides that any agreement, whether entered into before or after its passing, which purports to grant a tenancy for the duration of the war shall have effect as if it were a ten years' tenancy, subject to a right exercisable by either party to determine by one month's notice, should the war end before the expiration of the ten years. The Act does not apply where a lease has been determined before June 13, 1944, or where, before that date, a notice to determine has been given or an agreement entered into for the substitution of a new lease. The Liabilities (War-Time Adjustment) Act makes some important amendments of the 1941 Act, but its principal interest for those outside the profession is that it deals with the settlement of debts in evacuated areas. Debtors are free to seek the advice and assistance of the liabilities adjustment officer in arriving at a fair and reasonable settlement, but any settlement arrived at is enforceable at law without "consideration." The Matrimonial Causes (War Marriages) Act was passed to relieve hardship involved in war marriages between women domiciled in England and men domiciled elsewhere. It extends, temporarily, the jurisdiction of the High Court to certain marriages contracted after September 3, 1939, irrespective of domicile, and provides, also temporarily, that sect. 1 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1937, which restricts the presentation of petitions for divorce during the first three years of marriage, shall not apply. A House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) Act makes provision for the immediate division of constituencies having electorates of over 100,000, and provides that, for the purpose of the continuous review of the redistribution of seats at elections, four Boundary Commissions shall be constituted and make periodical reports. The Income Tax (Offices and Employments) Act supplements that of 1943, and extends, subject to certain exceptions, the "pay as you earn" principle to all emoluments taxable under Sched. E.

Among the more important decisions of the courts, and omitting those exclusively concerned with emergency legislation, there are several House of Lords decisions of general interest. In *Chichester Diocesan Fund and Board of Finance v. Simpson* (in which Lord Wright dissented) it put its seal on the practice whereby a gift in a will to "charitable or benevolent" objects fails, although one to "charitable and benevolent" objects is a good charitable gift, coming, as it does, within legal charity. "Benevolent"

and "charitable" had, Lord Simon said, overlapping, not identical meanings; as a matter of legal interpretation the phrase "charitable or benevolent" must in its ordinary context be regarded as too vague to give the certainty necessary for enforcement. In *Blyth v. Lord Advocate* the House held that a member of the Home Guard, as constituted in August, 1944, was a "common soldier" within sect. 8 (1) of the Finance Act, 1894, and that his estate was thus entitled to complete exemption from death duties. The Lord Chancellor refused to accept the contention of the Attorney-General that the exemption was restricted to a whole-time soldier, interpreting "soldier" as meaning a man (as distinguished from an officer) who served the Crown in a military capacity. In this connexion it may be noted that in *In the Estate of Rowson* instructions sent by a W.A.A.F. to her solicitors were, on the particular facts of the case, admitted to probate as a soldier's will. The House of Lords gave one of its comparatively rare judgments in criminal cases in *Stirland v. Director of Public Prosecutions*. The accused, having specifically stated that he had never been previously charged with an offence, was cross-examined about a previous employer's suspicions. This the House pronounced not to be a legitimate topic for cross-examination under the Criminal Evidence Act, 1898, the rules as to which were expounded by the Lord Chancellor in a series of propositions. In *Henderson v. Henderson* the House of Lords discussed the question of condonation, and decided that by having intercourse with his wife after a promise by her—which she later repudiated—to break off her relations with the co-respondent, the petitioner had condoned her adultery. Finally, in *Cramp & Son, Limited v. Frank Smythson, Limited*, the House reversed the Court of Appeal, and held, with Luxmoore, L.J., who dissented, and with Uthwatt, J., before whom the case first came, that copyright could not exist in a collection of tables in a diary.

War conditions and consequent special arrangements between landlord and tenant brought some interesting questions under the Rent Restriction Acts before the Court of Appeal. Thus it was decided that the standard rent was not affected by a reduction for the war period (*Bryanston Property Company, Limited v. Edwards* and *Tedman v. Whicker*) or in consideration of the tenant taking the premises in an undecorated condition (*White v. Richmond Court, Limited*). Neither was it affected by the making of an allowance in respect of punctual payment (*Oxley v. Regional Properties, Limited*). It was held also that the Acts did not cease to apply where part of the premises was let out to lodgers and certain rooms retained by the tenant (*Vickery v. Martin*).

Other Court of Appeal decisions included *Safford v. Safford*, where it was held, reversing two decisions of the Divorce Court, that short absences on trial from an institution in which the respondent was detained did not interrupt the five years' continuous "care and treatment" necessary before a petition for divorce on the ground of insanity can be presented. In *Winter v. Winter* it was held that the judge had a wide discretion as to what constituted "exceptional hardship" so as to warrant the presentation of a divorce petition before the lapse of three years after the marriage, and where there were facts which might justify the judge below in so finding

the Court of Appeal should not interfere with its exercise. Last year's decision of the Court of Appeal to the broad effect that, where a husband and wife are both killed by the bombing of the place where they are, then, for the purposes of title to property, their deaths must be regarded as simultaneous was not followed by Henn Collins, J., in *In re Howard* or by Morton, J., in *In re Mercer*.

In two cases the Court of Criminal Appeal dealt severely with comment by the trial judge on the prisoner's silence after being cautioned. In the one case (*Rex v. Leckey*) a conviction of murder was quashed on that ground; in the other (*Rex v. Haddy*) the appeal failed by reason of the proviso to sect. 4 (1) of the Criminal Appeal Act, 1907, since, it was held, no substantial miscarriage of justice had occurred. The court also quashed the conviction of a prisoner whose request to conduct his own case had not been granted. No one charged with a criminal offence ought to have counsel forced on him against his will. Criminal appeals of a miscellaneous character deserving of a word of mention were *Rex v. Duncan*, *Rex v. Tearse*, and *Rex v. Croft*. The first involved a consideration of the practices of witchcraft, a medium claiming to be able to converse with the dead having been charged under the Act of 1735. The second was a case under the Trade Unions Act, 1927, where it was held that, in order that the offence of acting in furtherance of an "illegal strike" should be committed, it was necessary that an actual strike should be in progress. *Rex v. Croft* concerned a suicide pact where the survivor was not present when the act was committed. It was held that in order to avoid conviction as an accessory before the event an actual countermand of the other's intention was necessary.

During the year under review the judiciary suffered severe losses in the deaths of two Law Lords—Lord Atkin, a great authority on the Common Law, who died in June, and Lord Romer, an eminent Chancery Lord, who resigned office in April owing to ill-health and died four months later. There passed away also, very suddenly, Lord Justice Luxmoore, whose judgments were highly valued by the profession. For this and other reasons the year saw an unusually large number of promotions and appointments. Two Law Lords were appointed in the persons of Lord Simonds, who went directly from the Chancery Division of the High Court on the resignation of Lord Romer, and Lord Goddard, who succeeded Lord Atkin, while the vacancy in the Court of Appeal caused by the death of Luxmoore, L.J., was filled by the appointment of Morton, J., also promoted direct from the Chancery Division. New members of the High Court Bench were, in the Chancery Division, Vaisey, Evershed, and Romer, J.J.; in the King's Bench Division, Lynskey, J.; and, in the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, Denning, Wallington, and Barnard, J.J.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

I

EMPIRE PRIME MINISTERS' STATEMENT

(MAY 18, 1944)

THE text of the declaration signed by the Prime Ministers is as follows :—

We, the King's Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, have now, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, been able to meet together to discuss common problems and future plans. The representatives of India at the War Cabinet and the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia have joined in our deliberations and are united with us.

At this memorable meeting, in the fifth year of the war, we give thanks for deliverance from the worst perils which have menaced us in the course of this long and terrible struggle against tyranny. Though hard and bitter battles lie ahead, we now see before us, in the ever-growing might of the forces of the United Nations, and in the defeats already inflicted on the foe, by land, by sea, and in the air, the sure presage of our future victory.

To all our Armed Forces who in many lands are preserving our liberties with their lives, and to the peoples of all our countries whose efforts, fortitude, and conviction have sustained the struggle, we express our admiration and gratitude. We honour the famous deeds of the forces of the United States and of Soviet Russia, and pay our tribute to the fighting tenacity of the many States and nations joined with us. We remember indeed the prolonged, stubborn resistance of China, the first to be attacked by the authors of world-aggression, and we rejoice in the unquenchable spirit of our comrades in every country still in the grip of the enemy. We shall not turn from the conflict till they are restored to freedom. Not one who marches with us shall be abandoned.

We have examined the part which the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations should bear against Germany and Japan, in harmony with our Allies. We are in cordial agreement with the general plans which have been laid before us. As in the days when we stood all alone against Germany, we affirm our inflexible and unwearying resolve to continue in the general war with the utmost of our strength until the defeat and downfall of our cruel, barbarous foes has been accomplished. We shall hold back nothing to reach the goal and bring to the speediest end the agony of mankind.

We have also examined together the principles which determine our foreign policies, and their application to current problems. Here, too, we are in complete agreement.

We are unitedly resolved to continue, shoulder to shoulder with our Allies, all needful exertions which will aid our Fleets, Armies, and Air

Forces during the war and thereafter to make sure of an enduring peace. We trust and pray that the victory, which will certainly be won, will carry with it a sense of hope and freedom for all the world. It is our aim that, when the storms and passions of war have passed away, all countries now overrun by the enemy shall be free to decide for themselves their future form of democratic government.

Mutual respect and honest conduct between nations is our chief desire. We are determined to work with all peace-loving peoples in order that tyranny and aggression shall be removed or, if need be, struck down wherever it raises its head. The peoples of the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations willingly make their sacrifices to the common cause. We seek no advantages for ourselves at the cost of others. We desire the welfare and social advance of all nations and that they may help each other to better and broader days.

We affirm that after the war a world organisation to maintain peace and security should be set up and endowed with the necessary power and authority to prevent aggression and violence.

In a world torn by strife we have met here in unity. That unity finds its strength, not in any formal bond, but in the hidden springs from which human action flows. We rejoice in our inheritance of loyalties and ideals, and proclaim our sense of kinship to one another. Our system of free association has enabled us, each and all, to claim a full share of the common burden. Although spread across the globe, we have stood together through the stresses of two world wars, and have been welded the stronger thereby. We believe that when victory is won and peace returns, this same free association, this inherent unity of purpose, will make us able to do further service to mankind.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Prime Minister of Canada.

JOHN CURTIN, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

PETER FRASER, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

J. C. SMUTS, F.M., Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

II

SUMMARY OF AGREEMENTS OF BRETTON WOOD CONFERENCE¹

(JULY 22, 1944)

THIS conference at Bretton Woods, representing nearly all the peoples of the world, has considered matters of international money and finance which are important for peace and prosperity. The conference has agreed on the problems needing attention, the measures which should be taken, and the

¹ This summary is taken from Cmd. 6546 by kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

forms of international co-operation or organisation which are required. The agreement reached on these large and complex matters is without precedent in the history of international economic relations.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Since foreign trade affects the standard of life of every people, all countries have a vital interest in the system of exchange of national currencies and the regulations and conditions which govern its working. Because these monetary transactions are international exchanges, the nations must agree on the basic rules which govern the exchanges if the system is to work smoothly. When they do not agree, and when single nations and small groups of nations attempt by special and different regulations of the foreign exchanges to gain trade advantages, the result is instability, a reduced volume of foreign trade, and damage to national economies. This course of action is likely to lead to economic warfare and to endanger the world's peace.

The conference has therefore agreed that broad international action is necessary to maintain an international monetary system which will promote foreign trade. The nations should consult and agree on international monetary changes which affect each other. They should outlaw practices which are agreed to be harmful to world prosperity, and they should assist each other to overcome short-term difficulties.

The conference has agreed that the nations here represented should establish for these purposes a permanent international body, *The International Monetary Fund*, with powers and resources adequate to perform the tasks assigned to it. Agreement has been reached concerning these powers and resources and the additional obligations which the member countries should undertake. Draft Articles of Agreement on these points have been prepared.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

It is in the interest of all nations that post-war reconstruction should be rapid. Likewise, the development of the resources of particular regions is in the general economic interest. Programmes of reconstruction and development will speed economic progress everywhere, will aid political stability and foster peace.

The conference has agreed that expanded international investment is essential to provide a portion of the capital necessary for reconstruction and development.

The conference has further agreed that the nations should co-operate to increase the volume of foreign investment for these purposes, made through normal business channels. It is especially important that the nations should co-operate to share the risks of such foreign investment, since the benefits are general.

• The conference has agreed that the nations should establish a permanent international body to perform these functions, to be called *The International*

Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It has been agreed that the Bank should assist in providing capital through normal channels at reasonable rates of interest and for long periods for projects which will raise the productivity of the borrowing country. There is agreement that the Bank should guarantee loans made by others and that through their subscriptions of capital all countries should share with the borrowing country in guaranteeing such loans. The conference has agreed on the powers and resources which the Bank must have and on the obligations which the member countries must assume, and has prepared draft Articles of Agreement accordingly.

The conference has recommended that in carrying out the policies of the institutions here proposed special consideration should be given to the needs of countries which have suffered from enemy occupation and hostilities.

The proposals formulated at the conference for the establishment of the Fund and the Bank are now submitted, in accordance with the terms of the invitation, for consideration of the Governments and people of the countries represented.

III

PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

Between August 21 and October 7 conversations were held at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, between delegations of the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Republic of China on the subject of an international organisation for the maintenance of peace and security after the war. The tentative proposals were as follows :—

THERE should be established an international organisation under the title of The United Nations, the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow :—

CHAPTER I—PURPOSES

The purposes of the organisation should be :—

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace.

2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.

3. To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems ; and

4. To afford a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

CHAPTER II—PRINCIPLES

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the organisation and its members should act in accordance with the following principles :—

1. The organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States.

2. All members of the organisation undertake, in order to insure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the organisation, to fulfil the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

3. All members of the organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

4. All members of the organisation shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organisation.

5. All members of the organisation shall give every assistance to the organisation in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

6. All members of the organisation shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the organisation.

The organisation should insure that States not members of the organisation act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER III—MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the organisation should be open to all peace-loving States.

CHAPTER IV—PRINCIPAL ORGANS

1. The organisation should have as its principal organs :—

- (a) A General Assembly ;
- (b) A Security Council ;
- (c) An International Court of Justice ; and
- (d) A Secretariat.

2. The organisation should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

CHAPTER V—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Section A—Composition

All members of the organisation should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

Section B—Functions and Powers

1. The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the organisation or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

2. The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the organisation upon recommendation of the Security Council.

3. The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the organisation against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered, upon recommendation of the Security Council, to expel from the organisation any member of the organisation which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

4. The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect, upon recommendation of the Security Council, the secretary-general of the organisation. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the judges of the International Court of Justice as may be conferred upon it by the statute of the court.

5. The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the organisation and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the organisation.

6. The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic, and social fields, and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

7. The General Assembly should make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies of international economic, social, and other specialised agencies brought into relation with the organisation in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the organisation.

8. The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the organisation.

Section C—Voting

1. Each member of the organisation should have one vote in the General Assembly.

2. Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions, should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

Section D—Procedure

1. The General Assembly should meet in regular annual session and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

2. The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session.

3. The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER VI—THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Section A—Composition

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the organisation. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and, in due course, France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six States to fill the non-permanent seats. These six States should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

Section B—Principal Functions and Powers

1. In order to insure prompt and effective action by the organisation, members of the organisation should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organisation.

3. The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.

4. All members of the organisation should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

5. In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of armaments for submission to the members of the organisation.

Section C—Voting

Note: The question of voting procedure in the Security Council is still under consideration.

Section D—Procedure

1. The Security Council should be so organised as to be able to function continuously and each State member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the organisation. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each State member of the Security Council could if it so desired be represented by a member of the Government or some other special representative.

2. The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee.

3. The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

4. Any member of the organisation should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the organisation are specially affected.

5. Any member of the organisation not having a seat on the Security Council and any State not a member of the organisation, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

CHAPTER VII—AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

1. There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the organisation.

2. The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the organisation.

3. The statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new statute

in the preparation of which the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

4. All members of the organisation should *ipso facto* be parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice.

5. Conditions under which States not members of the organisation may become parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER VIII—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, INCLUDING PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF AGGRESSION

Section A—Pacific Settlement of Disputes

1. The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Any State, whether member of the organisation or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

3. The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

4. If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 5.

5. The Security Council should be empowered, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above, to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

6. Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the Court, for advice, legal questions connected with other disputes.

7. The provisions of paragraphs 1 to 6 of Section A should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned.

Section B—Determination of Threats to the Peace or Acts of Aggression and Action with Respect Thereto

1. Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organisation.

2. In general, the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

3. The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the organisation to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

4. Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the organisation.

5. In order that all members of the organisation should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.

6. In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the organisation there should be held immediately available by the members of the organisation national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph 5 above.

7. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be

taken by all the members of the organisation in co-operation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the organisation by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialised organisations and agencies of which they are members.

8. Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in paragraph 9 below.

9. There should be established a Military Staff Committee the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments, and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the organisation not permanently represented on the Committee should be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a State should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

10. The members of the organisation should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

11. Any State, whether a member of the organisation or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

Section C—Regional Arrangements

1. Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organisation. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies, either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

2. The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilise such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority, but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council.

3. The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

Section A—Purpose and Relationships

1. With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the organisation should facilitate solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in an Economic and Social Council.

2. The various specialised economic, social and other organisations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organisation or agency should be brought into relationship with the organisation on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialised organisation or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

Section B—Composition and Voting

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of eighteen members of the organisation. The States to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such State should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

Section C—Functions and Powers of the Economic and Social Council

1. The Economic and Social Council should be empowered :—

(a) To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly ;

(b) To make recommendations, on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social, and other humanitarian matters ;

(c) To receive and consider reports from the economic, social, and other organisations or agencies brought into relationship with the organisation, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organisations or agencies ;

(d) To examine the administrative budgets of such specialised organisations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organisations or agencies concerned ;

(e) To enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council ;

(f) To assist the Security Council upon its request ; and

(g) To perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Section D—Organisation and Procedure

1. The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the organisation.

2. The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialised organisations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

3. The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

CHAPTER X—THE SECRETARIAT

1. There should be a Secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such staff as may be required. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organisation. He should be elected by the General Assembly, on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

2. The secretary-general should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organisation.

3. The secretary-general should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

CHAPTER XI—AMENDMENTS

Amendments should come into force for all members of the organisation when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional process by the members of the organisation having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the organisation.

CHAPTER XII—TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

1. Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section B, paragraph 5, and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration signed at Moscow October 30, 1943, the States parties to that Declaration should consult with one another, and as occasion arises with other members of the organisation, with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organisation as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorised in relation to enemy States as a result of the present war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

Note : In addition to the question of voting procedure in the Security Council referred to in Chapter VI, several other questions are still under consideration.

DUMBARTON OAKS,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
October 7, 1944.

IV

THE FRANCO-SOVIET TREATY

(DECEMBER 17, 1944)

THE Provisional Government of the French Republic and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

Determined to pursue together to the end of the war against Germany and convinced that once victory has been achieved the re-establishment of peace on a stable basis and the maintenance of peace in the future on a lasting basis require as prerequisites the existence of close collaboration between them (France and Russia) and all the United Nations,

Resolved to collaborate in order to set up a system of international security permitting the effective maintenance of general peace and safeguarding the development of harmonious relations between the nations,

Anxious to confirm the reciprocal engagements resulting from the exchange of letters dated September 20, 1941, regarding joint action in the war against Germany, and in the knowledge that by concluding an alliance between France and the U.S.S.R. the interests and sentiments of the two peoples are best assured, as are the necessities of the war and the needs of peace and economic reconstruction in complete conformity with the aims envisaged by the United Nations,

Have resolved to conclude to this effect a treaty and have appointed their plenipotentiaries.

These agreed on the following :—

ARTICLE I.—Each of the contracting parties will continue at the other's side and on that of the United Nations to fight until final victory over Germany. Each of the contracting parties undertakes to give to the other help and assistance in this fight with all means at their disposal.

ARTICLE II.—The High Contracting Parties will undertake not to enter into separate negotiations with Germany nor to conclude without mutual agreement an armistice or a peace treaty either with the Hitlerite Government or with any other Government or authority set up in Germany with the aim of prolonging or nourishing a policy of German aggression.

ARTICLE III.—The High Contracting Parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures in common accord at the end of the present conflict

with Germany to eliminate any new threat emanating from Germany, and to bar the way to any kind of initiative rendering possible a new German attempt of aggression.

ARTICLE IV.—In the event of one or the other of the High Contracting Parties finding itself implicated in hostilities with Germany either as a result of aggression committed by Germany or as a result of the circumstances mentioned in Article III, the other party will immediately bring it all aid and assistance in its power.

ARTICLE V.—The High Contracting Parties undertake not to conclude alliances or to enter coalitions aimed against one or the other of them.

ARTICLE VI.—The High Contracting Parties agree to exchange all possible economic assistance after the war so as to facilitate and speed up the reconstruction of their respective countries and contribute to the prosperity of the world.

ARTICLE VII.—The present treaty does not affect in any way any previous engagement contracted by any of the two parties with third nations by virtue of treaties published.

ARTICLE VIII.—The present treaty, drawn up both in French and Russian, will be ratified and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged in Paris as soon as it is feasible to do so.

The treaty will enter into effect immediately the instruments of ratification are exchanged, and will be valid for 20 years.

If the treaty is not denounced at least one year previous to the lapse of this period by either of the two contracting parties, it will remain valid indefinitely, either of the contracting parties retaining the right to end it by a declaration to this effect within one year's notice.

V

THE DECLARATION OF PHILADELPHIA

(MAY 10, 1944)

The 26th Session of the International Labour Conference, which met at Philadelphia, U.S.A., in April-May 1944, was attended by delegations representing Governments, workers and employers from 41 States Members of the International Labour Organisation.

The Declaration which is printed below was unanimously adopted by the Conference.

DECLARATION CONCERNING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

THE General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in its Twenty-sixth Session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts, this tenth day of May in the year nineteen hundred and forty-four, the present Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its Members.

I

The conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that :

- (a) labour is not a commodity ;
- (b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress ;
- (c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere ;
- (d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the conference affirms that :

- (a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity ;
- (b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy ;
- (c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective ;
- (d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective ;
- (e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

The conference recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve :

- (a) full employment and the raising of standards of living ;
- (b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being ;
- (c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement ;

(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection ;

(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures ;

(f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care ;

(g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations ;

(h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection ;

(i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture ;

(j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

Confident that the fuller and broader utilisation of the world's productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set forth in this Declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including measures to expand production and consumption, to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater stability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the conference pledges the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well-being of all peoples.

V

The conference affirms that the principles set forth in this Declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilised world.

OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1944

JANUARY

1. **Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens**, architect, was born on March 26, 1869, son of an Army officer, and after two years at what later became the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, he entered the offices of Messrs. George and Peto. His first important commission came when he was 21—a house at Crooksbury for A. W. Chapman. Many other houses followed, such as Heathcote, Ilkley; The Salutation, Sandwich; and The Red House, Godalming. For several of them, in collaboration with Miss Gertrude Jekyll, he designed gardens, a form of work in which he always took a keen interest. In London the most comprehensive example of his skill was the central square of Hampstead garden suburb. He also designed the *Country Life* offices; St. John's Institute, Tufton Street; Britannic House, Finsbury Circus; the Midland Bank, Piccadilly; and Grosvenor House, Park Lane. In 1912 Lutyens was appointed a member of the Committee to advise the Government of India on the site of New Delhi; subsequently he and Sir Herbert Baker, R.A., were chosen as the architects for the scheme. Lutyens's work at New Delhi and the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Liverpool (commissioned in 1929) were regarded as his most important works as an architect. He was also responsible for Hampton Court Bridge; the Manchester War memorial; the plan, with Cecil Masey, F.R.I.B.A., for a National Theatre, South Kensington; the tomb of King George V (sculptor, Sir William Reid Dick, R.A.) in St. George's Chapel, Windsor; new fountains in Trafalgar Square; the Australian national war memorial at Villers-Bretonneux, the Somme memorial at Thiepval; Benson Court, Magdalene College, Cambridge; the Queen's doll's house, Windsor Castle; and, best known of all, the Cenotaph in Whitehall. He became A.R.A. in 1913, and R.A. in 1920. In 1938 he was elected President, being the third architect to fill the office since the foundation of the Academy in 1768. He was knighted in 1918 and created K.C.I.E. in 1930. In the New Year honours of 1942 he received the Order of Merit. He was awarded the King's Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1921, and in 1926 the London Street Architecture Medal of the R.I.B.A. was given to Britannic House. In 1924 he received the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects; ten years later he was made D.C.L. of Oxford. He married in 1897 Lady Emily Lytton, daughter of the first Earl of Lytton and had one son and four daughters.

2. **Sir William Seale Holdsworth**, Professor of English Law in the University of Oxford, 1922-44, was born on May 7, 1871, son of a solicitor, and educated at Dulwich and New College, Oxford, where he gained first classes in History in 1893, and in Law in 1894. After a year at the Inns of Court, he returned to Oxford as lecturer at his old College, and two years later was elected to a Fellowship at St. John's, where he taught law for twenty-five years. He was called to the Bar in 1896 by Lincoln's Inn (of which he later became a Bencher) and in 1920 he received the Patent of Precedence when Lord Birkenhead was Lord Chancellor. From 1903 to 1908 he was Professor of Constitutional Law at University College, London, and in 1910 he was appointed All Souls Reader in English Law. In 1922 he was elected to the Vinerian chair of English Law at Oxford, holding it up to the time of his death. In addition to his *magnum*

opus, the monumental "History of English Law," on which he was engaged for forty years, and which gave him a world-wide reputation, he published "Sources and Literature of English Law," "An Historical Introduction to Land Law," "Some Lessons from our Legal History," based on lectures in America, and "Charles Dickens as a Legal Historian." In 1927, on his return from America, he was appointed a member of the Indian States Inquiry Committee, constituted to help the Simon Commission, and went to India in 1928. Between 1930 and 1932 he sat as a member of the Ministers' Powers Committee. In 1934 he was awarded the Swiney Prize of the Royal Society of Arts, and in 1938 went to India again as Tagore Professor at Calcutta, publishing, on his return, "Some Makers of English Law." He was knighted in 1929 and received the Order of Merit in 1943. In 1903 he married Jessie, daughter of Gilbert Wood, and had one son, who was killed in 1942 on active service as a flight lieutenant in the R.A.F.

3. **Basil Kellett Long**, distinguished South African journalist and politician, was born in 1878, son of the Rev. E. H. K. Long, of Norwich, and educated at Norwich School and Brasenose College, Oxford. Soon after leaving the University he accepted an educational appointment in South Africa. In 1905 he was called to the South African Bar. Three years later he entered the Cape House of Assembly as member for Woodstock and soon made his mark in the House as a well-informed and pleasant speaker. From 1909 to 1912 he edited the *State*, a monthly publication founded and originally edited by Lord Lothian. Long was appointed one of the law advisers to the national convention which met in 1909 to devise a practical scheme for the political union of the four colonies, and which eventually drafted the South Africa Act of 1910 by which the Union was accomplished. In 1910 he was returned to the first Parliament of the Union, representing the newly formed division of Liesbeek. Three years later, however, he left South Africa to join the staff of *The Times* in London, being placed in charge of the department concerned with Imperial affairs. He was Special Correspondent of *The Times* during the Prince of Wales's visit to Australia and New Zealand. After eight years he went back to South Africa and in 1921 became editor of the *Cape Times*, serving at the same time as Chief Correspondent of *The Times* in South Africa. He was a South African delegate to the Imperial Press Conference in Australia and later in London, and in 1932 he attended the Imperial Conference at Ottawa. He resigned the editorship of the *Cape Times* in 1935 and in 1938 re-entered politics as United Party member for Gardens. He married Mary Elizabeth Cave and had two sons and two daughters.

9. **John Wesley Dafoe**, editor-in-chief of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 1901-44, was born at Combermere, some 35 miles west of Ottawa, on March 8, 1866, into a family of Flemish origin who had settled in North America in the seventeenth century. After attending the high school at Arnprior, he left home at the age of 17 and secured a post as reporter on the *Montreal Star*. Within two years he was sent to Ottawa as Parliamentary correspondent. In 1886 he became editor of the *Ottawa Journal*, but that venture was only moderately successful, and as the family had moved to Manitoba, he joined the *Free Press* in Winnipeg, and for the next six years was a journalistic jack-of-all-trades. In 1892 he returned East as editor of the *Montreal Herald*, but three years later rejoined the *Montreal Star* in charge of its weekly edition, a post which he held until 1901 when he went back to Winnipeg as editor of the *Free Press*. When, in 1911, the proprietor of the paper, Sir Clifford Sifton, broke with the Liberal party over the Reciprocity issue, Dafoe announced his intention of supporting the measure. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he devoted all the resources of his paper to the national effort but remained nominally in opposition until the conscription controversy caused a serious disagreement between himself and Laurier. On Laurier refusing to support conscription, the *Free Press* broke with the Liberal Party. When the Coalition ministry of Conservatives and conscription Liberals was formed in October, 1917, he was offered a seat in it,

but declined, saying that journalism and politics could not be mixed. He did, however, accompany Borden to Versailles as a member of the Canadian delegation. While Borden remained in public life Dafoe gave him steady support, but in 1919 he decided to transfer his allegiance to the newly formed Progressive Party and for the next fourteen years was its virtual director. In the constitutional crisis created by Lord Byng in refusing a dissolution to Mr. Mackenzie King, Dafoe came out on the side of the Liberals and thereafter gave them his aid, at the same time mingling praise with salutary criticism. He repudiated the charge that he was anti-British but held strongly to the conviction that only a partnership which was free and equal in reality could ensure the survival of the British Commonwealth. By the end of his career he had become the acknowledged leader of his profession in Canada. Outstanding among several publications, his "Laurier: A Study in Canadian Politics," was regarded as the best appreciation of that statesman which had been written. Since 1934 he was Chancellor of the University of Manitoba. In 1890 he married Alice, daughter of W. G. Parmalee of Ottawa, and had three sons and four daughters.

14. **Sir John Edward Kynaston Studd**, Lord Mayor of London, 1928-29 and president and honorary chairman of the Regent Street Polytechnic, was born on July 26, 1858, and educated at Eton, where he distinguished himself as a cricketer. In 1877 he entered the firm of Layton & Company, intending to gain experience before joining the family tea business in India, but association with the evangelist D. L. Moody (a friend of his father) changed his entire outlook. Deciding to become a medical missionary he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1880, and while there developed his love of cricket, gaining a blue in his first season, and playing in teams under the captaincy of his brothers, G. B. and C. T. Studd. At the end of his University studies he asked Mr. Moody to head a band of Etonians desirous of taking up evangelistic work, but the project fell through. Then he met Mr. Quintin Hogg, President of the Polytechnic, who invited Studd to help him. Until Mr. Hogg's death he acted as his lieutenant and succeeded to the presidency of the Institution in 1903, holding it up to the time of his own death. Absorbed in religious and educational work, Studd had little or no connection with the City of London until late in life. At the suggestion of a past master, he joined the Fruiterers' Company; later he became a Merchant Taylor; and subsequently he served both companies in turn as master. He was elected to the shrievalty in 1922. During his year of office Sir William Treloar died and Studd succeeded him as alderman of Farringdon Without. He was elected Lord Mayor of London for the year 1928-29. Afterwards, he continued to sit regularly as a magistrate and served on many committees and boards as a representative of the Court of Aldermen. A well-known Mason, he was Senior Grand Deacon in 1910, Junior Grand Warden in 1929, and Provincial Grand Master for Cambridgeshire from 1934. Since 1929 he had been president of the board of benevolence. He was also president of the Old Etonian Association 1929-30, and of the M.C.C. in 1930, having been a member of the club since 1878. He was knighted in 1923 and created a baronet in 1929. Cambridge University conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. He was twice married; first, in 1884 to Hilda, daughter of Sir Thomas Proctor-Beauchamp, fourth baronet, who died in 1921, and secondly, in 1924, to Princess Alexandra Lieven, daughter of Prince Paul Lieven, Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Russian Imperial Court. By his first marriage he had four sons and one daughter.

20. **Admiral Mark Edward Frederic Kerr**, sailor, airman and author, was born on September 26, 1864, son of Admiral Lord Frederic Kerr, and grandson of the sixth Marquess of Lothian. Entering the Royal Navy in 1877 he served as midshipman during the Egyptian War of 1882 and in the naval brigade on shore. He was promoted sub-lieutenant in 1883 and lieutenant in 1886, becoming in that year flag-lieutenant to Vice-Admiral Sir William Hewett. About that time he won the bronze medal of the Royal Humane Society for gallantry in saving the life of a midshipman. In 1891 he was temporarily employed with

the Egyptian Army in the Sudan. He was promoted commander in 1898 and a year later took command of the destroyer *Mermaid* at the Nore. From 1901 to 1903 he was commander of the *Implacable* under Captain Prince Louis of Battenberg. Soon after being promoted captain he was appointed naval attaché in Rome. He became flag-captain to Prince Louis in the *Drake* in 1905; was appointed the first captain of the new battle cruiser *Invincible* in 1908, and in 1911 was made assistant to the admiral commanding coast guards and reserves. In May, 1913, he was promoted rear-admiral and later in the year became head of the British Naval Mission to Greece, where he remained for two years. While on leave in July, 1914, he took his Royal Aero Club pilot's certificate in a Sopwith seaplane. In 1916 he succeeded Rear-Admiral Sir Cecil Thursby in command of the British naval forces in the Adriatic. He was wounded and gassed during operations on May 24, 1917, and on returning home later in the summer was appointed for duty at the Air Board. On the amalgamation of the Royal Naval Air Service and the Royal Flying Corps in January, 1918, he was made deputy chief of the Air Staff with the temporary rank of major-general, R.A.F. Promoted vice-admiral in April, 1918, he retired from the active list in the following October. In 1922 he was advanced to admiral, retired. Besides the C.B. and the M.V.O., he held many foreign decorations. His publications included "The Destroyer and a Cargo of Notions," and other poems; "Land, Sea, and Air"; and essays on "The Spirit of Nelson," and other naval topics. He was president of the Royal Navy Old Comrades' Association. In 1906 he married Rose, daughter of Major W. A. Gough, and had two daughters.

23. **Edvard Munch**, distinguished Norwegian painter, was born on December 12, 1863, at Loiten in Hedemarken, Norway, the son of a physician. After studying at the Oslo School of Art, he proceeded with a State scholarship in 1889 to Paris, where he worked for a time in the studio of Bonnat. Leaving Paris he wandered to Germany and Italy, dogged by ill-health. From 1897 to 1901 he was back in Norway, tramping the country and studying and reproducing people and landscapes. In his mature work, whether in his portraits, paintings or engravings, Munch expressed thought as well as feeling. "I want to paint life," he used to say. Competent critics declared that he succeeded as no one else in giving expression to the sentiments and feelings of the Northern peoples. Some of his most distinctive work was seen in the decorations he provided for the Great Hall of the University of Oslo. In the 1890's Munch was living in Berlin, where, owing to the opposition of Anton von Werner an exhibition of his work was cold-shouldered and quickly had to close. But the incident was not without consequences for art in Berlin. The Verein Berliner Kuenstler split in two over the occurrence, and under the leadership of Liebermann the Sezession was founded. In later years Munch had great popularity in Germany, and also in Switzerland; in 1933, however, the Nazi barbarians found his work not in harmony with their ideals of art and his pictures were expelled from Germany. Towards the end of his life he was something of a recluse, living in his studio in Oslo. His death was lamented in Sweden and in Denmark as well as in Norway as the passing of a great man and a great artist. In his will Munch left 30,000 kroner for the assistance of needy art students; all his pictures he presented to the city of Oslo.

26. **Sir John Bretland Farmer**, distinguished botanist, was born on April 5, 1865, and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he came under the influence of Isaac Bayley Balfour, Sherardian Professor of Botany. In 1887 he took a first class in the Honour School of Natural Science and was appointed demonstrator of Botany in the University, and two years later was elected a Fellow of his College. In 1892 he became assistant professor of Biology at the Royal College of Science. He was professor there from 1895 to 1907 and professor of Botany and director of the biological laboratories at the Imperial College of Science from 1907 to 1929, when he was made Professor Emeritus. In 1907 he was appointed a member of the Advisory Council to the Committee of the Privy

Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. While at the Privy Council he organised the Forest Products Research Board and was its first chairman and director. In 1915 he went to the West Indies to select a site for the research station in connexion with the Imperial Cotton Growing Corporation. He was also governor of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, which he helped to found. He wrote a "Practical Introduction to the Study of Botany," and was the editor of *Science and Progress* and one of the editors of *Annals of Botany*. In collaboration with A. D. Darbishire he translated into English De Vries's masterpiece, "Die Mutationstheorie." He was a Fellow of the Royal Society whose Royal Medal he received in 1919 for his work on plant and animal cytology. He was an honorary F.R.S.E. and an honorary LL.D. (Edinburgh). In 1926 he was created a knight. He married, in 1892, Edith May, daughter of the Rev. Dr. C. Pritchard, and had one daughter.

27. Robert Martin Holland-Martin, deputy chairman of Martins Bank, and one of the most active and best known figures in the City of his day, was born on October 10, 1872, son of the Rev. F. W. Holland, his mother being a daughter of Robert Martin of Tewkesbury. He assumed the additional surname of Martin by royal licence in 1917. After being educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford, he entered Martins Bank, with which his family had been long associated. For over twenty years he had been chairman of the London board of the Company. Since 1935 he was chairman of the Southern Railway. He was also a director of the Alliance Assurance Company, the Union Discount Company, the Gas Light and Coke Company, and several other concerns. During 1929-31 he was president of the Institute of Bankers, and from 1905 to 1934 served as honorary secretary of the committee of the London clearing bankers. At one time he was chairman of the London Territorial Army and Air Force Association. For many years he was honorary treasurer of the Political Economy Club. He was a governor of Guy's Hospital, of Bromsgrove School, and of Gresham's School, Holt. Twice he was Prime Warden of the Fishmongers' Company. He married, in 1897, Eleanor Mary, daughter of G. E. Martin, and had six sons.

FEBRUARY

9. Mme. Duclaux (Mary Robinson), poetess, was born at Leamington in 1857, daughter of G. T. Robinson, architect, and educated in Brussels and in Italy. She also studied at University College, London, specialising in Greek. From her youth up she cultivated writing, and her natural bent must have been influenced by her acquaintance with literary people, some of them intimate friends of her parents, including Walter Pater, Miss Violet Paget (Vernon Lee), J. A. Symonds, and Edmund Gosse. Her first volume, "A Handful of Honey-suckle," appeared in 1878. Then followed "The Crowned Hippolytus," from Euripides (1881), "Emily Brontë" (1883), "The New Arcadia and Other Poems" (1884), "Margaret of Angoulême" (1886), and "The End of the Middle Ages" (1888). After her first marriage to James Darmesteter, the distinguished Orientalist, she lived almost entirely in France, much of her later work being done in the French language, comprising the important "La Vie de Renan" (1893), "Froissart" (1894), "Grands Ecrivains Outre Manche" (1901), "Vie d'Emile Duclaux" (1907), "Madame de Sévigné" (1904), and "Pensées de Robert Browning" (1922). She also translated into English her husband's "Etudes Anglaises." Darmesteter died in 1894, and in 1901 his widow married Professor Emile Duclaux, director of the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Mme. Duclaux died at Aurillac (Cantal), France, where she had been living with her sister, Miss Mabel Robinson.

14. Dr. Stanton Coit, minister of the Ethical Church, London, 1909-44, was born at Columbus, Ohio, on August 11, 1857, and in due course became a teacher of English at Amherst College, Massachusetts. In 1880 he heard from

a student about the society for ethical culture in New York City, which had been founded by Felix Adler in 1876. A keen Emersonian, the idea appealed to him; he gave up his post, joined Adler, and in 1882 went to Berlin to study philosophy. In 1886, after three months at Toynbee Hall, London, he returned to New York where he started a settlement on similar lines, out of which grew the University settlement of that city, the parent of such social institutions in America. A year later he accepted Moncure Conway's invitation to become minister of the South Place religious society in London and quickly made considerable progress. In 1909 he leased a chapel in Queen's Road, Bayswater, remaining there as minister until his death. His translation of Nicolai Hartmann's treatise on ethics appeared in 1933. Dr. Coit, who retained his American nationality, married, in 1898, Mrs. Fanny Adela Wetzlar, and had three daughters.

15. **Dr. Harvey Grace, Mus.D., F.R.C.O.**, editor of the *Musical Times*, 1918 to 1944, was born at Romsey in 1874; was educated at Southwark Cathedral under Dr. Madeley Richardson; and obtained his first post as organist at St. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square. From 1925 to 1933 he directed the St. Cecilia Festivals, at which choirs of working girls' clubs combined to give performances of unison and part-songs in the Albert and Queen's Halls. Between 1931 and 1938 he served as organist and director of the choir at Chichester Cathedral. Since 1941 he had been organist at East Grinstead parish church. For many years he was in regular demand as an adjudicator at competition festivals. Among his publications were "The Complete Organist," "The Organ Works of Bach," "French Organ Music, Past and Present," "The Organ Works of Rheinberger," "Beethoven," "Choral Society Training and Conducting," "A Little Life of Bach," and, in collaboration with Sir Walford Davies, "Music and Worship." Some of his *Musical Times* articles, many of which were signed "Feste," were reprinted in "A Musician at Large." He composed a number of pieces for the organ, transcribed Bach, and edited Rheinberger's sonatas.

18. **Harold Hulme Brindley, F.S.A.**, zoologist and nautical archæologist, was born on June 17, 1865, son of J. B. Brindley, Recorder of Hanley, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where, after graduating, he was appointed a demonstrator in the zoological laboratory, and later he became a tutor to medical students. In due course he was made a Fellow of the College and director of studies in biology and zoology. Keenly interested in the sea and shipping, Brindley was an original member of the Cambridge University Cruising Club, founded in 1893, and also a member of the Royal Harwich Yacht Club. As a result of studying ships represented in ancient church windows, in mural paintings, on bench ends, and on early seals—thus learning of the construction of ships before works on the subject were printed—he attained distinction as a nautical archæologist. He was one of the earliest members of the Society for Nautical Research, founded in 1910, and between that year and 1934 he contributed many articles to the society's quarterly publication, the *Mariner's Mirror*. He was twice married; first, in 1896, to Gertrude Roberta Froggatt, daughter of Robert Brindley, who died in 1921, and, secondly, he married Maud Doria Haviland, ornithologist and Fellow of Newnham College. By each marriage he had one daughter.

— **John Arthur Ruskin Munro**, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, 1919-44, was born on February 24, 1864, son of a sculptor, and named Ruskin, who was one of his godfathers. He was educated at Charterhouse and Exeter College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself in the classical schools. After taking his degree he travelled in the Eastern Mediterranean doing archæological work. In 1888 he was elected an official Fellow of Lincoln College, became tutor in ancient history and made his mark as a lecturer. He succeeded Warde Fowler in 1904 as sub-rector of Lincoln College, holding the post for fifteen years, 1904-19, until he became Rector in succession to Dr. Merry. Munro's literary output

was not large, but what was available was of great value. Included in his writings was an article on the Persian wars in the 4th volume of "The Cambridge Ancient History." In 1929 he was elected an honorary Fellow of Exeter College. He married Margaret Caroline Neaves, daughter of the Rev. C. H. Perez, inspector of schools, and had one son and four daughters.

21. Professor Hugh Frank Newall, F.R.S., who held the Chair of Astrophysics at Cambridge University, 1909-28, and since 1928 had been Emeritus-Professor, was born on June 21, 1857, son of R. S. Newall, F.R.S., head of a wire-rope making firm at Gateshead. He was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, and after taking his degree in the Mathematical Tripos remained at Cambridge working in the Cavendish Laboratories. From 1886 to 1890 he was Demonstrator in Experimental Physics under Professor J. J. Thomson. In 1889 his father, a keen amateur astronomer, gave him his telescope, with a 25-inch object glass, to Cambridge University Observatory, and young Newall was put in sole charge. A few years later he was made assistant director of the observatory, and in 1909 became the first honorary Professor of Astrophysics. When, in 1911, the Solar Physics Observatory was moved from South Kensington to Cambridge, its control passing from the Board of Education to the University, Newall was made responsible for this also. The chief work for many years with the Newall telescope was the spectroscopic measurement of the motion of the stars in the line of sight, resulting in the discovery by Newall independently—but almost simultaneously with Professor Campbell, of the Lick Observatory—that the star Capella is a binary system. In 1910 Newall published "The Spectroscope and its Work." From 1907 to 1909 he was president of the Astronomical Society. He was twice married; first, in 1881, to Margaret, daughter of the Rev. C. T. Arnold, who died in 1930, and, secondly, in 1931, to Dame Bertha Surtees Phillpotts.

29. The Rev. Dr. Frederick William Bussell, Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, 1896-1913, was born in 1862, son of the vicar of Great Marlow, and educated at Charterhouse and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself in Classics and Theology, and was a Craven scholar. He became a Fellow of Brasenose in 1886, was ordained in 1891, and was elected Vice-Principal of the College in 1896. At that time discipline was somewhat lax, but Bussell succeeded in restoring and maintaining order. He resigned from the Vice-Principalship in 1913, but continued to reside as a Fellow until 1917, when he became entitled to a pension and retired from college work. He then accepted a living at Northolt, resigning it in 1925. During his years at Oxford he was a notable and somewhat eccentric personality in University life, both in manner and appearance as well as in learning, which embraced music (he had taken the degree of Mus. Bac.), sociology, philosophy and theology. He was a prolific writer, his ideas were marked by a strong anti-democratic feeling. Of his numerous books, the most striking was perhaps "The School of Plato" (1896); his "New Government for the British Empire" (1912) was a characteristic piece of work. He also wrote a Latin poem in two books on Merovingian land tenure. Bussell played the piano and organ, and composed and arranged the Devon folk songs for Baring Gould's and Cecil Sharpe's "English Minstrelsie." He married Mary Winifred, daughter of Sir Robert Dibdin, of Hampstead.

— **Sir Miles Mattinson, K.C.**, an expert on company law, was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1854. At the age of 20 he obtained the Bacon scholarship at Gray's Inn and in the following year the Inns of Court Studentship in Jurisprudence. In 1877 he was called to the Bar, joining the Northern Circuit. From 1886 to 1922 he was Recorder of Blackburn. He took silk in 1897. After two unsuccessful attempts he was returned to Parliament without opposition in 1888 as Conservative member for the Walton Division of Liverpool, but he did not seek re-election until January, 1910, when he was heavily defeated at Bolton.

Eventually he found his true vocation in the City, where his mastery of the details of company law and the intricacies of the Stock Exchange proved valuable. He enjoyed a close friendship with Sir John Ellerman, on whose death the chief control of the Ellerman Lines passed to Mattinson. At Gray's Inn he was called to the Bench in 1892, became treasurer in 1897, and from 1894 to 1922 he was chairman of the finance committee. A deeply religious man, Mattinson was a regular worshipper at Gray's Inn Chapel, of which, in 1930, he was made Dean. He was the author of books on the law of corrupt practices at elections and on precedents in pleadings. He was twice married; first, in 1879, to Lizzie, daughter of Mark Dearden, of Manchester, and secondly, to Jessie De Lisle, daughter of F. Mortimer, of Chiswick. By his first marriage he had two sons and one daughter.

— **Dr. Pehr Evind Svinhufvud**, President of Finland, 1931-37, was born at Sääksmäki, Southern Finland, in 1860. He was admitted to the Bar in 1886 and practised for a time in the High Court of Viborg. He was a member of the old Finnish Estates from 1894 to 1906, and in the following year was elected to the Diet, of which, in 1908, he was elected Speaker. As a result of his protest against an attack on Finnish liberties by the Imperial Duma, the Diet was prorogued, and later he was dismissed from his judgeship by the Russian Governor-General and, in 1914, was sent to Siberia. Freed by Kerensky's amnesty, he returned to Helsinki in 1917 and resumed the leadership in Finnish politics, becoming Chancellor of Justice. After the civil war began in 1918 he escaped to Vasa, travelling *via* Tallinn (Reval), Berlin, and Stockholm. When the Government returned in May, Svinhufvud became Regent under a new Constitution which made Finland a constitutional monarchy. Following the collapse of Germany and the resignation of all the Germanophiles from the Finnish Government, he retired for a time from active political life. In 1930 when the anti-Communist campaign followed the renewal of Communist propaganda he returned to the Diet as Prime Minister. A year later he became President, holding that office until 1937. He died at his home at Luumäki.

MARCH

8. **Dr. Alfred William Pollard**, eminent as a bibliographer, Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, 1919-24, was born in Kensington in 1859, and educated at King's College School and St. John's College, Oxford, where he graduated with first class honours in Classics. In 1883 he entered the service of the British Museum, becoming Keeper of Printed Books in 1919, and retiring in 1924. In his early years he wrote articles and reviews in the *Guardian* for Lathbury; devilled on Wyclif for Furnivall, whom he succeeded as editor of the Early English Text Society; edited "Herrick" in the Muses' Library for Arthur Bullen; and for the Clarendon Press produced his "best-seller," "English Miracle Plays." He was honorary secretary of the Bibliographical Society for forty years, almost from its inception. Thus began his association with Duff, Gregg, McKerrow, and MacAlister, which led, in 1926, to the "Short-Title Catalogue" of books printed in English (1475-1640). This, with his work on the British Museum Catalogue of Incunabula, established his reputation as a bibliographer. In 1903 he undertook the planning and directing of the "Catalogue of books printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum," the first volume of which appeared in 1908. He supervised the publication of Macmillan's "Globe" edition of Chaucer in 1898, editing, himself, "The Canterbury Tales," and for Methuen he produced the epoch-making work "Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos: A Study of the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594-1685." In 1911 he wrote the descriptions for the Exhibition of Bibles at the British Museum to celebrate the tercentenary of the publication of the Authorised Version. With Henrietta C. Bartlett he published, in 1916, "A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto" (1594-1709). In 1923 he organised an exhibition to celebrate the tercentenary of the First Folio, and delivered, in spite

of his incorrigible stammer, the annual Shakespeare Lecture for the British Academy, taking as his subject "The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text." He was Sandars Reader in Bibliography at Cambridge in 1915, and Professor of English Bibliography at King's College from 1919 to 1932. His Sandars Lectures were published in 1917 under the title "Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of the Text." He was made a Fellow of King's College, London, in 1907; Hon. D.Litt. of Durham in 1921; C.B. and F.B.A. in 1932; honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1923, and Hon. D.Litt. of Cambridge in 1934. In 1887 he married Alice England, of Newnham College, and had two sons and one daughter. In memory of his sons, who were killed in the 1914-18 war, he wrote "Two Brothers: Account Rendered."

9. **The Right Rev. John Reginald Harmer**, Bishop of Rochester, 1905-30, was born on August 11, 1857, son of the vicar of Maisemore, Gloucestershire, and educated at Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself in Classics and Theology, being elected a Fellow of his College in 1883. In the following year he was ordained. For a time he was a curate at Monkswearmouth, after which he became domestic chaplain to Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham. On Lightfoot's death he was elected to a Fellowship at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he was also Dean and Librarian. In 1895, at the age of 37, he was made Bishop of Adelaide, New South Wales, where his name will be associated with the building of the Cathedral. Ten years later he returned to England as the 101st Bishop of Rochester in the Bishopric of Southwark, resigning in 1930 on account of ill-health. He established the Diocesan Society; reorganised on a democratic basis the Diocesan Conference; was a strong advocate of reform in Church government, and in favour of Prayer-book revision. He was responsible for seeing through the press the posthumous works of Bishop Lightfoot and contributed the chapter entitled "The Bishop in his Study" to the book "Lightfoot of Durham." He also edited "The Apostolic Fathers" and other volumes. In 1895 he married Mary Dorothy, daughter of A. H. Somers-Cocks, of the Bengal Civil Service.

10. **Charles John Cutcliffe Wright Hyne**, better known as Cutcliffe Hyne, author, creator of "Captain Kettle," was born at Bibury, Gloucestershire, on May 11, 1865, son of the Rev. C. W. N. Hyne, and educated at Bradford Grammar School and Clare College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as an oarsman, and was president of the Clare Alpine Club. His earliest literary efforts met with little reward. His first three novels brought him little profit, and for four years he lived in what he called a "literary thieves' kitchen." To gain experience he decided that he must travel, and made it a rule to cover about 10,000 miles each year. On one occasion he signed on as a winch hand; on another as a doctor. He mined in Mexico, and hunted for treasure on Salvage Island. In "Honour of Thieves," which appeared in serial form in *Answers* (1895), he introduced as a secondary character a little red-headed sailor whom he called Captain Kettle. In his autobiography, "My Joyful Life" (1935), he recalls how Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe) told him that the red-headed sailor was the best touch in the story. Hyne offered him a Captain Kettle series; but as he thought Harmsworth's fee too small, Hyne came to terms with *Pearson's Magazine* which printed the stories. He continued to write about Kettle (a composite picture of twenty or more skippers), and the subsidiary characters, McTodd, the Scottish engineer, and Horrocks, the purser, for over forty years. Occasionally he ventured into other fields, notably with "Recipe for Diamonds," in which he drew upon his experiences exploring caves; "The Lost Continent" (1900), a tale of pre-history; "Don't You Agree?" (1936), which contained proposals for improving the world; and "Wishing Smith" (1939), recording the adventures of a Cambridge Reader into stratospheric physics. In 1897 he married Elsie, daughter of John Haggas, of Ingrow, and had one son and one daughter.

16. **Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Prain**, distinguished botanist, was born at Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, on July 11, 1857, and educated at Aberdeen Grammar School and Aberdeen University, where he became M.A. with honours in science. He then obtained a post on the teaching staff of Ramsgate College, but two years later returned to Scotland to study medicine at Edinburgh University. In 1883 he qualified M.B. with the highest honours, and was appointed a demonstrator in Anatomy at the Edinburgh College of Surgeons. Later he held a similar post at Aberdeen University, but left after a year to join the Indian Medical Service. For the next two years he was attached to native regiments in different parts of India, following which he became curator of the herbarium and library at the Royal Botanic Garden at Calcutta. His first big opportunity came eleven years later, when he succeeded Sir George King as superintendent of the garden. He was also placed in charge of the department that was responsible for the cultivation of cinchona in India. Subsequently, he became director of the Botanical Survey of India, gaining a profound knowledge of the flora of that country, especially of the Himalayas. In 1902 he accompanied Sir Francis Younghusband on his mission to Lhasa. He held the chair of Botany in the Calcutta Medical College, and was a trustee of the Indian Museum. In 1905 he was appointed director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, where he remained for seventeen years. He published a book on the plants of Bengal (1903), and for thirteen years, from 1907, edited the *Botanical Magazine*. In 1919 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, later becoming treasurer. He was a trustee of the British Museum and a director of the Forest Products Research Board attached to the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. He was actively associated with the Carnegie Trust, the John Innes Horticultural Institution, the Linnean Society, and the Royal Horticultural Society. Made C.I.E. in 1906, he was knighted in 1912 and made C.M.G. In 1887 he married Margaret, daughter of the Rev. W. Thomson, and had one son, who was killed in the first world war.

20. **Harris Rackham**, distinguished classical scholar, was born on December 22, 1868, son of A. T. Rackham, Admiralty marshal, and educated at the City of London School and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took first-class honours in the Classical Tripos, and was elected a Fellow in 1894. Under the statutes of 1926 he became University lecturer in Classics. He also lectured at Newnham, of which he had been a member of the council since 1905. His publications included translations of Cicero's *De Finibus* and of Aristotle's "Nicomachean Ethics;" later, in retirement, more translations of Aristotle came from his pen—the "Politics," a new edition of the "Ethics," the "Athenian Constitution," the "Eudemian Ethics," and the "Rhetoric," all for the Loeb Classics. For the same series he also provided *Natura Deorum*, the *Academica* and Volumes I and III of Pliny's "Natural History." In 1939 his articles from the college magazine were reprinted under the title "Christ's College in Former Days." Previously, in 1927, he had published, with translation and notes, the early statutes of Christ's College with the statutes of the prior foundation of God's House. His verse translations appeared in volume form in 1935. He married, in 1901, Clara Dorothea, daughter of Henry S. Tabor.

24. **Major-General Orde Charles Wingate**, who won fame as a guerrilla leader, and was described as "one of the thrilling figures of the war," was born on February 26, 1903, son of Colonel G. Wingate, and educated at Charterhouse. After passing through Woolwich he was gazetted to the Royal Artillery in 1923. From 1928 to 1933 he was attached to the Sudan Defence Force. In 1936 he was promoted captain and went to Palestine and Transjordan on a special mission for which his knowledge of the Arab world particularly fitted him. To counter the activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem, whose support of disaffected bands of Arabs and Syrians was causing much trouble, he organised and led a force of soldiers and supernumerary police which operated solely by night. In recognition

of that work he was awarded the D.S.O. in 1938. When war broke out in 1939 Wingate, now a major, was stationed in Kent in charge of anti-aircraft guns. Soon he was selected for service under General Wavell as organiser and leader of the Abyssinian partisans, and on May 5, 1941, he entered Addis Ababa with the Emperor. Next, he was sent to Burma, becoming the obvious leader of the "Jungle Commando," but his exploits in enemy controlled country were not made known until May, 1943. At the head of British and Gurkha columns he penetrated hundreds of miles across jungle ranges, valleys, and rivers, and he cut the Myitkyina railway in fifty places. Eventually the force reached the Shan States, causing the Japanese to divert troops from more important points. Lord Wavell recommended him to the Royal Central Asian Society for the award of the Lawrence of Arabia gold medal, which Mrs. Wingate received on his behalf in July, 1943. Later in the year he returned to London to see Mr. Churchill and lay before him plans for a second campaign. Mr. Churchill promoted him to major-general, and took him to Quebec where he met Lord Louis Mountbatten and others. Major-General Wingate, who married, in 1935, Lorna E. Paterson, daughter of W. Moncreiff Paterson, of Monymusk, Aberdeenshire, was killed in an aeroplane accident during an operational flight in Burma.

27. **Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith**, artist and archæologist, was born on September 11, 1859, son of a solicitor, and after being educated at Winchester, joined the department of Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum (1879), where he was soon recognised as a promising archæologist. In 1887 he went to Persia with a diplomatic mission, and about the same time helped to found the *Classical Review*, which, for a time, he edited. From 1895 to 1897 he was granted leave to become director of the British School at Athens, which had just received an annual grant from the Treasury. He organised the school's excavations in the island of Melos; instituted its *Annual*; and generally enhanced its prestige. In 1904 he succeeded Dr. A. S. Murray as Keeper of his department in the British Museum. Four years later he was elected chairman of the commission appointed to report on the reorganisation of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and drafted its report. That led to his being offered the post of director and secretary under the new organisation, and in 1909 he took up the appointment, holding it for sixteen years. He secured for the technical staff the same status as officials of the British Museum; introduced students' rooms in all departments, as well as official guide-lecturers; and organised special exhibitions, such as the Franco-Exhibition of 1921. Under his directorship the Salting collection, the Rodin sculptures (later removed to the Tate Gallery), the Talbot Hughes collection of costumes, the Alma Tadema library, the Le Blon Korean pottery, and the Pierpont Morgan stained glass all came into the Museum. He also took a leading part in the foundation of the Central Committee for the Care of Churches, was chairman of the committee of the Incorporated Church Building Society, and president of the Society of Civil Servants. He retired from the Museum in 1924 and in the following year became adviser for the Royal Art Collections. In 1928 he was made surveyor of the Royal Works of Art, holding that office to the death of King George V. He published a popular work on the art treasures of the nation (1929) and a "History of the Society of Dilettanti" (1932), of which he was honorary secretary. Knighted in 1909, he was made C.V.O. in 1917 and advanced to K.C.V.O. in 1934. He married, in 1892, Alice Edith, daughter of H. W. Watson, of Durham, and had two sons.

28. **Professor Stephen Butler Leacock**, economist and humorist, was born at Swanmoor, Hampshire, on December 30, 1869, son of W. P. Leacock, of the Isle of Wight, his mother being a daughter of the Rev. Stephen Butler. In 1876 the family emigrated to Canada, and Stephen was educated at Upper Canada College and at the University of Toronto. He then became a master on the staff of his old school, remaining there until 1899, when he broke from what he called "the most dreary, the most thankless, and the worst paid profession in the world."

Borrowing some money, he set out to qualify as a university instructor by entering the graduate school of the University of Chicago, where he studied politics and economics. He was appointed a Fellow and received the Chicago degree of Ph.D. in 1903. Meanwhile, he had begun to lecture at McGill University, Montreal, and continued to do so from 1901 until he retired on reaching the age limit in 1936, when he was made Professor Emeritus. From 1908 he was head of the Department of Economics. During 1907-08 he made a tour of the Empire, lecturing on Imperial organisation in connexion with the Rhodes Trust. He began to write short stories and humorous sketches about 1891, but did not make his mark as an author until, in 1910, he published "Literary Lapses." "Nonsense Novels," published in England by John Lane, appeared in 1911, and thereafter he produced a work of humour practically every year. Some of the best were "Moonbeams from the Larger Lunacy," "Frenzied Fiction," and "Winsome Winnie." He also wrote critical accounts of Mark Twain (1932) and of Charles Dickens (1933); anthologies of the "Greatest Pages of Charles Dickens" (1935), and the "Greatest Pages of American Humour" (1936). In 1935 he brought out "Humour: Its Theory and Technique," and two years later, "Humour and Humanity" in which he held, somewhat against evidence, that in the modern world kindness and humour are one. Some of his best imaginative work was contained in "College Days" and in "Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town." Among his writings on economics and politics were "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice" (1920), "Economic Prosperity in the British Empire" (1930), and "Our British Empire" (1940). But he will be best remembered as a master of pure nonsense. He claimed that his humorous work was by no means a by-product, and once remarked that he "would sooner have written 'Alice in Wonderland' than the whole of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'" In 1900 he married Beatrix, daughter of Colonel R. B. Hamilton, of Toronto, and had one son.

30. **Sir Charles Vernon Boys**, distinguished physicist, was born at Wing, Rutland, on March 15, 1855, and educated at Marlborough. From 1873 to 1876 he studied at the Royal School of Mines, South Kensington, and in 1881 became demonstrator at the Royal College of Science, where, from 1889, he was assistant professor of physics. In 1897 he was appointed one of the Metropolitan Gas Referees. Boys was well known for his work on quartz fibres, utilising their torsion for the measurement of extremely small forces. One application of this was made in connexion with his radiometer for the measurement of radiant heat, an instrument so sensitive that, aided by a reflecting telescope, it could detect differences in the radiation from various parts of the moon's disc, and would respond to the heat of a candle at a distance of more than a mile. He also used quartz fibres in his repetition of Cavendish's experiment relating to the gravitational constant, his determination ranking as one of the best ever made. He also gave much attention to the photography of rapidly moving objects. A calorimeter which he described to the Royal Society in 1905 was adopted as the standard instrument for testing London gas. When the Gas Regulation Act of 1920 introduced the method of charging for gas according to the amount of heat it would produce when burnt, Boys devoted himself to the construction of an apparatus which gave a continuous record of the heating value of the gas. In addition to "Soap Bubbles, Their Colours, and the Forces which Mould Them" (which he dedicated to G. F. Rodwell, his science master at Marlborough), he wrote many scientific papers and edited a volume on dynamometers by the Rev. F. J. Jervis-Smith. In 1939 he published a second edition of his book on the eradication of garden weeds. He was an early member of the Physical Society, serving it successively as secretary and president, and receiving its Duddell Medal in 1925. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1888 and was awarded the Royal Medal in 1896, and the Rumford Medal in 1924. In 1939 he gained the Elliott Cresson Medal of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia. In 1903 he was president of Section A, Mathematics and Physics, of the British Association

meeting at Southport. Sir Charles Boys, who was knighted in 1935, married, in 1892, Marion Amel~~la~~, daughter of Henry Pollock. The marriage was dissolved in 1910. He had one son, who became secretary of the Institution of Naval Architects in 1936.

APRIL

8. **Leopold Hamilton Myers**, novelist, was born at Cambridge, in 1881, son of F. W. H. Myers, founder of the Society for Psychical Research, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. His first novel, "The Orissers," a rather gloomy study of psychological types, appeared in 1923. Two years later came "The Clio," a satire in lighter vein, describing the adventures of a yachting party up the Amazon. In 1929 he published "The Near and the Far," the scene of which was laid in sixteenth-century India around the court of Akbar, the Great Mogul. The second book in the trilogy, "Prince Jali," was published in 1931, followed by "The Root and the Flower" in 1935. In 1940 he added a fourth volume to the series, "The Pool of Vishnu." "The Root and the Flower" won for Myers the Femina Vie Heureuse Prize for 1936, and the James Tait Black Memorial Prize. "Strange Glory," a beautifully written novel on a high contemplative and visionary level, was published in 1936. Myers married, in 1908, Elsie, daughter of General W. J. Palmer, of Colorado Springs, United States, and had two daughters.

11. **Gabriel Hanotaux**, French politician and historian, was born in Beaurevoir (Aisne), and after studying History became archivist in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1879. His abilities were soon recognised, so that promotion came quickly, until in 1885 he was Counsellor at the French Legation in Constantinople. In 1886 he entered the Chamber as Republican deputy for his native Aisne, remaining there for three years. In 1889 he lost his seat and returned to the Diplomatic Service. On May 31, 1894, he became Foreign Minister in the Dupuy Cabinet, holding the office for four years, with only an interruption of ten months during the Ribot administration. His foreign policy aimed at bringing France into closer friendship with Russia, and it was to serve this end that he accompanied President Felix Faure on his visit to St. Petersburg in 1897. Hanotaux was suspicious of Great Britain; during the Fashoda incident it was on his instructions that the Marchand Expedition marched. "You are going to fire a pistol shot in the Nile; we accept all its consequences," he was alleged to have told Marchand. During the Dreyfus agitation, Hanotaux was among those who believed in the innocence of Dreyfus. After 1898 he withdrew from political life, devoting himself to historical research. His publications included "Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu" (1895); "Histoire de la formation de la IIIe Republique"; "Histoire de la Nation Française"; and "Histoire de la France contemporaine, 1871-1882," in four volumes (1903-08). In 1887 Hanotaux was elected a member of the Académie Française.

13. **The Earl of Lonsdale, K.G.** (the Right Hon. Sir Hugh Cecil Lowther, fifth Earl), was born on January 25, 1857, second son of the third earl and brother of the fourth, whom he succeeded in 1882. He was educated at Eton. Throughout his life he was a devotee of sport of all kinds. Until debarred on account of his weight, he rode in a number of steeplechases. In 1879 he won the Great Eastern Welter Drag Hunt Cup, riding The Querk. At his father's request he learned every detail of a huntsman's duties, experience which proved useful when he became master of the Quorn in 1883. Later, he took over the mastership of the Cottesmore, hunting with that pack until 1911. An authority on all matters relating to the horse, he was a favourite judge at shows, and he always had a friendly word for cab-drivers and costermongers. For some years he trained race-horses in his own park but later left it mainly in the hands of the Darlings at Beckhampton. His successes were seldom commensurate with his outlay; his only win in classic races was with "Royal Lancer" in the

St. Leger of 1922. Nevertheless, for many years he was probably the most popular and picturesque figure on the race-course. With his old-fashioned whiskers, large cigar, and buttonhole, he personified an English type which had almost disappeared. For nearly sixty years he attended the Doncaster St. Leger meeting, holding the office of steward until 1937. Since 1908 he had been a member of the Jockey Club, and was also a member of the Turf Club. In 1878 he led an expedition to the Arctic regions in the vague hope of discovering the Pole. He found gold in Klondyke long before the boom; and he hunted moose and wapiti in Alaska. Another of his interests was yachting; he was elected a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron in 1894. In 1896 he raced the second *Meteor* for the German Emperor, winning 17 out of the 22 races in which she started. Boxing, too, found in him an enthusiastic supporter. As president of the National Sporting Club he gave five gold belts in 1911 as trophies for championships at various weights. He was associated with the National Coursing Club, realising one of his ambitions when he won the Waterloo Cup with his greyhound "Latto." He was president of the Arsenal Football Club. For two years he was Mayor of Whitehaven. He became honorary colonel of the 1st Cumberland Volunteer Artillery in 1884; honorary colonel of the 3rd Battalion, The Border Regiment in 1891; and in 1900 was D.A.A.G. for the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa. He also served as colonel of the Westmorland and Cumberland Yeomanry and was chairman of the Cumberland and Westmorland Joint Territorial Force Associations. In 1917 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland. He was created a G.C.V.O. in 1925 and K.G. in 1928. He married, in 1878, Lady Grace Cecile Gordon, third daughter of the tenth Marquess of Huntly, celebrating his diamond wedding in 1938. Lady Lonsdale died in 1941. There were no children and Lord Lonsdale was succeeded by his brother, the Hon. Lancelot Edward Lowther, born in 1867.

16. **William Percival Crozier**, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, 1932-44, was born in 1879, son of a Wesleyan Methodist minister, and educated at Manchester Grammar School and Trinity College, Oxford. After a year as a schoolmaster, and a short period on the staff of *The Times*, he joined the *Manchester Guardian* in 1903, serving variously as news-editor, leader-writer and assistant editor. In 1926 he became a director of the company. After E. T. Scott, son of "C.P.," had been drowned in Lake Windermere in 1932, Crozier was appointed editor. Throughout his life he was interested in military and naval strategy and this found expression in his writings on the Russo-Japanese War, as well as on the war of 1914-18 and that which began in 1939. He was also interested in all forms of sport. In the *Manchester Guardian* he instituted and guided several new features, from a women's page to the increased use of photographs. For some time he edited the "Manchester Guardian History of the War." In 1926 he produced the "Letters of Pontius Pilate," an excursion into imaginative biography, and he also wrote "C.P.S. in the Office" for J. L. Hammond's *Life of C. P. Scott*. He married, in 1906, Gladys, daughter of G. F. Baker, of Maidstone, and had one son and two daughters.

17. **Charles Larcom Graves**, journalist, critic and versifier, was born on December 15, 1856, son of Dr. Charles Graves, Bishop of Limerick, and younger brother of Dr. A. P. Graves, author of "Father O'Flynn." After being educated at Marlborough and Christ Church, Oxford, he tried his hand at teaching, but gradually established a connexion with the London evening newspaper the *Globe*. He was also associated with the *Cornhill* magazine. In 1899 he was invited to join the *Spectator* as assistant editor to St. Leo Strachey, holding that post until 1917. One of his chief delights as a reviewer was to discover new or unknown novelists. Before and during his employment with the *Spectator* he wrote much verse, publishing in 1894 "The Hawarden Horace" and in 1896 "More Hawarden Horace," both full of skit and parody. With E. V. Lucas he produced "Wisdom While you Wait," "Signs of the Times," and "Hustled History," three books which helped to re-establish the pun. Graves also had

a reputation as a musical critic, and wrote several biographies, including "Life and Letters of Sir George Grove," and "Life of Sir Hubert Parry." For many years he was a regular contributor to *Punch*, joining the Table in 1902 and being made assistant editor in 1928. From time to time his articles were collected into volumes, variously entitled "Humours of the Fray," "Lauds and Libels" and "New Times and Old Rhymes." He also edited "Punch's History of Modern England." He married, in 1889, Alice, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel G. H. Grey, and sister of Lord Grey of Fallodon. One of his two sons was killed in the 1914-18 war; the other, Captain Sir Cecil Graves, M.C., held the post of Joint Director-General of the B.B.C.

21. **Lord Snell** (the Right Hon. Henry Snell, first Baron Snell of Plumstead, Kent), Deputy Leader of the House of Lords, 1940-44, was born at Sutton-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire, on April 1, 1865, son of agricultural workers. At the age of eight he earned money by scaring crows and tending cattle. Two years later he was taken on as a regular "day lad," starting work at 6 o'clock in the morning. When he was twelve he became an indoor servant on a farm, after which he was odd-job-man at an inn. He next went to Nottingham where, eventually, he attended the University College. At one time he contemplated seeking a career in the ethical movement and took a course in philosophy at Heidelberg University. An illness and other events turned his attention to politics. He obtained a clerical appointment in an institution for the blind, holding it until 1890, when he moved to Woolwich—making the journey on a "penny-farthing" bicycle—to assist the secretary of the Charity Organisation Society at a weekly wage of 25s. From that bicycle, held steady by two friends, he had often addressed Socialist meetings in the country within reach of Nottingham. From Woolwich he went to the newly founded London School of Economics as secretary to the director, and a little later he was made lecturer for the Hutchinson Trust. An active and popular propagandist for the Labour movement in Huddersfield, he made there his first attempt to enter Parliament. After being defeated three times he was elected for East Woolwich in 1922. Three years previously he had been elected to the London County Council (1919) for the same constituency, but finding the dual representation too much for his health he did not seek re-election to the L.C.C. in 1925. In 1934, however, when the Labour Party obtained a majority, he returned to the Council as chairman; in 1937 he was elected for the fourth time, this being a record. In the House of Commons he helped to found (with Dr. Haden Guest, Tom Johnston and George Lansbury) the Labour Commonwealth Group, of which he served as secretary for seven years. Much of his Parliamentary life was devoted to Imperial and Indian affairs. When the first Labour Government was in office in 1924 he was a member of the delegation of the Empire Parliamentary Association which visited South Africa. Two years later, this time under a Unionist Government, he was one of a small commission which investigated economic conditions in British Guiana, but the Labour Party in the House of Commons declined to support the proposals which he had endorsed. In 1929, with Labour again in office, he served on the Palestine Commission, and in 1931 was one of the delegates of the Empire Parliamentary Association which visited Paris to expound the British method of colonial administration. He was made Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India (1931), with a seat in the House of Lords. When the Churchill Government was formed in 1940 Snell became Captain of the Hon. Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms and deputy leader of the House of Lords. He was vice-president of the Royal Empire Society and of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1940-43; joint treasurer of the Empire Parliamentary Association, and vice-chairman of the British Council. He was made a C.B.E. in 1930; sworn a member of the Privy Council in 1937; and in 1943 was made a Companion of Honour. As Snell was unmarried, the peerage became extinct.

28. **Colonel William Franklin Knox**, United States Secretary of the Navy, 1940-44, was born in Boston on January 1, 1874. Eight years later his family

moved to Grand Rapids, Michigan, and he was educated at Alma College, where he supported himself by coaching, by gymnastic classes, and by gardening and painting signs. When the Spanish-American War began he joined Theodore Roosevelt's Roughriders and went with them to Cuba, but after the second assault on San Diego he was invalided home. Towards the end of the 1914-18 War he went to France as a captain of Field Artillery and for a time commanded the 306th Field Artillery Reserve. On his return from the Spanish-American War he became a reporter on the *Grand Rapids Herald*. At the beginning of the century he purchased a share in the weekly paper at Sault Sainte Marie, where he spent ten years, after which he and his partner sold out and established *The Leader* at Manchester, New Hampshire. While there he attracted the attention of William Randolph Hearst, for whom he edited the Boston *American*, and eventually managed twenty-seven daily newspapers. After four years he purchased the important *Chicago Daily News*, with which he attacked the New Deal, and by 1936 he had become one of the President's most formidable opponents. In February of that year, he formally entered the presidential campaign. The Republican Party resolved, however, to nominate Governor Landon, of Kansas, and to put Knox forward for the vice-presidency. Shortly after the election Knox visited Germany and other parts of Europe, returning completely convinced of the Nazi menace to the democratic system everywhere. In June, 1940, when President Roosevelt felt it necessary to broaden the basis of his administration, Knox, although a Republican, decided it was time to subordinate party considerations to the national interest. He was appointed Secretary of the Navy and soon had the naval programme well ahead of schedule, speeding up production of warships with remarkable results. During a speech in October, 1941, he declared, "We shall lock Nazi Germany up in an iron ring and within that ring of sea power she shall perish." A little later he said that a clash in the Far East was virtually inevitable.

28. **The Rev. Dr. William Boothby Selbie, D.D.**, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, 1909-32, was born at Chesterfield on December 24, 1862, son of a Congregational minister, and educated at Manchester Grammar School and Brasenose College, Oxford, of which he was a Scholar. After graduating in Classics, he studied Theology under Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, who influenced him in his choice of a career. In 1902 he succeeded Dr. P. T. Forsyth at Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge. From 1899 to 1909 he was editor of the religious weekly, the *Examiner*. In the latter year he was appointed Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. He wrote a Life of Dr. Fairbairn, his predecessor at Mansfield, and several works of a semi-popular nature on Congregationalism. He was chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1914-15, president of the Free Church Council, 1917, and a leader in the home reunion conferences both before and after the Lambeth Appeal of 1920, as well as in the Faith and Order movement. At Oxford he was associated with the Faculty and Board of Theology; received in 1921 the honorary degree of D.D. and held the Wilde Lectureship in Natural and Comparative Religion, 1921-24. In March, 1929, he preached at St. Mary's Church, Oxford, the first Nonconformist minister to occupy the pulpit of the University church. He was also an honorary D.D. of Glasgow and an hon. Fellow of Brasenose College. He married, in 1890, Mildred Mary, daughter of Joseph Thompson, LL.D., of Manchester, and had two sons and one daughter.

MAY

3. **Sir Clement Daniel Maggs Hindley**, railway administrator in India, was born on December 19, 1874, and educated at Dulwich and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in the Mechanical Sciences Tripos. He then went to India as an assistant in the engineering department of the East Indian Railway, becoming secretary in 1914, deputy agent in 1918, and agent (general manager) in 1920. In the following year he was appointed chairman of the

Commissioners for the port of Calcutta, but towards the end of 1922 resumed railway work as the first chief commissioner of railways for India. His tenure of office witnessed the addition of 4000 miles of line; the transfer to State management of the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsula Railways, and the opening of the first railway staff college. He left the service of the Indian railways in 1928, and on returning to England became the first chairman of the Race-course Betting Control Board. He was also chairman of the Steel Structures Research Committee, which after nearly seven years' work issued its third and final report in 1936, and of the research committee established by the Institution of Civil Engineers (1935). He had been a member of the Channel Tunnel Committee; of the Development (Public Utility) Committee; of the Forest Products Research Board; the Building Research Board; the General Board of the National Physical Laboratory; and of the Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. During 1939 he was seconded to the Home Office by the Betting Control Board to act as chairman of the Professional Advisory Committee (Shelters) in connexion with Air-raid Precautions; in the same year he was elected president of the Institution of Civil Engineers. A retired colonel in the Auxiliary Force, India, he had been awarded the Volunteer Decoration and the Volunteer Long Service Medal. He was knighted in 1925 and created K.C.I.E. in 1929. In 1899 he married Anne, daughter of Henry Rait, and had three sons.

9. **Dame Ethel Mary Smyth**, composer and writer, was born at Sidcup on April 23, 1858, daughter of Major-General J. H. Smyth. At an early age she began composing hymns and chants, and in due course studied harmony with Alexander Ewing (composer of "Jerusalem the Golden"). It had long been her wish to complete her musical education at Leipzig; obtaining her father's consent to go there, she spent seven happy years in that musical centre. During that time she composed a sonata in B flat, "Variations on an Original Theme," "Prelude and Fugue for Thin People," and a number of string quartets, one of which was performed in Leipzig in 1884. In 1890 her "Serenade for Orchestra" and her overture to *Antony and Cleopatra* were given at Crystal Palace. Her most famous work, "Mass in D" was first performed at the Albert Hall, London, in 1893, but was not heard again until 1924. *Fantasio*, her first opera, was produced at Weimar and Karlsruhe; and in 1902, when anti-English feeling in Germany ran high, she managed to get another opera, *Der Wald*, performed three times in Berlin. In 1906 *Der Strandrecht* was produced at the Leipzig Opera House. Two years later, under the title *The Wreckers*, it was given at Queen's Hall. It was revived by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Beecham at His Majesty's Theatre in 1909, and in the following year it reached Covent Garden, the first opera by a woman to be performed there. *The Boatswain's Mate*, another opera of the sea, was conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham in 1916. *Fête Galante* came to Covent Garden in 1923 after being performed for the first time at Birmingham. *Entente Cordiale*, a slight comedy, was produced at the Royal College of Music. In 1927 came a concerto for violin, horn and orchestra, followed by a cantata *The Prison*, text by H. B. Brewster (1931). In 1934 a concert of her music was directed by Sir Thomas Beecham as one of six concerts of British musicians organised by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Although she succeeded in her life-long task of obtaining recognition as a composer, she will also be remembered for her literary work which began in 1919 with "Impressions that Remained," a lively book of memories. Other notable publications, all characterised by her vivid personality, were "Streaks of Life" (1921), descriptions of the Empress Eugenie, whom she knew intimately, and of the ex-Kaiser and others; "A Three Legged Tour in Greece" (1927); "The Final Burning of the Boats" (1928), "As Time went On" (1936) and "What Happened Next" (1940). She was an ardent supporter of the women's suffrage movement. In 1910 she was made a D.Mus. by Durham University and in 1926 by Oxford University. In 1928 St. Andrews awarded her the honorary degree of D.Litt. She was created a D.B.E. in 1922.

12. **Sir Arthur Thomas Quiller-Couch** ("Q"), novelist and man of letters, Professor of English at Cambridge University, 1912-44, was born in Cornwall on November 21, 1863, and educated at Clifton and Trinity College, Oxford. He began writing early and at the age of 24 made a success with "Dead Man's Rock," a tale of pure adventure which won for him immediate recognition. This was followed by a series of novels set mostly in Cornwall, his Troy Town being Fowey, where he lived for many years, and which he made famous by "The Astonishing History of Troy Town." In some short sketches in "Noughts and Crosses" (which many regarded as his best book) and in "The Delectable Duchy" he did for Cornwall what the Kailyard school of writers did for Scotland. In 1896 came a volume of critical studies, "Adventures in Criticism," and a volume of "Poems and Ballads." His collected poems were published in 1929. A proof of his literary dexterity may be found in the conclusion which he wrote for R. L. Stevenson's "St. Ives" in 1897. In 1900 he produced the "Oxford Book of English Verse," probably the best large anthology in the English language, and followed it later by the "Oxford Book of Ballads," the "Oxford Book of Victorian Verse" and the "Oxford Book of English Prose." He was on the staff of the *Speaker* from its inauguration till 1899. In 1912 he succeeded A. W. Verrall as King Edward VII Professor of English Literature at Cambridge University (the Chair founded and endowed by Mr. Harold Harmsworth, afterwards Lord Rothermere) and became a Fellow of Jesus College. Several courses of his lectures were published, notably those on the "Art of Writing" (1916) and the "Art of Reading" (1920). Quiller-Couch was a member of the Cornwall Education Committee, commodore of the Royal Fowey Yacht Club, and harbourmaster of Fowey. He was Mayor of Fowey in 1937, and was a Freeman of Bodmin, Fowey, and Truro. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, who was knighted for political services in 1910, married, in 1889, Louisa Amelia Hicks, a native of Fowey, and had one son and one daughter. His son died in 1919 while serving with the Army of Occupation in Germany.

14. **Sir John Martin-Harvey**, a distinguished actor in his generation, was born at Wyvenhoe, Essex, on June 22, 1863, son of John Harvey, of the Institution of Naval Architects, his mother being a daughter of the Rev. D. G. Goyder. After being educated at King's College School he was intended for his father's profession, but showing an early preference for the stage he studied acting under John Ryder. At the age of 14 he made his first appearance in John Clayton's company at the Court Theatre. In 1882 he joined Sir Henry Irving, remaining with him for fourteen years. At the Lyceum he never played parts of much importance but, with William Haviland, he obtained Irving's consent to take plays from the Lyceum repertory to the provinces and in those he played the lead. His greatest chance came in February, 1899 when, under his own management, he produced at the Lyceum Theatre *The Only Way*, which was adapted from Dickens's "A Tale of Two Cities" by Freeman Wills. The idea of his playing the part of Sidney Carton was suggested to him by his wife, Angelita Helena de Silva, daughter of Don Ramon de Silva Ferro, who throughout the greater part of his career was his leading lady. Many alterations were made before the final version was decided upon, Carton's speech to the revolutionary mob being inserted after the play had gone into rehearsal. The play was an immediate success and established Martin-Harvey's position as an actor-manager. As time went on he added to his repertory such pieces as *A Cigarette Maker's Romance*, and *The Breed of the Treshams* as well as Irving's old successes, *The Corsican Brothers*, *The Lyons Mail* and *The Bells*. To his credit as an artist he did not confine himself to popular romances, and he gave one of his most beautiful performances as Pelleas to the Mélisande of Mrs. Patrick Campbell. In 1912 Max Reinhardt produced for him at Covent Garden *Oedipus Rex*. During the war, 1914-18, Martin-Harvey produced *The Burgomaster of Stilemonde*, besides giving a series of Shakespearean performances in which he played Hamlet, Richard III, Henry V and Petruchio. In 1936 he took the part of the Prophet Samuel in

Barrie's *The Boy David*. In his younger days he studied art at the Slade and at Heatherley's and was a gifted amateur painter. He was knighted in 1921 and received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Glasgow University in 1938. He had one son and one daughter—the actress Muriel Martin-Harvey.

18. **Dr. Walter Ewing Crum**, an eminent Coptic scholar, was born on July 22, 1865, son of a former member of Parliament for Renfrewshire, his mother being a daughter of the Right Rev. Alexander Ewing, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. While at Oxford he developed a taste for Egyptology, and after taking his degree went to Paris with an introduction to W. Groff, from whom he learnt his first hieroglyphs. But he learnt most from Gaston Maspero. On returning to England after spending nearly three years in Berlin studying Coptic, he competed in the examination for an assistantship in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, and came out first on the list. Failing, however, to pass the medical examination, he devoted himself to research in Coptic in an unofficial capacity. Among his earlier works were catalogues of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum (1905) and the Rylands Library (1909), and his masterly handling of the ostraca and papyri discovered in the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes (1926). These prepared the way for his crowning achievement, the great Coptic Dictionary which was issued in six parts between 1929 and 1939. It was compiled from some 250,000 slips collected over a period of thirty years. Crum was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1931 and received the honorary degree of D.Litt. from the University of Oxford in 1937.

19. **John Harper Narbeth**, naval architect, and designer of the original *Dreadnought* in 1906, was born at Pembroke Dock on May 26, 1863, and entered the dockyard service in 1877, proceeding five years later to the Royal Naval College. In 1885 he was appointed an assistant constructor at Portsmouth, and from 1887 until 1923, when he retired, he was at the Admiralty, serving under three Directors of Naval Construction. He was entrusted by Sir William White with the task of analysing the evidence regarding the ramming of the *Victoria* by the *Camperdown* in 1893, his report being presented to Parliament by the Lords of the Admiralty. Under Sir Philip Watts he prepared shear drawings for the *Lord Nelson* and the *Dreadnought*. He improved the design of naval ships' boats and introduced motor-boats, beginning with two 20-feet long, which used petrol or paraffin as fuel. In 1910 he prepared the design for the ocean-going survey ship, *Endeavour*, and for a fishing protection cruiser with hidden armament. During the 1914-18 war he had a share in another piece of camouflage when some of the "Flower" sloops were modified to look like merchant ships (Q ships). Interested in aeronautics, he was associated with Sir Eustace d'Eyncourt in the production of the *Ark Royal* and other early aircraft-carriers, which were converted from other types. For the Air Ministry he assisted in the design of a dépôt ship for flying boats, the bow of which contained workshops, stores, and rest rooms, while the after part formed a floating dock. From 1918 to 1923 he was chairman of a joint technical committee of the Admiralty and the Air Ministry on the aviation arrangements in ships of the Fleet. After his retirement he became technical adviser to the Chilean Naval Mission in 1927. He was secretary of the Admiralty committee on the sheathing of ships in 1891, and in 1912 was joint secretary of the Royal Commission on Fuel and Engines. He was made an M.V.O. in 1906, a C.B.E. in 1920, and a C.B. in 1923. He married Aquila Elizabeth, daughter of W. J. Anstey, of Portsmouth, and had two sons.

24. **Sir Cuthbert Sidney Wallace**, distinguished for his work on asepsis in surgical practice, was born on June 20, 1867, son of the Rev. John Wallace, and after being educated at Haileybury entered the medical school at St. Thomas's Hospital. In 1897 he was appointed resident assistant surgeon and it was due to his influence that St. Thomas's Hospital became a model for the application

of the principles of asepsis to surgery. During the South African War he went out as surgeon to Portland Hospital, gaining valuable experience in gunshot wounds which served him well in the 1914-18 war. With the rank of major-general A.M.S. he went to France with the First Army B.E.F. He attended King George V after he had been thrown from his horse while inspecting the R.F.C. at Hesdigneul aerodrome in October, 1915. In due course he returned to St. Thomas's as senior surgeon, and was dean of the medical school for a record period. He was a past president of the Royal College of Surgeons, a member of the Medical Research Council, a member of the Radium Commission, consultant adviser E.M.S. Ministry of Health, surgeon to the East London Hospital for Children, dean of the medical faculty of London University, and director of medical services and research at the Mount Vernon Hospital at Northwood. In 1920 he became a hospital visitor for King Edward's Hospital Fund for London, and later was a member of the general council and the distribution committee. In 1940 he was appointed chairman of the committee set up to advise on the application of the results of research to practice in the treatment of war wounds. He wrote much on surgical procedure, as well as a classic on gunshot wounds. He was honorary D.Sc. of Oxford University, honorary D.C.L. of Durham, and honorary LL.D. of Birmingham. In 1912 he married Florence Mildred, daughter of Herbert Jackson.

26. **Sir Arnold Wienholt Hodson**, Colonial governor, was born on February 12, 1881, and educated in Italy and at Felsted. At the age of 19 he went to Australia, working on a sheep farm in Central Queensland. During the South African War he joined the 7th Australian Commonwealth Horse and went to South Africa but was too late to see active service. For a time he was employed in Durban, after which he moved to Johannesburg and to Pretoria, where he secured posts, first in the Repatriation Department and later in the Public Works Department. In 1904 he obtained a commission as Sub-Inspector of Police in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and joined the force at Mafeking, headquarters of the Resident Commissioner. Two months later he went to the desolate Kalahari Desert to collect hut tax for the Government. In 1912 he was made District Commissioner and First Class Magistrate in British Somaliland. Two years later the Foreign Office appointed him H.B.M. Consul for Southern Ethiopia where he was responsible for a district in the border country extending over some 500 miles. In 1917 his Residence was transferred from Megi to Gardulla, capital of the South Ethiopian Province. He was attached to the Abyssinian Army during its operations against the Tigre in 1919, gaining a medal and clasp. In 1923 he went to the Consulate of South-western Abyssinia, with his Residence at Magi. He became Governor of the Falkland Islands in 1926, of Sierra Leone in 1930; and of the Gold Coast in 1934. In 1941 he retired. His publications included "Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia" (1927) and "Where Lion Reigns" (1929), "A Practical Galla Grammar," "Trekking the Great Thirst," an account of his adventures in the Kalahari Desert and a play, *The Downfall of Zachariah Fee*. He was made C.M.G. in 1922 and promoted K.C.M.G. in 1932. He married, in 1928, Elizabeth, daughter of Major Malcolm V. Hay, and had two daughters.

— **Sir Henry Francis Herbert Thompson**, the leading Demotic scholar of his age, was born in 1859, son of the surgeon, Sir Henry Thompson, first Baronet, whom he succeeded in 1904. After being educated at Marlborough he spent a year in Germany, had business training in the City of London, and proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge. Later, at his father's wish, he studied for the Bar but found the work uncongenial. Again on his father's advice, he turned to science, working in the biological laboratory at University College, London, until he developed serious eye trouble. At the age of forty he found his true métier—Egyptology. Through his friends F. Ll. Griffith and W. E. Crum (whom in later years he helped with his Coptic Dictionary), who were teaching in the Egyptology department of University College, he began to specialise in the study

of Demotic and Coptic. With Griffiths he published "Demotic Magical Papyrus of Leiden and London" (1904). He also published an account of a number of Demotic papyri found by Petrie at Rifeh in the latter's "Gizeh and Rifeh" (1907), "The Coptic (Sahidic) Versions of Certain Books of the Old Testament" (1908), "The Coptic Inscriptions in Quibell's 'Excavations at Saqqarah,'" Vol. 3 (1907), and the Demotic and Coptic texts in "Theban Ostraca" (1913). In 1924 he edited the earliest extant copy of St. John's Gospel from a Coptic papyrus discovered in Egypt by J. L. Starkey. At the invitation of Dr. H. R. Hall he compiled a hand-list of the Demotic papyri in the British Museum. That led to work on an important archive from Siut, which Thompson enabled the Museum to purchase. It was published in two volumes under the title "A Family Archive from Siut" (1934). In 1932 he published Chester Beatty's Coptic manuscript of "The Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidi Dialect," and a list of the eponymous priests under the Ptolemies in "Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith." At the age of 80 he was at work on an important find of Coptic papyri containing the largest body of Manichaean texts that had survived. In 1904 he became chairman of the Golder's Green Crematorium in succession to his father who had founded it. He was a Fellow both of University College, London, and of the British Academy, and was an hon. D.Litt. of Oxford. Sir Herbert Thompson being unmarried the baronetcy became extinct. He left his collection of Ostraca to University Library, Cambridge; and residue of his estate to the University of Cambridge with the wish that it be applied for the study of Egyptology.

JUNE

8. **The Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Banks Strong**, famous as Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, was born on October 24, 1861, son of T. B. Strong, and brother of Arthur Strong, librarian to the House of Lords. After being educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, he became in 1884 lecturer in Theology and Student and Tutor at his College. He was ordained deacon in the following year and priest in 1886. In 1889 he became examining chaplain to Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, and continued in that post under his successor, Dr. Westcott. Appointed Bampton Lecturer in 1896, he took as his subject Christian Ethics. On the preferment of Dean Paget to the Bishopric of Oxford in 1901, Strong became Dean of Christ Church. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1913 to 1917; his ability, energy and statesmanship was of enormous advantage to Oxford during the period of abnormal conditions brought about by the First World War. In 1920 he was made Bishop of Ripon, where, however, he remained for only five years. For on the untimely death, in 1925, of Dr. H. M. Burge, Bishop of Oxford, Strong was appointed to succeed him in the Bishopric, which he resigned in 1927. In 1919 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and in 1923 was one of the Statutory Commissioners for Oxford University. In that year he joined the Consultative Committee on Church Music. His publications included a "Manual of Theology" (1892), "The Real Presence" (1900), "Historical Christianity" (1902), "Authority in the Church" (1903), and "Religion, Philosophy and History" (1923). He was joint editor of the "Oxford Hymn Book." In 1918 he was created G.B.E. Oxford made him an hon. D.Mus. in 1917, and he was hon. D.D. of Durham and hon. Litt.D. of Leeds.

10. **Sir Henry Coward**, distinguished as a choral conductor, was born in Liverpool of Yorkshire stock on November 26, 1849. He inherited a love of music from his mother who sang and from his father who played the banjo. After teaching himself to read and write, he determined to learn music also, and to that end attended classes in the tonic sol-fa system. At the age of 17 he began to hold classes in sight singing among his fellow-workers, in a cutlery factory where he had commenced work at the age of 9. In due course he qualified to

become a pupil teacher in an elementary school and eventually rose to be headmaster. In 1876 he founded the Sheffield Tonic Sol-fa Association which gained a reputation as a first-rate choral society, later developing into the Sheffield Musical Union. In 1887 he gave up schoolmastering in order to devote himself entirely to choral conducting. He made Sheffield into a singing city, and when it was decided to emulate Leeds by holding a triennial music festival on a grand scale, Coward was the natural choice as chorus master. For the first Sheffield festival, which occupied two days in 1896, the programme consisted of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Sullivan's *The Golden Legend*, Berlioz's *Faust*, and Parry's *Job*. The next festival lasted three days, August Manns conducting as before, with Coward solely responsible for training the chorus. He trained the chorus for the next three festivals, conducted alternately by Wood and Weingartner, but resigned before the 1911 festival. He made extensive tours in Germany and in Canada with a choir drawn from the leading choral societies of Leeds and Sheffield. In 1911 Dr. Charles Harriess, who had planned the Canadian tour, arranged another to include all the Dominions and the United States, occupying about six months. When the 1914-18 war put an end to touring, Coward spent his time in training choirs, judging at competitive festivals, and lecturing. He acquired a reputation by his stories and sayings, which were often quoted in the vernacular. In 1926 he was created a knight, and Oxford University made him an honorary D.Mus. He was three times married, and had four sons and four daughters.

16. **Lord Davies** (the Right Hon. David Davies), coal magnate and philanthropist, was born on May 11, 1880, grandson of David Davies, the Welsh industrialist who created the Barry Docks. Lord Davies, who was created a peer in 1932, entered the House of Commons as Liberal member of Parliament for Montgomeryshire in 1906, sitting until 1929 when he resigned to devote himself to international affairs. In the First World War he commanded the 14th Battalion of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers both at home and in France until 1916 when he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George. Towards the end of the war he co-operated in the formation of the League of Free Nations Association which later merged with the League of Nations Society to form the League of Nations Union, of which he was a vice-president. For many years he was president of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and there, with his sisters, the Misses Davies, of Gregynog Hall, Montgomeryshire, he endowed the Wilson Chair of International Politics, the first Chair of its kind in Great Britain. He also promised the College a gift of 10,000*l.* towards the cost of new buildings if the old students raised a similar amount. Before his death they had done so. He presented the building of the Theological College at Aberystwyth to the Calvinistic Methodist denomination in Wales. In 1911 he founded the King Edward VII Welsh National Memorial Association to combat tuberculosis. In 1938 he realised another of his ambitions with the completion of the Temple of Peace and Health in Cathays Park, Cardiff, on a site given by the Cardiff Corporation. In 1929 he urged that the League of Nations should be strengthened by the creation of an international police force and an equity tribunal for the peaceful settlement of all disputes. In 1932 he founded the New Commonwealth movement which subsequently had sections in seventeen countries, Mr. Churchill accepting the presidency of the British section in 1936. His most important publication was "The Problem of the 20th Century." Lord Davies was twice married; first, in 1910, to Amy, daughter of L. T. Penman, who died in 1918; and secondly, in 1922, to Henrietta Margaret, daughter of James Grant Ferguson. By his first marriage he had one son, born in 1915, who succeeded to the title, and by his second marriage two sons and two daughters.

22. **William Lints Smith**, manager of *The Times*, 1920-37, was born on April 16, 1876, at Aberdeen, where he was educated. At the age of 17 he obtained a post on the *Aberdeen Journal*. One of his duties was to interview political

and other personalities on their way to Balmoral when the Royal family was in residence ; this experience stood him in good stead later when he became one of the most successful news gatherers of his day. His next appointment was on the *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, after which, while still only 20, he became editor of the *Crosby Herald*, a Lancashire weekly. Moving to London he joined the Central News and soon rose to be chief of the outdoor reporting staff. He then obtained employment in the news department of the *St. James's Gazette*, and when the *Gazette* was merged with the *Evening Standard*, he went to Shoe Lane, remaining there for seven years. Largely through his foresight the *Evening Standard* obtained some important "scoops," including the first news of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's resignation. In 1911 he found congenial work as editor and manager of the *Sporting Life*. Three years later John Walter and Lord Northcliffe invited him to Printing House Square, and on August 4, 1914 (a date famous in history), he joined the managerial staff of *The Times*. He became manager in 1920 and retired in 1937. During his term of office the new fount of type which distinguishes *The Times* was introduced, and in 1935 the paper celebrated its 150th birthday. Since May, 1939, he was a member of the Board of Governors of the Middlesex Hospital, and he served on the war emergency committee for two years until ill-health compelled him to resign. He was also vice-chairman of the Fulmer Chase Maternity Hospital for wives of officers, and honorary treasurer of the National Council for Maternity and Child Welfare. For many years he was vice-president of the Fleet Street branch of the British Legion. He was twice married ; by his first marriage he had one son and one daughter.

24. **Lord Essendon** (Frederick William Lewis), a leader of the shipping industry, was born in 1870 and began his career as a boy in the office of Sir Charles Furness (Lord Furness) in West Hartlepool. In a short time he became chief assistant to Sir Charles Furness and while still a young man was promoted to an important post in the London office of the Company, which later amalgamated with Edward Withy & Company. He became deputy chairman of the combined company, Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., in 1914, and chairman in 1919. When the Royal Mail Lines was formed as a successor to the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company he was made chairman. He was also a director of the Cunard White Star Co. At one time he was on the boards of more than thirty shipping and insurance companies and banks. In 1922 he was President of the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping, and in 1929 was a member of the committee to investigate the Channel Tunnel scheme. During the First World War he served on various Government committees, and in the war which began in 1939 he joined the Advisory Shipping Council of the Ministry of War Transport and was chairman for the Ministry of Supply of the Wool Disposal Committee. Created a knight in 1918, he was made a baron in 1932. He was High Sheriff for Hertfordshire 1926-27. He married Daisy Eleanor, daughter of R. Harrison, of West Hartlepool, and had one daughter and one son, his heir, the Hon. Brian Edmund Lewis, born in 1903.

25. **Lord Atkin** (James Richard Atkin), Lord of Appeal in Ordinary 1928-44, was born in Queensland in 1867, son of R. T. Atkin, who was at one time a member of the Queensland Legislative Assembly. He was educated at Christ College, Brecon, and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he studied Classics and won fame as a lawn tennis player. After reading as a pupil in the chambers of T. E. Scrutton (later his colleague on the Bench), he was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in 1891. For the first ten years he made little headway ; then becoming a recognised authority on law relating to the Stock Exchange, his practice grew rapidly from 1901 onwards. He took silk in 1906. Towards the end of his time at the Bar he frequently appeared before the House of Lords and the Privy Council, where his great learning and capacity was soon recognised. In 1913 he was raised to the Bench on the recommendation of Lord Haldane ; it was said of him that he possessed all the qualities that go to make the perfect judge—

learning, patience, courtesy, dignity. He was a useful member of the Court of Criminal Appeal and was on the rota of the Commercial Court, where he won golden opinions. In 1919 he was appointed a Lord Justice of Appeal. Ten years later he succeeded Lord Atkinson as a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary. Notable among his cases were those of *Donoghue v. Stevenson*, known as the "snail in the bottle case," and *Fender v. Mildmay*, for breach of promise, 1937. In the same year at the Judicial Committee he delivered a series of important judgments on the respective powers of the Dominion and Provinces of Canada to enact far-reaching legislation. During the appeal by an editor of a newspaper against conviction for contempt he proclaimed that "justice is not a cloistered virtue." The case that brought him most prominence, however, was that of the appeal of *Liversidge v. the Attorney-General*, heard by the House of Lords, 1942, in which he dissented from the view of his colleagues that a court cannot inquire whether the Secretary of State has reasonable grounds for believing a person to be of hostile associations when ordering his detention under the Defence of the Realm Regulations. He presided in 1924 over the Home Office Committee on Crime and Insanity set up after the *True* case. For some years he was president of the Medico-Legal Society. He was chairman of the Council of Legal Education and was on the governing body of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. He was three times treasurer of Gray's Inn. At his death he was the doyen of the judiciary, having been a judge for thirty-one years, a record only exceeded by Lord Mansfield, who served for thirty-two years in the eighteenth century. Lord Atkin married Lucy Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. William Hemmant, formerly Colonial Treasurer of Queensland; they had one son and six daughters.

27. **Dr. Milan Hodza**, Central European statesman and Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1935-38, was born in 1878, son of a Slovak Liberal and independent Protestant pastor, and entered the Hungarian Parliament in 1905 as the only representative of the Slovaks. He founded the Club of Minority Nations Deputies which became the nucleus of the collaboration of the non-Magyars within feudal Hungary. In 1914 he was sentenced to nine months imprisonment for systematic criticism of the Government. At the beginning of the First World War (1914-18) he was interned. On the foundation of the Czechoslovak State he became its first diplomatic representative at Budapest. Later he sat in its first parliament and soon entered the Government in which between 1919 and 1935 he was successively Minister of Unification, Agriculture (twice), and Education. Understanding minority problems better than his colleagues, he achieved great success in 1926 when he persuaded the German Parties and Father Hlinka's Slovak Party to co-operate with the Czech Coalition Government. Becoming Prime Minister in 1935 he hastened the realisation of Ruthenian Home Rule, which was established in 1937. He resigned on the night of September 20-21, 1938, eight days before the Munich Agreement, foreseeing the terms that would be imposed on Czechoslovakia. He then lived on the Riviera and in London, where he became vice-president of the Czechoslovak State Council, but the controversies over his foreign and domestic policy which had widened the political rift between him and Dr. Benes were revived and he went to the United States, dying in hospital at Clearwater, Florida. In 1942 he published "Federation in Central Europe," and wrote that he had spent his life fighting "the illusion that small states placed between colossal neighbours could preserve their sovereignties without the building up of a co-operative solidarity between themselves." He was survived by his wife and one son and one daughter.

— **The Rev. James Moffatt**, Scottish theologian and translator of the Bible, was born on July 4, 1870, son of a chartered accountant of Glasgow, and educated at Glasgow Academy and Glasgow University. He was ordained in 1896 to Dundonald, near Kilmarnock, going from there a few years later to an important church at Broughty Ferry. In 1907 he was appointed to deliver the Jowett Lectures in London. From 1911 to 1915 he was Yates Professor of Greek and

New Testament Exegesis at Mansfield College, Oxford, at the same time continuing his ministry at Broughty Ferry, only in 1915 becoming a full-time professor. To the general public Moffatt was best known as a new translator of the Bible. In 1924 he revised an earlier version of the New Testament which he had published twenty-five years before and which was characterised by the use of modern and colloquial terms. He then proceeded to make a similar version of the Old Testament, publishing Genesis to Esther in 1924 and the remainder in the following year. Although the work passed through many editions it did not escape criticism. Some people thought his colloquialisms vulgar; a few did not like the vernacular Scotticisms. Moffatt was professor in the College of the United Free Church of Scotland for twelve years. From 1927 to 1939 he was Professor of Church History in the United Theological Seminary, New York, where he died. Among his publications his "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament" has become a standard work, while his volume on the "Epistle to the Hebrews" in the International Critical Commentary (1924) was a monument to his scholarship. He married a daughter of Dr. Archibald Reith and had two sons and one daughter.

JULY

4. **Dr. James Tait**, Professor of Ancient and Medieval History at Manchester University, 1902-09, was born in that city on June 19, 1863, and was educated at Owens College and Balliol College, Oxford, obtaining a first class in History in 1887. After some years as lecturer at Owens College he was appointed in 1902 Professor of Ancient and Medieval History in the University of Manchester. As a student of the Middle Ages he wrote numerous definitive contributions to the "Dictionary of National Biography." Later he concentrated upon the reign of King Richard II, writing a paper on the death of the Duke of Gloucester in the Owens College Historical Essays (1902) and an edition of two fourteenth-century chronicles (1914). He was one of the few men who was thoroughly at home in the Domesday Book. His first considerable work, "Medieval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire," appeared in 1904. He wrote extensively for the Victoria County History of Lancashire, and as president of the Chetham Society made himself responsible for at least four volumes, including masterly editions of the "Domesday Survey of Cheshire" (1916) and the "Chartulary of Chester Abbey" (1920-23). He edited the second volume of Adolphus Ballard's unfinished "British Borough Charters, 1216-1307" (1923). His last important work, "The Medieval English Borough," was published in 1936. He was president of the English Place-Name Society.

11. **Lucien Pissarro**, landscape painter and book designer, was born in Paris on February 20, 1863, son of the impressionist master, Camille Pissarro. In 1886 he was commissioned by F. G. Dumas, editor of the *Revue Illustrée*, to illustrate "Mait' Liziard," a story by Octave Mirbeau, and produced four woodcuts in the style of Charles Keene. In 1890 he came to England with a letter of introduction to John Gray, author of "Silverpoints," who in turn introduced him to Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon, who were at that time running the Vale Press. His association with these artists having aroused in him a keen interest in typography and book production, he set up a press of his own in 1894 calling it Egragny, after the Normandy village where he had worked with his father. His first production, a fairy story, "The Queen of the Fishes," was followed by some fifteen books in French and English, all set in the Vale type and illustrated with his own woodcuts. In 1902 he designed a type face called Brook, which he used for a further sixteen volumes, keeping the Egragny Press going until the outbreak of war in 1914. Up to 1910 he was known chiefly as a printer and wood engraver, but he had been painting all the time, mainly landscapes, which won general admiration. He was among the early associates of W. R. Sickert in Fitzroy Street. In 1906 he joined the New English Art Club.

In 1913 the Leeds Art Gallery purchased "The Railway Cutting, Acton." Later canvasses by him were bought by the Chantrey Bequest, the Contemporary Art Society, and the French Ministry of Fine Arts. Pissarro, who became a naturalised Englishman in 1916, married Esther I. Bensusan, and had one daughter, an artist who painted under her Christian name, Orovida.

— **Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson**, benefactor of Glasgow University, was born in that city on August 1, 1851, son of an engineer and educated at the Secular School and the Athenaeum. He became head of one of the largest coal exporting firms, D. M. Stevenson and Company. For eighteen years he was chairman of the Scottish Coal Exporters Association, and during the First World War (1914-18) was chairman of the central executive committee on the supply of coal to France and Italy. Afterwards he was a member of the committee on the coal trade and of the coal controller's advisory committee. For a time he was chairman of the British Coal Exporters' Federation. Interested from his youth in municipal affairs, he served on the Glasgow city council from 1892 to 1914, for the last three years being Lord Provost of the City and Lord-Lieutenant of the County. The Freedom of the City of Glasgow was conferred on him in 1929. At Glasgow University he provided many benefactions. He established a lectureship in citizenship; in 1924 he gave 40,000*l.* for the founding of Chairs of Italian and Spanish, as well as large sums to establish French, Spanish and German exchange scholarship schemes; while on the occasion of his birthday in 1942 he provided 60,000*l.* to the University, of which 50,000*l.* was for the engineering department. On the same occasion he gave 60,000*l.* and a building to the Scottish National Academy of Music. To London University he gave 10,000*l.* in 1925 for a part-time chair of International History. He founded the directorship of International Affairs at Chatham House and established in Florence a British Institute. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the Franco-Scottish Association and when the Civil War began in Spain he organised a Scottish ambulance for non-combatants, raising by his own efforts 10,000*l.* He was created baronet in 1914. Sir Daniel was unmarried.

14. **Georges Mandel**, French patriot and politician, whose real name was Rothschild (but he was not related to the family of bankers), was born at Chatou on June 5, 1885, son of a well-to-do Jewish draper. At the age of 19 he became a contributor to *l'Aurore*, a newspaper owned by Clemenceau, whose right-hand man he soon became. In 1906 when Clemenceau was appointed Minister of the Interior, Mandel was made his assistant *Chef de Cabinet*. He also played a leading part on the staff of Clemenceau's *L'Homme Libre*, founded in 1913, and between them they made the paper a force in France, so much so that the authorities suppressed it. Thereupon Clemenceau brought out a new publication which he named *L'Homme Enchaîné*. In 1917 when Clemenceau became Prime Minister, Mandel was appointed *Directeur de Cabinet*, an influential post which he held until Clemenceau's retirement. Thereafter he came into open politics, being elected to the Chamber as deputy for the Gironde in November, 1919. He reached Cabinet rank as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Flandin in 1934 and served in various capacities in succeeding cabinets. He did not hold office in the Front Populaire Cabinet, but when Blum was supplanted by Daladier in 1937 he returned as Minister for the Colonies. He was maintained in his post by Reynaud, and a fortnight before France was overrun Mandel became Minister of the Interior. He was arrested at Bordeaux as he sat in the restaurant, *Le Chapon Fin*. Demanding an interview with Pétain he obtained from him a letter proclaiming his innocence, and the right to the title of French patriot. Lord Lloyd who was in Bordeaux at the time offered him a seat in his homeward-bound aeroplane, but Mandel replied, "J'ai trop de bagages." On Lord Lloyd expostulating, he added, "Vous ne comprenez pas. Je veux dire—la France." Later he left by steamer for North Africa but the ship was detained at Casablanca and eventually sent back to France, whereupon Mandel was placed under arrest and

confined in a fortress, According to a wireless message from Vichy he was killed when the car in which he was being transferred to the Santé prison was attacked on the road.

— **Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Somers** (the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Tennyson Cocks, sixth Baronet), Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth, was born on March 20, 1887, son of Captain H. H. Somers, a great-grandson of the first baron. His mother was Blanche Margaret Standish, daughter of Major Herbert Clogstoun, V.C. In 1899 he succeeded his great uncle in the family honours. He was educated at Charterhouse and New College, Oxford. In 1908 he was gazetted to the 1st Life Guards. During the First World War (1914-18) he served with his regiment in France, being awarded the D.S.O. and M.C., and was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Towards the end of the war he was attached to the Royal Tank Corps as lieutenant-colonel. He retired from the Army in 1922 and two years later was appointed a Lord-in-Waiting to King George V. In 1926 he succeeded Lord Stradbroke as Governor of Victoria, holding the post until 1931. In 1933 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Herefordshire. A keen cricketer, he had played for Worcester, and had been president of the M.C.C. (1936). Since 1920 he had been District Commissioner for Herefordshire of the Boy Scout Movement. After his return from Australia, where he had been Chief Scout for Victoria, he was very active as Chief Scout's Commissioner, and during Lord Baden Powell's tour in South Africa he acted as Chief Scout for Great Britain. Lord Baden Powell nominated him as his successor, the formal appointment being made in January, 1941. A year later he became Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth. In 1940 he went to the Middle East as Red Cross Commissioner but ill-health caused his return to England in the following year, when he resumed his duties as Chief Scout. In 1931 he offered to the National Trust for nominal compensation his property in the Malvern hills. He married, in 1921, Daisy Finola, daughter of Captain Bertram Meeking and had one daughter. He was succeeded in the peerage by his uncle, Arthur Percy Somers.

17. **Sir Hugh Mallinson Rigby, Bt.**, Sergeant-Surgeon to King George V, 1928 to 1932, was born in Dublin on May, 1870, son of John Rigby, superintendent of the R.S.A. factory, Enfield, and educated at Dulwich and University College, London, receiving his medical training at the London Hospital. He was awarded the Gold Medal at the B.S. examination in 1897, and obtained the F.R.C.S. Eng. in 1900 and the M.S. Lond. in 1901. In the following year he was appointed to the staff of the London Hospital. He also served as surgeon to the Cheshunt and Beckenham Cottage Hospitals, to the East Ham Hospital and to the Poplar Hospital for Accidents, to which he became consulting surgeon. In the First World War (1914-18), during which he reached the rank of colonel, he was consulting surgeon to the B.E.F. in France. From 1923 to 1936 he was surgeon-in-ordinary to the Prince of Wales, from 1928 to 1932 sergeant-surgeon to King George V, and from 1932 to 1936 honorary surgeon to the King. Formerly he had been surgeon to Queen Alexandra. When King George V was seriously ill, in December, 1928, Sir Hugh performed the operation which saved his life. In 1931 he was awarded the hon. F.R.C.S. of Ireland, and in 1933 the National University of Ireland made him an honorary M.Ch. He was made K.C.V.O. in 1918, and in 1929 was created a baronet. In 1911 he married Flora, daughter of Norman Macbeth, and had two sons and two daughters.

18. **Thomas Sturge Moore**, poet and wood-engraver, was born in 1870, son of Dr. D. Moore and Henrietta Sturge. After being educated at Dulwich he became a pupil of Charles Ricketts, R.A., who taught him the art of wood engraving, and of whom he wrote a short biography, a model of its kind. Some of his woodcuts were used in his translation of Maurice de Guérin's "The Centaur and the Bacchant." He also created bookbinding designs for the last three books of his friend W. B. Yeats. He was one of the small band of artists concerned

with *The Pageant* and *The Dome*, which followed *The Yellow Book* and *The Savoy*, and with Sir Charles Holmes he helped in the publications of the Vale Press. His true *métier*, however, was poetry. His first volume, "The Vinedresser and Other Poems" (1899), was followed by a series published under the title, "The Rout of the Amazons," after which came "The Centaur's Booty." In 1932 came his "Collected Poems," followed in 1939 by a volume called "The Unknown Known." Many lovers of poetry agreed with Lascelles Abercrombie that at his best Moore was the greatest English poet of his generation. But he was never widely read, due in part to his peculiar intellectual individuality and in part to his occasional obscurity. In prose he wrote "Art and Life" (1910) and "Armour for Aphrodite" (1929). In 1903 he married a relative, Marie, daughter of the Rev. G. Appia, a Lutheran pastor at Paris.

26. Riza Pahlavi, Shah of Persia, 1925-41, was born at Alashat, near the southern shores of the Caspian sea, on March 16, 1878, son of Abbas Ali Khan, an officer in the Savad Kuh Regiment. According to official records he came of pure Iranian stock, but was left poor and fatherless in infancy. In 1900 he joined the Cossack Brigade as a private. By 1920 he was a colonel, and in the reorganisation of the Brigade after its failure against the Bolsheviks he played an important part. The Brigade was concentrated at Qazvin and there he was visited by a journalist of liberal views, Sayyid Zia ud-Din, who urged him to take military action to overthrow the Government. On February 15, 1921, the Brigade entered the capital, occupying it on February 21 without firing a shot. Two days later Sayyid Zia ud-Din was appointed Prime Minister and Colonel Riza Khan became Sardar-i-Sepah (Commander-in-Chief) of the Army. On April 3 Sayyid resigned. Qavam us-Saltaneh became Prime Minister and the Sardar-i-Sepah took office as Minister for War. Thenceforward he was the supreme ruler of Persia. In order to finance the reforms which he introduced he enlisted the services of Dr. A. C. Millspagh, head of an American financial mission. On October 31, 1923, he nominated himself Prime Minister. Two years later Parliament decreed the deposition of Ahmad Shah, who had already left the country, and made the Sardar-i-Sepah Regent and Provisional Ruler of the country. On December 12, 1925, he ascended to the throne as Riza Shah Pahlavi, his coronation taking place on April 25, 1926. By 1933 he had reorganised various departments of State, introduced European fashions, and abolished the veil for women. Work was begun on the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1928. Ten years later the line was open—865 miles from coast to coast. In 1932 the Government cancelled the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession, but the British Government, who held 50 per cent. of the Ordinary shares, referred the dispute to the League of Nations, resulting in a modification of the terms. Soon after the war began in 1939 German propaganda took the form of an influx of German "tourists" and an expansion of diplomatic personnel on the same lines as in the Balkans. On August 25, 1941, British Imperial Forces entered South Persia while Russian troops invaded the North. By September 6 the Shah's Government agreed to a settlement. Unfortunately he inspired his ministers to delay the performance of the undertaking, and the editor of the chief Teheran newspaper published an article of strong pro-Axis colour. Thereupon the Allied forces resumed their advance but before they reached the capital on September 16, Riza Shah Pahlavi had abdicated, being succeeded by his son. In spite of his dictatorial methods it was generally agreed that his social, industrial, and educational reforms had changed the face of Persia, which, in 1935, he decreed should be called by a former name, Iran. He died in Johannesburg.

28. Sir Ralph Howard Fowler, distinguished mathematical physicist, Professor of Applied Mathematics at Cambridge University, 1932-44, was born on January 17, 1889, and educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was elected to a prize fellowship in 1914 for his work on pure mathematics. Early in the First World War (1914-18) he was severely wounded, after

which he was seconded to the anti-aircraft section of the Munitions Inventions Department, where he was the principal member of a group of scientists who made a study of the effect of air forces on a spinning projectile, researches which came to be regarded as classical by gunnery experts. Before the war he had been on the teaching staff at Winchester; afterwards he returned to Cambridge where he was engaged on the problems connected with statistical mechanics. The results were published in book form and gained for him the Adams Prize in 1925. In 1932 he became Plummer Professor of Applied Mathematics at Cambridge University. With E. A. Milne he developed the theory originated by M. N. Saha which made it possible for astronomers to determine the physical state of the outer layers of a star from its spectrum. He also did research in connexion with the stars called white dwarfs. In 1938 he was appointed director of the National Physical Laboratory but an illness which left him slightly paralysed made a change of post inadvisable. On the outbreak of war in 1939 he organised scientific liaison between Britain and Canada, later extending his activities to the United States. On his return he was associated with the scientific work of the Admiralty. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1925 and awarded the Royal Medal in 1936. In 1942 he was created a knight. He married, in 1921, Eileen, daughter of Lord Rutherford, and had two sons and two daughters.

Lieutenant Rex John Whistler, painter and book illustrator, was born in London on June 24, 1905, and educated at Haileybury, studying art at the Slade School under Professor Tonks. He specialised in the period piece, one of his best being his mural decoration, "The Pursuit of Rare Meats," which was unveiled by Lord D'Abernon in November, 1927, in the refreshment room of the Tate Gallery, a remarkable performance for a young man of 22. He also decorated rooms in private houses at Haddon Hall, Plas Newydd and Brook House, in a short time becoming the fashion. He designed settings for the ballet and for a production of *Pride and Prejudice*. In the interest of the National Trust he designed a "Clovelly chintz" to be sold to visitors, and a poster for a charity exhibition of Britannia driving up in a hansom to the London Museum. For the Royal Command gala performance at Covent Garden in honour of the French President in March, 1939, he decorated the Royal Box. As a book illustrator he produced "The New Forget-me-Not" and "The New Keep-sake," published by Cobden-Sanderson, for whom he also illustrated an edition of "Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales" (1935); "Gulliver's Travels," for the Cresset Press; "Desert Islands," by Walter de la Mare; and "A Village in a Valley," by Beverley Nichols. Several examples of his work were included in the exhibition of British Art in Industry at the Royal Academy in 1935. In 1936 he designed the Post Office Valentine card, and subsequently the costumes and scenery for the Westminster Theatre production of *The Ideal Husband*. Between 1933, when he painted "Haddon Hall, Derbyshire," and 1941 he exhibited only three pictures at the Royal Academy, the other two being portrait groups on the lines of the "conversation piece" of the eighteenth century. Whistler, who was serving with the Welsh Guards, was killed in Normandy. His death was announced in *The Times* of July 28.

Dr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, was born at Hesley Hall, Yorkshire, in 1857, and educated at Shrewsbury school. In 1879 he entered the Public Record Office and remained on the staff of that department until his retirement in 1921. For many years he was engaged in the Government search room where he did much to produce order in the chaos of unlisted and unindexed departmental archives, on which he became a recognised authority. In 1891 he was appointed resident officer. As early as 1885 he had published two volumes on the little known subject of Customs revenue. In the next thirty-five years Hall produced a succession of articles and books ranging from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries over every category of the Public Records, legal, financial and administrative in all departments of history, from the genealogical to the

economic. In 1891 he became literary director of the Royal Historical Society. For forty-seven years he supervised the preparation of an annual volume of serious studies and saw through the press a large number of texts drawn from various sources and edited by students and scholars of every historical grade. For over thirty years, first at the London School of Economics and later at King's College, he conducted classes in palaeography. From 1910 to 1918 he was secretary to the Royal Commission on Public Records. In 1920 the University of Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of Lit.D. Dr. Hall, who died as the result of enemy action, was survived by his widow and one son.¹

AUGUST

1. **Owen Rutter**, author and publisher, was born on November 7, 1889, son of Commander E. W. Rutter, R.D., R.N.R., and educated at St. Paul's School. In early life he spent five years in the British North Borneo Civil Service as Magistrate and District Officer. He used that country as the scene of his first novel, "Sepia." Later, after visiting the West Indies, he portrayed West Indian life and social conditions in "If Crab No Walk." Interested in Hungarian affairs, he wrote authorised lives of Admiral Horthy and of Philip de Laszlo. In 1939 he began a pilgrimage in the Joan of Arc country, planning to follow in the footsteps of the Maid throughout France, but war intervened and the project had to be abandoned. He did, however, produce "The Land of St. Joan," a valuable though unfinished contribution to St. Joan's life. He was also concerned with book production, acquiring an interest in the Golden Cockerel Press through which he published some important historical writing connected with Bligh and the mutiny of the *Bounty*. In the First World War (1914-18) he served with the Wiltshire Regiment in France and Macedonia. When the Second World War began in 1939 he joined the Postal and Telegraph Censorship but later returned to naval matters, publishing in 1943 "Red Ensign," a history of convoy, as well as official books for the Admiralty on mine-sweepers, the Fleet Air Arm, and the Royal Marines. He also contributed to *Brassey's Naval Annual*. In 1919 he married Dorothy, daughter of James Younger of St. Andrews, and had one daughter, who inspired his work on parenthood and childhood called "One Fair Daughter" (1934).

2. **Lord Hardinge of Penshurst** (the Right Hon. Sir Charles Hardinge), Viceroy of India, 1910-16, was born on June 20, 1858, son of the second Viscount Hardinge, his mother being a daughter of Field-Marshal the Earl of Lucan. His grandfather, the first Viscount Hardinge, was Governor-General of India, 1844-48. After being educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered the Diplomatic Service in 1880. In 1903 he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office. In that capacity he attended King Edward VII on a visit to Paris in 1903 which resulted in the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. In 1904 he was appointed Ambassador in St. Petersburg. While there the Russo-Japanese war broke out and this made more difficult the task of Hardinge of establishing friendly relations between Great Britain and Russia. In the long run, however, he did much to lay the foundation of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, but by the time that instrument was signed he had been made Permanent Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office. In 1910 he was appointed Governor-General and Viceroy of India, taking up his duties on November 23. The next year saw the Royal visit to India, the transfer of the Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and the revision of the partition of Bengal. On the first anniversary of the Imperial Durbar the Viceroy was severely wounded by a bomb thrown from a window as he entered the new capital. Nevertheless, Lord Hardinge persevered in his policy and while cultivating friendly relations with the Indian

¹ During the war period, the exact date of death due to enemy action was not published. The form adopted was to name the month only. In this instance the record was "In July, 1944, by enemy action, Dr. Hubert Hall, etc.".

princes he displayed sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the new Western educated middle-classes as well as with the needs of the less articulate masses. Convinced that there was no further danger of Russian aggression he sought to reduce the military expenditure in favour of better provision for public works, sanitation, and education. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he pressed the Home Government to allow the Indian Army to go to the Western Front. In response to his appeal the Defence of India Act passed with hardly any opposition and 100,000,000*l.* was voted as India's contribution to Imperial war funds. His vicereignty saw the creation of a Mahommedan University at Aligarh and of a Hindu University at Benares. His term of office ended in April, 1916, after being prolonged by six months. On his return home he was appointed chairman of a Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the Irish rebellion. He then resumed, under Balfour, his former post of Assistant Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office. He had, however, to bear a share of the responsibility for the fall of Kut, as the findings of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the Mesopotamia campaign included censure of the ex-Viceroy as well as the Secretary of State for India. Austen Chamberlain immediately resigned and Hardinge unsuccessfully pressed his own resignation on Balfour. He attended the Peace Conference in 1919 as superintending Ambassador, but his temperament and that of Mr. Lloyd George did not permit of fruitful collaboration. On Lord Derby's retirement from the British Embassy at Paris in 1920 Hardinge succeeded him but unexpectedly resigned barely two years later. He was created baron in 1910 and K.G. in 1916, and was also G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and G.C.V.O. He married, in 1890, the Hon. Winifred Stuart, daughter of the first Lord Alington, and had two sons and one daughter. His eldest son having died of war wounds in December, 1914, he was succeeded by his younger son, the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Hardinge, born in 1894.

5. **John Leslie Palmer**, novelist and writer on the theatre, was born in 1885, and after being educated at Balliol College, Oxford, became, in 1910, dramatic critic of the *Saturday Review*, following in the footsteps of Bernard Shaw and Max Beerbohm. Soon he showed that he not only loved the theatre but could write about it. His reputation was established by two books, "The Censors and the Theatre" and "The Comedy of Manners," a study of Restoration dramatists, the latter inspiring one of Max Beerbohm's best cartoons. During the First World War (1914-18), since bad eyesight prevented him from joining the Forces, he was engaged in the War Trade Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office. Later he joined the secretariat of the League of Nations, which he served for eighteen years. During that period he produced seven novels, of which the most remarkable was "Jennifer," and wrote lives of Molière and of Ben Jonson. In 1927 he published "The Contemporary Theatre." At the time of his death he was engaged on a three-volume study of Shakespeare's characters. In collaboration with Hilary Sanders he wrote some forty novels which were published under the pen-names of Francis Beeding and David Pilgrim. He married, in 1911, Mildred Hodson Woodfield, and had one son and one daughter.

10. **Colonel Sir Henry George Lyons**, geographer and scientist, was born in London on October 11, 1864, son of General T. C. Lyons, and educated at Wellington and Woolwich, passing into the Royal Engineers, in 1884. He reached the rank of captain in 1892. Four years later he was chosen to be director-general of the Geological Survey, Egypt. In 1898 he organised and became director of the Survey Department of that country, retiring from the Army in 1901. During that time great progress was made in the cadastral and geological surveys of Egypt, and an excellent archæological survey was made in Nubia of the region which would be periodically inundated by the enlargement of the Aswan dam. He made a careful study of the Nile and its basin, publishing, in 1906, "The Physiography of the Nile," which, together with his "Report on the Island and Temples of Philae," established his reputation. In 1909, having

given up his work but not his interest in Egypt, he was appointed lecturer in geography at Glasgow University, but three years later returned to London where he became honorary secretary to the Royal Geographical Society. During the First World War (1914-18) he was commandant of the Army Meteorological Office, his services being highly prized by Army commanders. With the rank of colonel he returned to civil duties in 1919, becoming secretary to the advisory council and also a Keeper of the Science Museum, South Kensington. - In 1920 he was appointed director, as well as secretary, holding the post until 1933, and under him the Museum became one of the foremost technical museums in the world. Among innovations which he introduced were a children's gallery, wireless concerts, and working models. In 1923 he became a member of the governing body of the Imperial College of Science and Technology. He took part in the Geological Congress in Paris in 1931 as official British delegate. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society (of which he was treasurer, 1929-39), a Fellow of the Geological, Geographical and Meteorological Societies, a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery, and chairman of the executive committee of the Athenæum Club. He wrote a history of the Royal Society which was published posthumously (see the Literature section in this volume). For his services in Egypt the Royal Geographical Society awarded him its Victoria Medal. Oxford made him an honorary D.Sc. in 1906 and Dublin an honorary Sc.D. in 1908. He married, in 1896, Helen Julia, daughter of P. C. Hardwick, and had one son and one daughter.

15. Air Chief Marshal Sir William Gore Sutherland Mitchell was born at Cumberland, New South Wales, on August 8, 1888, but was educated in England at Wellington College. In 1906 he obtained a commission in a Special Reserve battalion of the Devonshire Regiment, three years later receiving a regular commission in The Highland Light Infantry. When the Royal Flying Corps was formed in 1912 he learned to fly at the Central Flying School, Upavon, and was granted the Royal Aero Club's certificate No. 483 on May 17, 1913. On the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 he went to France with No. 4 Squadron. In January of the following year he was promoted temporary captain and sent home to command a flight in the newly raised No. 10 Squadron which afterwards took part in the battle of Loos. A year later he was awarded the M.C. for his services at the battles of the Somme. By the spring of 1917 he was a lieutenant-colonel commanding a wing of the R.F.C. at the battle of Arras, gaining the D.S.O. and a mention in despatches. In 1919 he was granted a permanent commission in the R.F.C. with the rank of wing commander. Later in the year he went to India, took part in the operations in Waziristan, 1922-23, was made C.B.E. and received another mention. In 1928 he assumed command at Aden, after which he served for a period at the Air Ministry as director of training. In 1933, now an Air Commodore, he was selected to be Commandant of the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, and while holding that appointment was promoted Air Vice-Marshal. After two years at Cranwell he went to Iraq as Air Officer Commanding British Forces. In 1937 he became Air member for Personnel on the Air Council and was made a C.B., being advanced to K.C.B. in 1938. From 1939 to 1940 he was Air Officer Commanding in Chief, R.A.F., Middle East. His last post with the R.A.F. was Inspector-General, 1940-41. In the latter year he was made Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in the House of Lords, the first time that appointment had been held by a member of the R.A.F. In 1919 he married Essy, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel W. Plant, Indian Army. He died suddenly; earlier in the day he had been watching R.A.F. cadets playing those of the Army at Lord's.

18. Dr. George Frederick Stout, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews University, 1903-36, was born at South Shields on January 6, 1860, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained distinction in classics and philosophy (1881-83) and in 1884 was elected to a Fellowship at his College. He became tutor and university lecturer at Cambridge and for

two years was Anderson Lecturer in comparative psychology at Aberdeen University. In 1899 he was appointed to the newly founded Wilde Readership of Psychology at Oxford. Four years later he went to St. Andrews as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, remaining there until he resigned in 1936. He was Gifford lecturer at Edinburgh University, 1919-21, publishing his lectures in 1931 under the title "Mind and Matter." He was known to students of psychology throughout the English university world for "Stout's Manual." His first book, "Analytic Psychology" (1896), was followed in 1898 by his "Manual of Psychology," one of the most influential class books ever produced. The originality of his mind found expression in the *Proceedings* of the Aristotelian Society, the British Academy, and in *Mind*, which he edited from 1891 to 1920. His psychology was distinctly philosophical in its interest and direction; he was a worthy follower of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. In 1930 he published "Studies in Philosophy and Psychology," a collection of seventeen essays covering thirty years. Dr. Stout, who married, in 1899, Ella, daughter of the Rev. W. T. Ker, and had one son, died in Sydney, New South Wales.

19. Lord Romer (Mark Lemon Romer), Lord of Appeal-in-Ordinary, 1938-44, was born in 1866, son of Lord Justice Romer, his mother being a granddaughter of Mark Lemon, the first editor of *Punch*, who married a Miss Romer in 1839. He was educated at Rugby and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, of which, in 1922, he was elected an honorary Fellow. Called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1890, he attained a considerable practice at the Chancery Bar, and took silk in 1908. He frequently appeared before the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He was appointed standing counsel to the Royal College of Physicians in 1914 and to Cambridge University in 1919. In 1922, on the nomination of Lord Chancellor Cave, he was appointed a Judge of the Chancery Division. In November, 1929, when Lord Carson resigned, and Lord Justice Russell was appointed a Lord of Appeal-in-Ordinary, Romer, though not senior Chancery Judge, was promoted to be a Lord Justice of Appeal and was sworn a member of the Privy Council. In 1938 he followed Lord Roche as Lord of Appeal-in-Ordinary and was granted a life peerage. He retired in April, 1944, owing to ill-health. In 1940 he delivered the authoritative judgment in the leading case on desertion, *Cohen v. Cohen*. He frequently presided at the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In 1893 he married Anne Wilmot, daughter of C. T. Ritchie (Baron Ritchie), and had two sons.

— **Sir Henry Joseph Wood**, conductor of the Promenade Concerts for fifty years, of whom it was said that he did more for English music than any other man, was born in London on March 31, 1869, son of an optician. Both his parents were musical; his father sang tenor at St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, and in oratorio performances of the Sacred Harmonic Society. At the age of six Wood played the piano; at ten he was deputy-organist of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London. He had some general training at the Royal Academy of Music, where he owed much to the experience gained as accompanist to the operatic class, and to the great teacher Manuel Garcia. At the age of fourteen he gave a series of organ recitals at the Fisheries Exhibition in South Kensington. He began his career as conductor in 1888 when he joined the Arthur Rousby Grand Opera Company. Later he was associated with the D'Oyley Carte Company, with Sullivan in the production of *Ivanhoe*, and with the Olympic Theatre, where he got his first introduction to the works of Tchaikovsky, conducting *Eugen Oniegin*. In 1893 he was engaged to conduct at the newly opened concert hall which became known as Queen's Hall. The manager, Robert Newman, had an idea to found a ten-week's season of "popular" promenade concerts. The experiment proved a great success, to which Henry Wood's conducting contributed in no small measure. At an early stage he displayed two characteristics which remained with him—unbounded energy and extreme conscientiousness. The Queen's Hall orchestra encountered several crises: a quarrel with the players over the right to send deputies led to a complete reorganisation of the orchestra; Newman's financial

losses, which brought the intervention of Sir Edgar Speyer, and under whose chairmanship, with Newman as manager and Wood as conductor, the orchestra achieved nation-wide fame. When the First World War broke out, the orchestra was taken over by Messrs. Chappell, lessees of Queen's Hall. In spite of many difficulties arising from the war Wood persisted in carrying on the Promenade Concerts, and when differences of opinion in the management of Queen's Hall threatened their continuance, Wood announced that he himself would take the responsibility for them. The public gave him enthusiastic support, and in 1927 the B.B.C. took over the Concerts and their continuance was assured. All went well until air raids cut short the season of 1940; later the destruction by enemy action of Queen's Hall caused a transfer to the Royal Albert Hall. After one year of private management, the B.B.C. once more resumed responsibility for what under Wood's guidance had become a national institution. In 1938 Wood celebrated his jubilee as a conductor, the occasion being marked by a concert to raise funds for free beds in London hospitals for orchestral players in sickness and old age. Ill-health prevented him from appearing much in 1943, but he recovered sufficiently to take part in several celebrations of his 75th birthday and the jubilee of his association with the "Proms." On March 3, 1944, the Royal Academy of Music presented him with a book of signatures and notes of appreciation from the British world of music. On June 10 he conducted the first part of the opening concert of the season, but after three weeks the season had to be abandoned owing to flying bombs. In 1938 Wood published his memoirs under the title, "My Life of Music," and in the same year presented to the Royal Academy of Music his library of over 2,800 orchestral scores. Sir Henry Wood, who was knighted in 1911, and made a Companion of Honour in 1943, was twice married; first in 1898 to the Russian Princess Olga Ouroussoff, a soprano singer who died in 1909; and secondly, to Muriel, daughter of Major Greatrex, by whom he had two daughters.

20. Dr. Alfred Edward William Hazel, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, 1925-44, was born on February 20, 1869, and educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and Jesus College, Oxford, where he had a distinguished career in classics and law, taking the B.C.L. in 1895. In the same year he gained the Eldon law scholarship and two years later the Barstow law scholarship. In 1898 he won the prize offered by the Council of Legal Education for constitutional law and legal history; was awarded a Certificate of Honour at the Bar examination, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn. He returned to Jesus College as official Fellow and lecturer in law, and served the College variously as librarian, dean and senior bursar, and from 1925 as Principal. He was law tutor at Jesus College, and till 1926 at Queen's College, of which he was made an honorary Fellow. From 1910 to 1926 he was Reader in constitutional law and legal history at the Inns of Court; University lecturer on criminal law and evidence at Oxford, 1915-22; and All Souls Reader in English law, 1922-23. During 1910-11 he served as Senior Proctor, and for some years was a member of the Hebdomadal Council. He was also an active member of the Council of the University College of Wales. From 1908 to 1910 he sat as Liberal Member of Parliament for West Bromwich, and was Recorder of Burton on Trent, 1912-38. During the First World War (1914-18) he was deputy-controller of the priority department in the Ministry of Munitions, for which service he was made C.B.E. In 1925 he became Assessor of the Chancellor's Court, and in 1930 took silk. He married, in 1919, Ethel, daughter of the Rev. W. G. Percival, and had one son.

SEPTEMBER

2. Sir Arthur Smith Woodward, Keeper of the Geological Department, British Museum, 1901-24, was born on May 23, 1864, and educated at Macclesfield Grammar School and at Owens College, Manchester. In 1882 he was appointed an assistant in the Geological Department of the Natural History section of the British Museum, succeeding Dr. Henry Woodward as Keeper in

1901. His first work as an assistant to William Davies was to arrange the collections of fossil vertebrates, a subject on which he ultimately became one of the foremost authorities. He himself collected fossil mammals in Greece and Spain. After attending a series of Swiney lectures by Dr. R. H. Traquair on fossil fish, Woodward examined in detail the great Egerton and Enniskillen collections and wrote many papers, especially on the mesozoic and tertiary forms. Between 1887 and 1901 he produced four big volumes of a comprehensive "Catalogue of Fossil Fishes in the British Museum." While engaged on this work he published a text-book on "Vertebrate Palæontology" intended for students of zoology. He also published important researches on fossil amphibia, reptilia, birds, and mammals. In 1913 he took up the study of fossil man, working with Charles Dawson at Piltdown. From 1914 to 1916 he was president of the Geological Society; from 1919 to 1923 of the Linnean Society; in 1909 of Section C of the British Association; and in 1935 of Section H. On his retirement from the British Museum in 1924 he was created a knight. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1901, received the honorary degrees of LL.D. from St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Ph.D. from Tartu, and the D.Sc. from Athens. He was awarded the Lyell medal in 1896, the Wollaston medal of the Geological Society in 1924, a Royal medal from the Royal Society in 1917, and the Prix Cuvier of the French Academy in 1918. He married Maud, daughter of Professor H. G. Seeley, and had one daughter.

4. **Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, Bart.**, politician and journalist, was born in 1854, son of R. W. Cooke, of Brighton, assuming the additional surname of Kinloch in 1905. He was educated at Brighton College and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he read mathematics and law. Called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1883, he joined the Oxford Circuit and became Treasury prosecuting counsel for Berkshire. Later he was legal adviser to the House of Lords Sweating Commission and private secretary to the fourth Earl of Dunraven, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1885-87). He was also examiner under the Civil Service Commission for factory inspectorships. As a journalist he wrote chiefly on foreign and Dominion affairs. At various times he edited the *English Illustrated Magazine*, the *Observer*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the *New Review*. For a long period he was a leader-writer on the *Morning Post*. In 1901 he founded and became editor of the *Empire Review*. He wrote an authorised memoir of Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, and a life of Queen Mary. At the invitation of Cecil Rhodes he reported on elementary education in Rhodesia. In 1903 he was made honorary secretary to the Allied Colonial University Conference at Burlington House, and he took an active interest in the Festival of Empire; in due course he became a member of the councils of the Royal Colonial Institute, and of the Royal Empire Society. In politics a Unionist, he was at one time a vice-president of the Tariff Reform League. In 1907 he was elected a member of the London County Council. Three years later he entered the House of Commons as member for Devonport, holding the seat until 1923. In the following year he was returned for East Cardiff. He was chairman of the Naval and Dockyards Committee for fourteen years, and on two occasions of the Expiring Laws Continuance Act Committee. He was also chairman of the Queen Mary's Holiday Home for Governesses and of Princess Mary's Memorial Home, a Governor of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, a member of the County of London Territorial Force Association and an honorary associate of the R.I.B.A. He was knighted in 1905, made a K.B.E. in 1919, and in 1926 was created a baronet. In 1898 he married Florence, daughter of the Rev. John Lancelot Turbot (formerly Errington), but had no children, and the baronetcy became extinct.

— **Alfred Basil Lubbock**, an authority on sailing ships, was born on September 9, 1876, son of Alfred Lubbock, seventh son of Sir John Lubbock, second baronet, and a brother of the first Lord Avebury. After being educated

at Eton he went to Canada in 1897, and in the second year of the gold rush entered Klondyke by way of the Chilcoot trail. He left Klondyke as an ordinary seaman on a four-masted barque and came home round Capé Horn. When the South African war began he volunteered for active service, received a commission in Mennie's Scouts, and was mentioned in dispatches. During the First World War (1914-18) he served as an officer in the R.F.A. in India and France, and was awarded the M.C. His experience as a sailor before the mast having aroused in him a love of sailing ships, he decided to devote himself to recording their history, becoming an authority on the subject. In 1914 he published "The China Clippers" and ten years later "The Log of the Cutty Sark." In 1921 came "The Colonial Clippers," followed by "Round the Horn before the Mast," "Adventures by Sea from Art of Old Time" (1925), with a preface by John Masefeld, and "Sail." "The Last of the Windjammers" was issued in two volumes, the first on the iron clippers of the 'seventies and the second on square rigged merchantmen from 1888 to 1928. In 1929 came a book on American ships—"The Down Easters, American Sailing Ships, 1869-1929." He also wrote "The Opium Clippers" (1933) and "The Arctic Whalers" (1935). In 1912 he married Dorothy Mary, daughter of C. Warner, C.B., and widow of Commander T. U. Thynne, R.N.

13. **Heath Robinson**, humorous artist, was born at Islington on May 31, 1872, son of Thomas Robinson, for many years principal artist on the *Penny Illustrated Paper*. After attending a local school he received training in art at the Royal Academy Schools. Then, with his brothers T. H. and Charles Robinson, who were also book illustrators, he brought out in 1897 an edition of Hans Andersen's "Fairy Tales." In the same year Heath Robinson alone produced a "Don Quixote," followed in 1899 by a new edition of "Arabian Nights," and in 1900 by an edition of the "Poems" of Edgar Allan Poe. Later came editions of Rabelais, "Twelfth Night," "The Water Babies," Perrault's "Tales," and Kipling's "Collected Verse," an original drawing for the latter being acquired by the Canadian National Gallery. Robinson, besides having a good decorative sense, had a penchant for the fantastic, and from the turn of the century he began to specialise in humorous drawings which gained for him a world-wide reputation. These drawings first appeared in the *Strand Magazine*, *The Bystander*, *The Sketch*, *The Graphic*, and the *Illustrated London News*. In the heyday of mechanical invention Heath Robinson caricatured the machine as other artists caricatured human beings. He invented the most complicated machinery for doing jobs which could much more easily have been done by hand. Making this type of drawing absolutely his own, for years his work was among the most popular features of the humorous press; so individual that any piece of useless, over-elaborate apparatus came to be referred to as "a Heath Robinson affair." He wrote and illustrated "Uncle Lubin" (1902) and "Bill the Minder" (1913), and in 1934 brought out a volume entitled "Absurdities." Another of his activities was scenery, which he painted for the Empire and Alhambra theatres in Leicester Square, and he designed murals for the Knickerbocker Bar and for the children's room in the liner *Empress of Britain*. He married Josephine Constance, daughter of John Latey, editor of the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, and had one daughter and four sons, one of whom, Oliver Robinson, became art editor of *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine* and later of *Good Housekeeping*.

21. **Louis Napoleon Parker**, dramatist, composer, and pageant master, was born in Calvados, France, on October 21, 1852, son of an American lawyer from Massachusetts, and an English mother. One result of his father's wanderings in Europe was that by the time Louis was 12 he spoke French, Italian and German fluently; but it was many years before he mastered English. He studied music at the Royal Academy, making rapid progress with the piano, organ, and singing. In 1873, at the suggestion of Sir William Sterndale Bennett, principal of the Academy, he went as *locum tenens* for the piano master at Sherborne School, where his son, James Bennett, was director of the music. He went for six weeks,

but remained for nineteen years. By 1877 he was organist and musical instructor at the school, and in that year he finished a cantata, "Silvia," two days before the sudden death of his father. On leaving Sherborne he went to London intending to teach music, but instead became a playwright. He turned a large barn into a theatre and with his own hands built a stage. On the whole his plays were more successful in America than in England. At one time three of them were being performed at the same time in New York—*Joseph, Disraeli*, and *The Paper Chase*,—while a fourth, *Pomander Walk*, had a record run on tour in the United States. But he reached his highest level with *Drake* which was produced in London at His Majesty's Theatre in September 1912. Besides his own plays, he was a skilful adaptor, as he showed in *David Copperfield*, *Beauty and the Barge*, and *Monkey's Paw*. He also made excellent translations of *Rosmersholm*, *Magda*, *L'Aiglon*, and *The Sacrament of Judas*. While at Sherborne he won a lasting reputation by the pageants produced there in 1905, at Warwick in 1906, Bury St. Edmunds 1907, Dover 1908, and Colchester and York 1909. From 1907 to 1913 he directed the historical section of the Lord Mayor's Show. In June 1914 he became a naturalised British subject. In 1928 he published his reminiscences under the title, "Several of My Lives." He married in 1878 Georgiana Bessie, daughter of Charles Calder, of Sherborne, and had two daughters.

24. Sir Humphry Davy Rolleston, Bart., distinguished physician and medical editor, was born at Oxford on June 21, 1862, son of Professor George Rolleston, his mother being a daughter of Dr. John Davy and niece of Sir Humphry Davy, the natural philosopher. He was educated at Marlborough and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he gained a first class in Parts I and II of the Natural Science Tripos in 1885 and 1886, and was elected to a Fellowship in 1889. He received his medical training at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, becoming M.D. at Cambridge in 1891 and a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1894. Soon afterwards he was elected assistant physician to St. George's Hospital and to the Victoria Hospital for Children. In due course he became physician and consulting physician to both institutions. During the South African war he served as consulting physician to the Imperial Yeomanry Hospital at Pretoria. In the first World War (1914-18) he was consulting physician to the Navy with the temporary rank of Surgeon Rear-Admiral (1915-18). Soon after returning from South Africa he made a name for himself first as a pathologist, and later as the editor of Allbutt's "System of Medicine." He was also editor of the "British Encyclopædia of Medical Practice" published in 1936, and had been responsible for the *Practitioner* since 1928. He was president of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1918-20, and of the Royal College of Physicians, 1922-26. In 1925 he succeeded Sir Clifford Allbutt as Regius Professor of Physics in the University of Cambridge. He was a member of the General Medical Council, first as a representative of the Royal College of Physicians and secondly as the representative of the University of Cambridge. He served also as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, as a Trustee of the British Museum, and as a member of the Medical Administrative Committee of the Royal Air Force. He was Physician-in-Ordinary to King George V from 1923 to 1932 and Physician Extraordinary from 1932 to 1936. In 1916 he was made a C.B., being advanced to K.C.B. two years later. In 1924 he was created a baronet, and in 1929 a G.C.V.O. In 1894 he married Lisette Eila, daughter of F. M. Ogilvy, and had two sons. As one was killed in action in 1915 and the other during riots in Zanzibar in 1936, the baronetcy became extinct. Sir Humphry Rolleston himself died as a result of being scalded in his bath. He left a leasehold house in Trumpington Road, Cambridge, to St. John's College, Cambridge; his bound pamphlets and those published of the history of medicine to the Royal Society of Medicine; medical books to the Royal College of Surgeons and Royal College of Physicians; and, subject to other bequests and a life interest, 1,000*l.* to Papworth Village Settlement, and the remainder to the Master and Fellows of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge, to help medical students.

25. The Right Hon. Lord Justice Luxmoore (Arthur Fairfax Charles Coryndon Luxmoore), Judge of the Chancery Division, 1929-38, Lord Justice of Appeal, 1938-44, was born in Kent in 1876, and educated at King's School, Canterbury, and Jesus College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as an athlete, gaining his Rugby blue and later playing for England. At Lincoln's Inn he was a pupil of George Cave (afterwards Lord Chancellor), with whom he remained until Cave became Home Secretary in 1916. Called to the Bar in 1899, Luxmoore attained a large practice in the Chancery Courts, and took silk in 1919. He frequently appeared before the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In May, 1926, he obtained on a motion before Mr. Justice Astbury a declaration that the General Strike was illegal. In February, 1929, on the promotion of Mr. Justice Tomlin as a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, he was made a Judge of the Chancery Division. Among his most notable cases were those of *Ross v. Waterfield*, on private international law; the Cockington churchyard case, relating to an alleged right of way to a parish church situated on the property of W. H. Mallock, the novelist; *Lindiboon v. Camille* (1933), in which he held that a bequest for masses was charitable; and a case affecting Church funds in the diocese of Capetown, a long aftermath of the Bishop Colenso case. As an outcome of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Amendment) Act, 1938, he was chosen as one of the new Lord Justices. Apart from his legal work, he had many public activities: he was Mayor of New Romney from 1920 to 1926; Chairman of the East Kent Quarter Sessions, 1931-40; Chairman of the Rating Appeal Committee for East Kent; and had been president of the Kent County Cricket Club. He presided over the Committee on Post-War Agricultural Education which published its report in 1943. In 1923 he was made a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and in 1938 an honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. He married in 1907 Dorothea Tunder, daughter of T. P. Royle, of Chester, and had two sons, both of whom died on active service, and three daughters. His own death occurred in hospital after collapsing with a heart attack while alighting from a taxi in Kensington.

— **Sir Leo Chiozza Money**, author and journalist, was born in Genoa on June 13, 1870, son of J. A. Chiozza and Fawnia, daughter of Edward Allwright. He assumed the additional surname of Money in 1903. An expert statistician, from 1898 to 1903 he was managing editor of *Commercial Intelligence*, and made representations to the Board of Trade which resulted in a revision of trade returns. He was a member of the Select Committee on Income Tax, 1906, in which year he was elected Liberal Member of Parliament for North Paddington. From 1910 to 1918 he sat for East Northants. Later, as a Labour candidate, he contested South Tottenham but was defeated. He was on the Select Committee on Home Work, 1907-8, the Restriction of Enemy's Suppliers Committee, 1914-15, and the War Trade Advisory Committee, 1915-18. He acted as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions; as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions; and in the same capacity to the Ministry of Shipping, 1916-18. During 1917-18 he was chairman of the National Maritime Board. In the following year he served on the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry. As an author he published several books on economic and trade problems, as well as a volume of poems. For the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he edited the economic, financial, industrial, engineering and sociological sections. In 1892 he married Gwendolin, daughter of G. E. Stevenson, and had one daughter.

29. Lord Craigmyle (the Right Hon. Alexander Shaw), former director of the Court of the Bank of England and chairman of the P. & O. Steam Navigation Company, was born in 1883, son of Thomas Shaw, first baron who died in 1937, and educated at George Watson's College, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University, and at Trinity College, Oxford, where he was president of the Union in 1905. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1908, practising in the King's Bench Division and at the Parliamentary Bar. In 1912 he unsuccessfully

contested Midlothian as a Liberal candidate, but three years later was returned for Kilmarnock, which he represented until 1923. While in the House of Commons he served as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir John Simon (Viscount Simon), then Home Secretary, and during 1917-18, to Sir Albert Stanley, President of the Board of Trade. In 1920 he was appointed a director of the P. & O. Steam Navigation Company, becoming deputy chairman and managing director in 1927. On the death of Lord Inchcape in 1932 he was elected chairman, resigning in 1938. He resigned his directorship of the Bank of England in 1943. In 1927 he was president of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom. During the first World War, 1914-18, he held a commission in the Royal Marine Artillery, serving throughout the Battle of the Somme. He was an honorary captain in the Royal Naval Reserve in 1935, and an honorary colonel in the R.A.M.C. in 1940. He was a High Sheriff of the County of London in 1931, and was a Deputy-Lieutenant of Selkirkshire. In 1913 he married Lady Margaret Cargill Mackay, daughter of the first Earl of Inchcape and had three daughters and one son, the Hon. Donald Shaw, who was born in 1923.

OCTOBER

4. **Alfred Emmanuel Smith** (familarly known as "Al" Smith), four times Governor of New York State, was born on the East Side of New York City on December 30, 1873, son of a Manhattan truck driver of Irish origin. He attended a Roman Catholic school, and out of school hours sold newspapers. When he was eleven his father died and young Smith tried, without success, to carry on the trucking business. Then, through the influence of Tom Foley, member of a democratic club which he had joined, he obtained employment as a process server and later in 1895 a clerkship in the office of the Commissioner of Jurors, which he held for eight years. In 1903 he was elected to the New York Assembly and took his place in the Legislature at Albany. By 1911, when the Democrats were in control, he had become majority party leader. On their defeat a year later he led the minority; when the Democrats came back in 1913 he was elected to the Speakership. In 1915 he was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, and in the same year gave up his Speakership to become Sheriff of New York County, a position of less dignity but greater emolument. Two years later he was chosen president of the board of aldermen. He next sought nomination for the Governorship of New York and to the general surprise was elected by a large majority (1918). One of his first acts was the appointment of a Reconstruction Commission which was charged with the formulation of policies in regard to conditions after the First World War (1914-18). Defeated in 1920, he was re-elected in 1922 by the largest majority ever accorded to a candidate in New York State. He proved to be an ideal Governor, and was re-elected for the two subsequent periods. In 1924 the State Democratic Convention entered him for the Presidential nomination, but he started under two serious handicaps: he was a Roman Catholic, and he strongly opposed prohibition. In 1928, however, he ran as the official Democratic candidate against Mr. Herbert Hoover; he was heavily defeated, but secured a larger popular vote than any defeated candidate before him. In 1932 he unsuccessfully stood against Mr. Roosevelt for Democratic nomination, and in 1936 he went over to the Republicans and supported Governor Landon. He was an unsparing critic of the New Deal. On retiring into private life he joined the board of several companies, becoming president of Empire State Incorporated. From 1932 to 1934 he was editor of the *New Outlook*. In 1929 he published his autobiography under the title "Up to Now." He married, in 1900, Catherine Dunn, and had three sons and two daughters. Some 7,000 persons attended his funeral service in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York.

6. **Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith**, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology and Lecturer on the Constitution of the British Empire in the University of Edinburgh, was born on April 5, 1879 and educated at the Royal

High School, Edinburgh ; at the University, where he graduated with first class honours in Classics at the age of 17 ; then at Balliol College, Oxford, where he had a brilliant career. He secured a place in the Home and Indian Civil Service examination in 1901, obtaining record marks. He was admitted to the Bar of the Inner Temple in 1904 and to the Faculty of Advocates, Scotland, in 1921. Entering the Colonial Office in 1901 he served for a time as secretary to the Crown Agents for the Colonies and took part in the Alaska Boundary Arbitration in 1903. He was clerk to the Imperial Conference of 1911 and then private secretary to Sir John Anderson, permanent Under-Secretary of State. In 1914 he left the Colonial Office to become Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Edinburgh. Since 1927 he had also been Lecturer on the Constitution of the British Empire. His first important book, "Responsible Government in the Dominions," appeared in 1909 ; a third edition was published in 1928 after the enactment of the Statute of Westminster. He also wrote "Imperial Unity and the Dominions" (1916), "Sovereignty of the British Dominions" (1929), "Constitutional History of the British Empire" (1930), which was awarded the Royal Empire Society's gold medal, "The Governments of the British Empire" (1935), "A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935" (1936), "The King and the Imperial Crown" (1938), "The British Cabinet System" (1938), and "The Constitution of England from Queen Victoria to George VI" (1939). Among his numerous works on Sanskrit and kindred tongues were "Sanskrit Drama" (1924), "History of Sanskrit Literature" (1928), and two massive volumes on "The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads." In collaboration with other scholars he edited several legal textbooks, including a treatise on the Conflict of Laws which he produced in its third edition with Professor A. V. Dicey in 1922, and the fourth edition of Anson's Law and Custom of the Crown. In 1912 he married Margaret Balfour, daughter of a former town clerk of Bathgate, West Lothian.

8. **Dr. Arthur Blackburne Poynton**, Master of University College, Oxford, 1935-37, was born on June 28, 1867, son of the Rev. J. J. Poynton and educated at Marlborough and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was one of the most distinguished undergraduates of his generation. In 1890 he was elected to a Fellowship at Hertford College, remaining there until 1894, when he went to University College as Fellow and Praelector and a tutor in classical scholarship. He lectured mainly on Cicero's Speeches, Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's "Poetics" and Tacitus's "Annals." Greek oratory was his own main study ; in 1927 he delivered a witty lecture in Greek in the manner of Isocrates. He published an edition of Cicero's "Pro Milone" (1892), "Flosculi Graeci" (1920) and "Flosculi Latini" (1922). He was Bursar of University College, 1900 to 1935 ; in the latter year he was elected Master. He was Senior Proctor in 1902 and for many years was a curator of the University Chest as well as one of the curators of the Bodleian, of whose standing committee he was for a long time chairman. In 1925 he succeeded Dr. A. D. Godley as Public Orator, an office he held until 1932. In 1896 he married Mary, daughter of J. Y. Sargent, Fellow of Hertford College, and had two sons and three daughters.

— **Wendell Lewis Willkie**, United States Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1940, was born at Elwood, Indiana, on February 18, 1892, son of a lawyer of German stock. His mother, Henrietta Trisch, was one of the first women in America to qualify for the legal profession. His father lost his modest fortune in 1893, and Willkie was sent to the local school, later proceeding to the University of Indiana, where he won a reputation for advanced political and social views. Graduating in 1913, he studied law at Oberlin College, and in 1916 joined his father in partnership at Elwood. When America entered the First World War he enlisted and went to France, where he became a lieutenant of artillery, eventually retiring as a captain. On his return in 1919 he was called to the Ohio Bar and became a member of the firm of Mather, Nesbit and Willkie

at Akron, Ohio. One of his first engagements was to act as counsel for a small utility company, the Commonwealth Corporation; later he became its standing legal adviser. By 1929 the firm had so greatly extended its operations that Willkie moved to New York, becoming a member of the Bar of that city. In 1933 he was appointed president of the Southern and Commonwealth Corporation, now a great concern extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. In the discharge of his duties he came into conflict with the New Deal. Under the Tennessee Valley Authority a large electrical power plant was established in the area covered by the Corporation. He objected on principle to state competition with private enterprise, and he embarked on a long war against President Roosevelt's policy. In the end he sold out part of the concern to the T.V.A. and secured their consent not to compete with him elsewhere. His case that freedom of enterprise was as necessary as freedom of speech and thought won for him the support of the business community, and with the approach of the Presidential Election in 1940 he was nominated as a candidate, although he had had no political experience and had himself voted for Mr. Roosevelt at the two previous elections. He was hailed as a Republican and as a champion of big business, but in fact he had been a champion of democracy and on good terms with Labour. He was decisively defeated, but received more votes than any other Republican candidate who challenged Mr. Roosevelt. The election over, he came to England to see for himself the effects of the war. "I am here," he said, "as Wendell Willkie. I represent no one." In the course of ten days he was received by King George VI, visited the Prime Minister, and talked with everyone he came across, from Cabinet Ministers to people on buses and in the damaged areas. On returning to the United States he went to Washington to give evidence in favour of the Lend-Lease Bill and he urged the repeal of the Neutrality Act, warning his fellow countrymen that they had no hope of peace. In the autumn of 1942 he visited the Near East, Russia, and China as a special representative of the United States, covering 31,000 miles in 49 days. Returning with the idea that the whole world should be a Commonwealth of Free Nations, he published his experiences in a book called "One World," which quickly became a "best seller." He intended to stand again in the Presidential election of 1944 but failing to secure a single delegate in isolationist Wisconsin, he withdrew, leaving the field clear for Governor Dewey. Wendell Willkie, who married, in 1918, Edith Wilk of Indiana, and had one son, died in hospital in New York.

9. Reginald Morier Yorke Gleadowe, Slade Professor of Fine Art at the University of Oxford, 1928-33, was born in London on May 6, 1888, son of G. E. Y. Gleadowe, C.M.G., of the Treasury, and educated at Winchester College and New College, Oxford, when he graduated with a first class in Classics. In 1912 he began to study Art at the Slade School. Entering the Civil Service, he was appointed private secretary to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and was secretary to the first Inter-Allied Naval Conference. During the First World War he was a King's messenger in the Eastern Mediterranean, holding a commission as honorary captain, Royal Marines. Later he became secretary, and then head of the Honours and Awards Branch of the Admiralty and Admiralty representative on the War Artists Committee. From 1919 to 1922 he was assistant to the director of the National Gallery. At various times he was examiner and lecturer at London University, Harrison lecturer at Dublin, and lecturer in Fine Arts at the University of Belfast. In 1928 he was appointed Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford. In his inaugural lecture he delivered a trenchant criticism of industrial progress with its disastrous effect upon both cities and the countryside. As Art Master at Winchester he took a broad view of his duties, training boys in various crafts, including boat building, and he provided them with a library of books on art as well as a collection of works of art. His aim was to develop æsthetic sensibility rather than to produce practising artists. He designed the cricket pavilion and memorial tablet to William

Whiting, 1823-78, in the cloisters, and took an active interest in the Winchester Art Club. He was a member of the city council, and in 1938 chairman of its housing and town planning committee. He was on the National Register of Designers and was a member of the council of the Design and Industries Association. He was responsible for some excellent pieces of gold and silver plate for cathedrals, churches, colleges, and city corporations; the design for the gold and silver plate for the Royal Victorian Order in the Chapel of the Savoy; and for the Sword of Honour which was presented to Stalingrad by King George VI. He was well represented in the Exhibition of British Art in Industry at the Royal Academy in 1935. He also exhibited occasionally at the Royal Academy and the New English Art Club. He published monographs on Ambrose McEvoy, R.A., and Albert Rutherston, but it is as a cultural influence rather than as a practising artist or writer that he will be remembered. He was a member of the council of the Goldsmiths' Company and a Freeman of the City of London. From 1933 to 1935 he was Commodore of Oxford University Yacht Club. He married, in 1921, Cecil Mary, daughter of John Rotton, solicitor to the Westminster City Council, and had one son and one daughter.

19. **Colonel the Hon. Deneys Reitz**, High Commissioner in London for the Union of South Africa since January, 1943, was born at Bloemfontein in 1882, son of F. W. Reitz, who was successively Chief Justice and President of the Orange Free State, State Secretary of the South African Republic, and President of the Union Senate. His mother was a Norwegian. On the outbreak of the South African War he joined the Pretoria Commando and saw service on the Natal front, in the Orange Free State, and in the Transvaal. In August, 1901, General Smuts invited him to accompany his raid on the Cape Colony, and in the following year he went with General Smuts for a parley with Lord Kitchener at Kroonstad. Later he was present at the peace conference at Vereeniging. After the war Reitz and his father refused to submit to British rule and went first to Europe and then to Madagascar, but eventually young Reitz returned at the suggestion of Mrs. Smuts, who took him into her home and nursed him back to health. He then qualified in law, and for five years practised as an attorney at Heilbron, in the Orange Free State. In 1914, when General Botha brought South Africa (as part of the British Empire) into the war, Reitz decided to stand by him. This enraged his clients and acquaintances at Heilbron, and he had difficulty in escaping with his life. Eventually he reached General Smuts, who appointed him Commandant in the Heilbron district. Within 24 hours he was home again at the head of the British armed force, accepting the surrender of his fellow townsmen. He took part in the German West Africa campaign, returning to contest Heilbron in the General Election of 1915. Beaten by a large majority, he joined General Smuts's staff in German East Africa, and when the General left for England he stayed on and took part in Van Deventer's drive. Early in 1917 he came to England and enlisted in the British Army. He soon received a commission, and then as a major was sent to the Senior Officers School at Aldershot. After serving with the 7th Battalion, The Royal Irish Rifles and the 6th/7th Battalion, The Royal Scots Fusiliers and being severely wounded on the Scarpe, he was made second in command of the 1st Battalion, The Royal Scots Fusiliers, and after the capture of the Hindenburg line took over command of the 7th Battalion, The King's Shropshire Light Infantry. In 1919 he returned to South Africa, and a year later was elected to the Legislative Assembly, sitting both as member and as Minister of Lands in General Smuts's Government. Some years later it was discovered that as he had refused to take the oath after the Boer War he was not technically a British subject, but the matter was regularised by a special Act of Parliament. He was again Minister of Lands in 1933. In 1935 he became Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, and in 1938 Minister of Mines. In the following year he was appointed Minister for Native Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, retaining the latter post until 1943. In 1939 he came to London to confer with the War Cabinet on the co-ordination of Empire resources. In December, 1942, he was appointed High Commissioner in London

for the Union of South Africa. His publications included "Commando," "Trekking On," and "No Outspan." In 1910 he married a daughter of Dr Claude Wright, of Wynberg, C.P., and had two sons. Mrs. Reitz became the first woman member of the Union Parliament.

20. The Hon. Lord Fleming (David Pinkerton Fleming), a Scottish Lord of Session, who was chairman of the Committee on Public Schools, was born on February 11, 1877, and educated at Glasgow High School and Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities. He became an advocate in 1902 and took silk in 1921. In 1912 he was made Sheriff of Fife. When the First World War began he was a captain in the 5th Battalion, The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), T.A., with whom he went to France, where later he served with the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. He was awarded the M.C. and the Belgian Croix de Guerre. After the war he took up politics, and in 1922 was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland. Having no seat in the House of Commons he contested Dumbartonshire in 1923 without success, but a year later won the seat at the General Election. Except for the period when the first Labour Government was in power he held office until 1926, when he was appointed a Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland with the title of Lord Fleming. In 1927 he was chairman of the Sasines Office Inquiry, and in 1930 became chairman of the Committee on Hire Purchase Law in Scotland. But he will best be remembered as chairman of the Committee on Public Schools, set up by the President of the Board of Education (Mr. Butler) in 1942. The "Fleming Report" as it was called, was published in July, 1944. Lord Fleming was made an honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple in 1940. In 1913 he married Beatrice Joan, daughter of J. Swan of Edinburgh.

26. The Most Rev. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury since April, 1942, and one of the outstanding religious leaders of the time, was born in the Palace at Exeter on October 15, 1881, son of Frederick Temple, 93rd Archbishop of Canterbury, and was educated at Rugby, and Balliol College, Oxford, where he had a distinguished career, and was also president of the Union in his last year. After taking his degree in 1904 he was elected Fellow and lecturer in Philosophy at Queen's College, where he remained for six years. He was ordained in 1908 and two years later went to Repton as headmaster, holding the post until the summer of 1914. He then accepted the benefice of St. James's, Piccadilly. During the early part of the First World War he was actively associated with the National Mission of Repentance and Hope and later with the Life and Liberty Movement. In June, 1919, when Canon E. H. Pearce was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester, Temple was appointed to the vacant canonry at Westminster Abbey, and eighteen months later he succeeded Knox as Bishop of Manchester. During his eight years there he took an active part in the Workers Educational Association of which he was president for sixteen years. On January 10, 1929, he followed Dr. Lang as Archbishop of York. A year later he was taking a leading part in the Lambeth Conference. He was also actively associated with both the œcumenical movements which were growing up in the non-Roman Churches and with the deliberations of the Archbishop's Commission on Doctrine in the Anglican Church. Under his leadership a body known as the Committee of Thirty-five recommended a merging of the "Faith and Order" and the "Life and Work" movements into one "World Council of Churches," of which he became chairman at the summer session of 1938. Outside his official duties he was the first chairman of the Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education. His sympathy with the Labour movement led him to take an active part in the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship (known as "Copec"). About the same time he delivered the Gifford lectures on "Nature, Man, and God" (published in 1934), a plea for dialectical realism as against the dialectical materialism of Karl Marx. Keenly interested in the education of the young, he was in great demand at conferences of the Student Christian Movement, and at Christmas, 1935, he went to the United States to attend the jubilee convention

of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. His last great work before being translated to Canterbury was the Malvern Conference, attended by 400 Anglicans, when resolutions were passed on Christian social duty which provoked strong controversy both within and outside the Church. His attitude at Malvern was characteristic of the man; throughout his life he was a passionate advocate of social justice. He was enthroned as the 96th Archbishop of Canterbury on April 23, 1942. His publications included "Studies in the Spirit and Truth of Christianity," "Christus Veritas," "Christ in His Church," "Christianity and the State," "The Life of Bishop Perceval," "Readings in St. John's Gospel." Dr. Temple, who married, in 1916, Frances Gertrude Acland Anson, died after a heart attack at Westgate-on-Sea. After cremation his ashes were buried in the cloisters at Canterbury Cathedral. After making various bequests he left the remainder of his estate to the York Diocesan Board of Finance for charitable purposes relating to work of the Church of England and relief and welfare of indigent clergy in the diocese, to be known as the Temple Bequest Fund.

NOVEMBER

4. **Field-Marshal Sir John Greer Dill**, one of the outstanding figures of the British Army in recent years, was born on December 25, 1881, son of John Dill, an Ulsterman, who married Miss Jane Greer of Lurgan. From Cheltenham he entered Sandhurst, and was gazetted second lieutenant in the Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians) in 1901. Joining the 1st Battalion in South Africa, he served with it until peace was concluded in 1902. In 1911 he reached the rank of captain and passed into the Staff College, where he was at the beginning of the First World War in 1914. In October of that year he was appointed brigade-major of the 25th Brigade in the 8th Division and was present at the battles of Neuve Chapelle and Aubers Ridge. Eventually he went to headquarters of the Canadian Corps as G.S.O. 2, and remained with the Canadians throughout the later battles of the Somme. In October, 1917, now a colonel, he was brought to G.H.Q. as a G.S.O. 1 in the Operations Branch, and in March, 1918, was selected to be Chief of the Operations Branch, an appointment which he held until after the Armistice. He was awarded the D.S.O. in 1915, created C.M.G. in 1918, and was mentioned eight times in despatches. In 1919 he returned to England to act as chief assistant to Sir W. Hastings Anderson, then Commandant of the Staff College. Leaving Camberley in 1922 he went on half-pay until he assumed command of the Welsh Border Brigade (Territorial Army). In November, 1923, he gained command of the 2nd Brigade at Aldershot, but at the end of 1926 when the Imperial Defence College was opened, he was selected to be the Army instructor, holding that post until the end of 1928 when he went to India as Brigadier-General, General Staff, Western Command, remaining at Quetta until November, 1930. In December he was promoted to major-general, and in the following January he returned to the Staff College as Commandant. Three years later he went to the War Office as Director of Military Operations and Intelligence. He was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1936, and in the same year took a leading part in the Anglo-French Staff talks. Later he became, temporarily, G.O.C. Palestine and Trans-Jordan. In October, 1937, he was appointed G.O.C.-in-C. at Aldershot, a tribute to his outstanding reputation. On the outbreak of war in September, 1939, he went to France in command of the 1st Corps of the British Expeditionary Force. A month later he was promoted general, with seniority of December 5, 1937. Just before the German offensive he came home to be Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff, a newly created post. A month later he took over the office of C.I.G.S. From February to April, 1941, he was in the Levant with Mr. Eden, then Secretary of State for War. On November 18, 1941, it was announced that on attaining the age of 60 he was to vacate his post and to be Governor-Designate of Bombay. At the same time he was promoted field-marshal. On December 30, however, it was announced that he was to be specially employed in Washington on the Combined

Chiefs-of-Staffs Committee. A year later, in view of the importance of Dill's duties in Washington, a new Governor of Bombay was appointed. He attended the Casablanca Conference and then, as representative of the Prime Minister, he flew to India and China to confer with General Wavell and General Chiang Kai-shek. In 1944 he received the Howland Memorial Prize from Yale University and an honorary doctorate of laws from the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg. He was advanced to K.C.B. in 1937 and to G.C.B. in 1942. He became Colonel of the East Lancashire Regiment in 1932, and Colonel Commandant, The Parachute Regiment, Army Air Corps, in 1942. He died at the Walter Reed Hospital in Washington. President Roosevelt said of him that he regarded Sir John "not only as a great soldier and a great friend, but as the most important figure in the remarkable accord which has been developed in the combined operations of our two countries." The President conferred the United States Distinguished Service Medal upon Sir John Dill. Sir John was twice married; first, in 1907, to Ada Maud, daughter of Colonel W. A. Le Motte, who died in 1940, and secondly, in 1941, to Nancy, daughter of Henry Charrington and widow of Brigadier Dennis Furlong. By his first marriage he had one son.

— **Lord Moyne** (the Right Hon. Walter Edward Guinness), British Resident Minister in the Middle East since January, 1944, was born on March 29, 1880, son of Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, afterwards the first Earl of Iveagh. After leaving Eton, he volunteered for service in the South African War, received a commission in the Imperial Yeomanry, and was wounded in an engagement near Witpoortjie. He was mentioned in despatches and received the Queen's Medal with four clasps. In 1903, the year of his marriage, he was adopted as Conservative candidate for the Stowmarket division of Suffolk. Defeated in the General Election of 1906, he won a by-election at Bury St. Edmunds in 1907 and continued to represent that constituency until he left the House of Commons in 1931. Meanwhile he had been elected to the London County Council for North Paddington. During his early days as an M.P. he was proprietor of the *Outlook* which, while he was in South Africa on a hunting expedition, published a series of articles on the Marconi affair. Moyne himself had nothing to do with the matter, but on his return to England he gave evidence on behalf of the editor and thus became involved. He also became known as an advocate of the cause of Turkey, a country which he explored thoroughly in the course of expeditions for map-making. Later he took a leading part in opposing the pro-Greek policy of Mr. Lloyd George. During the First World War he served in Gallipoli, Egypt, and on the Western front, first as a major in the Suffolk Imperial Yeomanry, then as a G.S.O. 2, 14th Corps, and later with the 10th Battalion, The London Regiment. He retired as a lieutenant-colonel, having been three times mentioned in despatches and awarded the D.S.O. and bar. In 1922 Mr. Bonar Law appointed him Under-Secretary to the War Office. Later in the same year he was promoted Financial Secretary to the Treasury in succession to Sir William Joynson-Hicks (first Viscount Brentford). He returned to that office in Mr. Baldwin's second administration. In 1925 he became Minister of Agriculture. While holding that office he introduced the system of the national mark for eggs (1929), and it was largely due to him that the beet sugar industry was built up. In 1932 he entered the House of Lords as Baron Moyne, and visited Kenya to investigate its finances. He served as chairman of the Committee on Housing and Slum Clearance, 1934; of the Durham University Commission, 1935; of the Committee on British Films, 1936; and of the West Indies Royal Commission, 1938-39. In 1940 he became Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, and early in the following year succeeded Lord Lloyd as Secretary of State for the Colonies and Leader of the House of Lords. In August, 1942, he was appointed to assist Mr. R. G. Casey in Cairo as Deputy Minister of State, and in January, 1944, he succeeded Mr. Casey as Resident Minister in the Middle East. His publications included "Walkabout" (1936), and "Atlantic Circle" (1938). He married, in 1903, Lady Evelyn Erskine, daughter of the 14th Earl

of Buchan, and had two sons and one daughter. Lord Moyne was assassinated outside his private residence in Cairo by two young Palestinian Jews, members of the notorious Stern gang.

7. **George Geoffrey Dawson**, a great editor of *The Times*, first from 1912 to 1919 and again from 1922 to 1941, was born on October 25, 1874, son of George Robinson, of Skipton-in-Craven, and nephew of William Mosley Dawson, of Langcliffe Hall, Settle, Yorkshire, whose name he assumed by deed poll in 1917 as a condition of his inheritance of the Langcliffe estate. He was educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford. After a brilliant career at the University he passed into the Civil Service, going first to the Post Office and then to the South African department of the Colonial Office. Shortly afterwards he was elected to a fellowship at All Souls' College, an honour which he greatly appreciated; and in one capacity or another he remained a fellow all his life. In 1934 Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. His public career began when he was promoted assistant private secretary to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Later he went in a similar capacity with Lord Milner, Governor of the Transvaal and High Commissioner in South Africa. The two men had much in common—a sympathy amounting almost to that of father and son—and it was his association with Lord Milner which inspired Dawson to devote himself to the British Empire and all that it stood for. In 1905, when Milner returned to England, Dawson was offered the editorship of the *Johannesburg Star*, vacant through the resignation of W. F. Monypenny, who left to join the editorial staff of *The Times*, a post he held till 1910. Dawson's connexion with *The Times* began a year later when Mr. (later Sir) Valentine Chirol, head of the Foreign Department, persuaded him to be South African correspondent. In 1910 family affairs brought him back to England, and he resigned his editorship of the *Johannesburg Star*. Through Moberley Bell he obtained a post on *The Times*. Important changes soon followed. Bell died in 1911. G. E. Buckle, editor of *The Times* from 1884, resigned in 1912 and Dawson, not yet 38, was offered the appointment. He accepted, and held the post until February 18, 1919, when he resigned over disagreement with Lord Northcliffe, then the chief proprietor, on the question of policy, principally on the independence of the paper. He then returned to Oxford, where he became estates bursar of All Souls' College. He also accepted a seat on the boards of the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa and of Trust Houses, and about the same time became associated with the direction of the *Round Table* under the editorship of Philip Ker (afterwards Lord Lothian). In 1921 he became secretary of the Rhodes Trust; eventually he became a Rhodes trustee, holding that office until his death. When Lord Northcliffe died on August 14, 1922, the chief proprietorship of *The Times* passed to Lieutenant-Colonel (then Major) the Hon. J. J. Astor and Mr. John Walter. The policy of the paper was revised, and Dawson resumed editorship on January 1, 1923. As in his first term, he wrote many leading articles, chiefly on Imperial policy. He also wrote on domestic and foreign policy, as well as a series of articles on House of Lords reform. In 1929, in order to inform himself on the Indian question, he visited the principal cities in India, meeting personally many of the leaders who later came to England for the Round Table Conference. In 1932 he attended the Ottawa Conference. His last official contribution to *The Times*—on Cabinet reconstruction—appeared in September, 1941, at the end of which month he retired. He married Cecilia, daughter of the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley (Lord Wenlock), and had one son and two daughters.

15. **Miss Mary Edith Durham**, traveller and writer, was born in 1863, daughter of A. E. Durham, F.R.C.S., and educated at Bedford College and the Royal Academy of Arts. A skilful painter, she exhibited at the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours, and the Institute of Painters in Oils. Among the numerous books which she illustrated was the reptile volume of the "Cambridge Natural History." In the early years of the century she

travelled widely in the Balkans aided by her gift for acquiring languages. She became a champion of the cause of the Albanians, but never hesitated to criticise some of their customs and to condemn the blood-feuds of the northern clans. During the war between the Serbs and Albanians in 1912-13 she did valuable relief work among the Albanians, publishing an account of her experiences under the title "The Struggle for Scutari" (1914). Her other books included "Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle" (1920), "The Serajevo Crime" (1925), and "Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans" (1928). She was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, of which she became a member of the Council.

21. **Joseph Marie Auguste Caillaux**, French politician of European repute, was born at Le Mans on March 30, 1863, into a rich Catholic and Conservative family, son of Eugène Caillaux, Senator and Cabinet Minister, and after a brilliant academic career entered the service of the Ministry of Finance, soon becoming an Inspector of Finances. In 1888 he was elected Deputy for Mamers. Beginning as a Republican, he gradually moved towards the Left in politics, and became one of the leaders of the Socialist-Radical Party. But his inability to be straightforward, his arrogance, and his pride made him many enemies in the world of politics. Yet his abilities could not be denied. He quickly became a recognised expert in taxation, and when Waldeck-Rousseau formed his Cabinet in June, 1899, Caillaux was made Minister of Finance. During his three years in office he carried through reforms in many departments of taxation. In May, 1902, alarmed by the large amount of Russian stock already held by French nationals, he refused to admit another Russian loan to the Bourse and the Cabinet had to resign. On his return as Minister of Finance in Clemenceau's first Cabinet (1907) he brought forward a scheme for the reform of the French system of taxation. His income tax proposals aroused violent opposition, but the system remained in principle substantially as he fashioned it. At the time of the Agadir crisis he was Prime Minister. Inclining towards a Franco-German understanding, he went over the head of his Foreign Minister and began private negotiations through Baron von der Lancken, Counsellor to the German Embassy. France came well out of the crisis, but when his secret negotiations became known he was forced to resign. By January, 1914, however, he was back in office as Finance Minister. His opponents now began to carry the quarrel from the public to the personal plane. On January 8, 1914, the *Figaro* published an article signed by the editor, Gaston Calmette, accusing Caillaux of using public money for his own election expenses. Caillaux refuted the charge, but the attacks continued, and Mme. Caillaux went to the *Figaro* office and shot Calmette. Caillaux resigned, and Mme. Caillaux, after what became a *cause célèbre* of the most sensational kind, was acquitted. In the early stages of the First World War Caillaux was scornfully critical of its conduct. He expressed his pessimistic views in public, was mobbed, and had to be rescued by the police. To avoid a repetition of such incidents the Government sent him on a mission to South America. On his return in June, 1915, the attacks began again, this time in the *Action Française*. A month later Briand, Minister of Justice, learned that Caillaux had been in Switzerland attempting to negotiate for peace. After being kept under surveillance for a long period Caillaux was arrested in January, 1918, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment and to loss of civic rights for ten years. He was amnestied in 1924 and a year later became Minister of Finance in the Painlevé Government. When the Government was forced to resign following the decline of the franc, Caillaux resumed his work of a legislator, and in 1932 was elected President of the Finance Committee of the Senate. His last appearance as Minister of Finance was in June, 1935, in the four-day Government of M. Bouisson. Thereafter he figured less in political life, although he remained chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate until the collapse of France in 1940. His publications included "Les Impôts en France," a masterly history of French taxation; "Agadir—the History of a Policy," and "Whither France, Whither Europe."

21. **Maurice Paléologue**, French diplomatist and historian, was born in Paris on January 13, 1859, and entered the French Diplomatic Service in 1880. After serving in Tangier, Rome, and the Far East he was recalled to Paris in 1887 and for the next twenty years was attached to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1892 he was engaged in the discussions which led to the Franco-Russian Agreement. Twenty-five years later, as French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, he witnessed the downfall of the Russian Empire. From 1907 to 1912 he was Minister in Sofia, returning to Paris on his appointment as Directeur des Affaires Politiques. In January, 1914, he went again to St. Petersburg, where he remained until the Revolution brought his mission to an end. In "*La Russie des Tsars*," written in diary form, he left a mine of information on the period which saw the last days of Tsardom. Resigning from the Diplomatic service in 1920 he soon established a literary reputation, and it is as an author that he will be best remembered. Besides his Russian memoirs he wrote a book on Cavour containing a shrewd analysis of the underlying weakness of Napoleon III; "*The Tragic Romance of the Emperor Alexander II of Russia*" and "*The Romantic Diplomat*," portraits of Talleyrand, Metternich, and Chateaubriand; "*Un Prélude à l'Invasion de la Belgique: Le Plan Schlieffen, 1904*," showing that Germany was plotting against Belgium as early as 1904; "*The Turning Point: Three Critical Years, 1904-1906*" (1935); "*Guillaume II et Nicholas II*" (1935); and "*Les Précurseurs de Lenine*" (1939). He also published an account of conversations with his friend the Empress Eugénie. He was a member of the Académie Française.

22. **Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington**, Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge University, 1933-44, and one of the outstanding scientists of the age, was born at Kendal, Westmorland, on December 28, 1882, son of A. H. Eddington, headmaster of the Friends' School, Kendal. Eddington was educated at Owens College, Manchester, where he headed the physics class list of 1902, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was Senior Wrangler in 1904. He was Smiths Prizeman at Cambridge in 1907, and in the same year was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College. From 1906 to 1913 he was chief assistant at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich; in the latter year he returned to Cambridge as Plumian Professor of Astronomy. In 1914 he became director of the University Observatory. His original work was along four main lines—the investigation of stellar system, a study of the internal constitution of the stars, an extension of the theory of relativity, and a linking-up of atomic structure with cosmogony. In a paper in 1910 he analysed the 6,188 stars of Professor Boes's preliminary general catalogue. One of his most brilliant discoveries was a correlation between the mass and luminosity of stars, which he announced in 1924. This gave astronomers a means of calculating the masses of the thousands of stars whose luminosities could be accurately measured. In 1917 he received from de Sitter a copy of Einstein's paper on the theory of relativity. He was immediately won to the theory, and his report to the Physical Society in 1918 made many more converts. Einstein himself commended Eddington as the best interpreter of the theory. His particular contribution to relativity was a generalisation of Weyl's theory by which electromagnetic phenomena had been included with gravitation in the geometry of the world. Eddington's publications fell into three classes. In the first class were his purely scientific books: "*The Internal Constitution of the Stars*" (1927), "*The Mathematical Theory of Relativity*" (1923), "*Relativity Theory of Protons and Electrons*" (1936), and "*The Combination of Relativity Theory and Quantum Theory*" (1943). In the second class, expository books: "*Space, Time, and Gravitation*" (1920), "*Stars and Atoms*" (1927), and "*The Expanding Universe*" (1933). In the third class were his philosophical publications: "*The Nature of the Physical World*" (1928), "*New Pathways in Science*" (1935), and "*The Philosophy of Physics*" (1939). One of his outstanding characteristics was his ability to make plain to the ordinary man the results of his researches. In consequence he found thousands of readers. In June, 1944, he gave an account before the Royal Astronomical

Society of "The Recession Constant of the Galaxies," bringing up to date his work published in 1931. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1914 and awarded its Royal Medal in 1928. He was president of the Royal Astronomical Society 1921-23, and of the Physical Society, 1930-32. Knighted in 1930, he was given the O.M. in 1938.

23. Sir George Clausen, R.A., landscape and portrait painter, was born in London in 1852, son of a decorative artist of Danish extraction. At the age of sixteen he became a draughtsman in a builder's office, afterwards going to the National Art School (the Royal College of Art), South Kensington. Forty years later he published, in "Recollections," an interesting picture of art education in those days. For a time he worked in the studio of Edwin Long, and in Paris in that of Bouguereau, but these artists had little if any influence on his work. Those who did influence him were Millet, Corot, Degas, and Manet. In the late seventies he began to exhibit at the Royal Academy pictures of country life and landscape which impressed the public and fellow craftsmen alike. For a time he was Professor of Painting in the Academy Schools, publishing his discourses as "Six Lectures on Painting" (1906). Later he brought out "Aims and Ideals in Art," a book showing sympathetic understanding of the aims of the younger generation. In 1890 his painting, "The Girl at the Gate," was purchased by the Chantrey Bequest for the Tate Gallery. Another purchase by the Chantrey Bequest was "The Gleaners Returning," which was exhibited in the Academy in 1908. His portraits were distinguished; one of his best was the self-portrait at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. He also excelled in water-colours, and his posters were eminently successful. He became an A.R.A. in 1895 and R.A. in 1908, and had been a member of the R.W.S. since 1898. He was knighted in 1927. In 1881 he married Agnes, daughter of George Webster of King's Lynn, and had three sons and two daughters.

DECEMBER

12. Sir Percy Nunn, first Director of the Institute of Education, University of London, was born in 1870, son of E. S. Nunn, LL.D., and educated at University College, Bristol. After taking his degree he was a master in secondary schools from 1891 to 1905. In 1905 he was appointed vice-principal of the London Day Training College, and in 1913 Professor of Education in the University of London, becoming Professor-Emeritus in 1937. He succeeded Sir John Adams as principal of the college in 1922. Ten years later, on September 1, 1932, the college was transferred to the control of the University of London and became the Institute of Education, Nunn continuing in office as director until 1936. He was president of the Training College Association in 1915, chairman of the Education Section of the British Psychological Society in 1919, president of the Mathematical Association in 1923, and visiting professor of Columbia University in 1925. He served as a representative of London University on the Teachers' Registration Council, as a member of the advisory committee of the Colonial Office on education, and as a statutory commissioner under the University of London Act, 1926, and also as a senator. In 1927 he was president of the Aristotelian Society, and in 1927 delivered the annual Philosophical Lecture to the British Academy on "Anthropomorphism and Physics." His publications included a report for the Board of Education on "The Training of Teachers in Mathematics" (1912); "Teaching of Algebra" (1914); "Education Reform" (1917); "Relativity and Gravitation" (1923); and articles in "The Peoples Encyclopedia" and "The International Year Book of Education" of Columbia University. "Education, Its Data and First Principles," which was regarded as his best work, appeared in 1920. He was knighted in 1930. Sir Percy Nunn, who married, in 1894, Ethel Hart and had one daughter, died at Funchal, Madeira.

16. Philip Guedalla, distinguished historical writer and wit, was born of Jewish parentage on March 12, 1889, and educated at Rugby and Balliol College,

Oxford, where he had a brilliant academic career and was also president of the Union (in 1911). He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1913 and practised for ten years. During the First World War he organised and acted as secretary to the Flax Control Board, and he served as legal adviser to the Contracts Department of the War Office and to the Ministry of Munitions. A Liberal in politics, he made between 1922 and 1931 five attempts to enter Parliament, but on each he was unsuccessful. His career as an author began in 1911, when he published "Ignes Fatui," a volume of parodies, and "Metri Gratia," verse and prose. In 1914 came "The Partition of Europe, 1715-1815," after which there was a break until 1920, when "Supers and Supermen" appeared, which was hailed as one of the most entertaining volumes of historical studies since Strachey's "Eminent Victorians." Among his other publications were "The Second Empire" (1922); "A Gallery" (1924); "Independence Day" (1926); "Palmerston" (1926), which greatly enhanced his reputation; "Bonnet and Shawl" (1928), sketches of the wives of distinguished men; "The Duke" (1931), a complete biography of the Duke of Wellington compressed into a single volume; "The Hundred Days" (1934); "The Hundred Years" (1936); "The Hundredth Year" (1940); and "The Liberators" (1942). His last two books were "The Two Marshals" (Bazaine and Pétain), and "Middle East, 1940-1942, A Study in Air Power," the fruit of his travels in the Middle East as a squadron leader, R.A.F., which appeared after his death. He was honorary director of the Ibero-American Institute of Great Britain and chairman of the Ibero-American and Films Committees of the British Council, and a member of the Cinematograph Films Council, Board of Trade. In 1919 he married Nellie Maude Reitlinger.

17. **Robert Malise Bowyer Nichols**, who rose to fame during the World War of 1914-18 as a war poet, was born on September 6, 1893, son of J. B. B. Nichols, and educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Oxford. During the First World War he was a lieutenant, R.F.A., and saw active service on the western front. Two of his early poems, "Invocation" and "The Chink" appeared in *The Times* in May and June, 1915. "Invocation" gave the title to his first books of poems published in the same year. In 1917 he reprinted in "Ardours and Endurances" verses written before the war. In 1918 he went to the United States for the Ministry of Information, and from 1921 to 1924 was Lafcadio Hearn Professor at the Imperial University, Tokyo. In 1920 he published "Aurelia," a volume of sonnets. Among his other works were two dramas, *Guilty Souls* and *Wings Over Europe* (in which he collaborated with Maurice Browne), a novellette, "Under the Yew," and "Fisbo," a satirical poem. In 1942 he brought out a collection of poems under the title "Such was my Singing," and in 1943 an anthology of war poetry, 1914-18. He married, in 1922, Norah, daughter of Frederick Denny, of Winslow, Bucks.

19. **Major Francis Yeats-Brown**, soldier and writer of distinction, was born at Genoa on August 15, 1886, son of Montagu Yeats-Brown, British Consul-General. Educated at Harrow, he passed through Sandhurst, going to India at the age of 20 attached to The King's Royal Rifle Corps at Bareilly. Within a year he was posted to the 17th Cavalry, Indian Army. He was an adjutant of his regiment when the First World War broke out, and he served in France with the 5th Lancers and in Mesopotamia with the Royal Flying Corps. In 1915 his aeroplane was brought down behind the Turkish lines and for the next two years he was a prisoner of war. On retiring from the Army in 1925 he became assistant editor of the *Spectator*, and continued in that post until 1928. His first book, "Caught by the Turks," was published in 1919, and revealed his powers of graphic description. His second book, "Bengal Lancer" (1930), his own life story, brought him fame. He also wrote "Golden Horn" (1932); "Dogs of War" (1934), an answer to the contentions of the pacifist writers of the day; "Lancer at Large" (1936); "Yoga Explained" (1937); "European Jungle" (1939), and "Indian Pageant" (1942). His last book, "Fighting India," was

due to appear in January, 1945. In 1938 he married Olga, daughter of Captain Apollon Zoueff and widow of Denzil Phillips.

23. **Charles Dana Gibson**, American illustrator, was born at Roxbury, Boston, Massachusetts, on September 14, 1867, and studied art at the Art Students' League School, New York. His first book was a series of London sketches and drawings of characters from Dickens made from types which he had seen in London. His first volume of collected drawings appeared under the title "Pictures of People" (1896). Then came "Sketches and Cartoons" (1898), followed by "The Education of Mr. Pipp" (1899), "Americans" (1900), "A Widow and Her Friends" (1901), and "The Social Ladder" (1902). Many of his drawings first appeared in *Life*, of which he subsequently became proprietor. Towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century his name was a household word on account of his "Gibson girls," ladies of tall, striking figure, wearing the high coiffure, enormous hats and long trailing skirts of the period. Ladies everywhere dressed after the style in Gibson's drawings, and indeed so popular did the "Gibson girl" become that the excellence of his other work was over-shadowed. He published several series of drawings satirising American social life and the aspirations of the newly rich. Although with the waning of interest in the "Gibson girl" he passed out of public notice as an artist, he remained a well-known figure in New York society. He married, in 1895, Irene Langhorne, daughter of Chiswell Dabney Langhorne of Richmond, Virginia. One of his wife's sisters became Lady Astor.

24. **Edward Alfred Drury, R.A.**, distinguished sculptor, was born in London in 1857, son of a master tailor, and educated at New College School, Oxford, studying art first in the Oxford School of Art and then at the National Art Training School, South Kensington, where he was taught drawing by Moody. From 1881 to 1885 he worked in the studio in Paris of the French artist Dalou. In the latter year he exhibited at the Academy a terra cotta group called "The Triumph of Silenus" and thereafter he was constantly employed. Much of his earlier public work was done for Leeds where, in 1898, he designed a lamp standard exhibited in the Academy of that year, and also executed a statue of the chemist, Dr. Priestley. In London he was represented by the figures of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, St. Michael, St. George, and Inspiration and Knowledge on the front of the Victoria and Albert Museum; eight groups of figures on the exterior of the War Office, and the four bronze figures of Art, Science, Education, and Local Government on Vauxhall Bridge. He also designed the emblems of South Africa on the gate pillars of the Victoria Memorial. Among his imaginative works were "Griselda" in the Tate Gallery, and his diploma work "Lilith," but he was most in demand for sculpture in relation to architecture, the requirements of which he thoroughly understood. He was made A.R.A. in 1900 and R.A. in 1913. In 1932 he received the Silver Medal of the Royal Society of British Sculptors for his bronze statue of Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in the courtyard of Burlington House, "the best work of the year by a British sculptor in any way exhibited to the public in London." He married Phoebe Maud Turner and had two sons.

28. **Sir Ian Zachary Malcolm**, politician and author, was born at Quebec on September 3, 1868, son of Colonel E. D. Malcolm, C.B., and educated at Eton and at New College, Oxford. From 1891 to 1893 he was an honorary attaché at the British Embassy in Berlin, in the latter year going to Paris. Three years later he went to the Embassy in St. Petersburg for the Coronation of the Tsar. During 1897 and 1898 he was secretary to the Prince of Wales Hospital Fund. In 1895 he was elected Conservative Member of Parliament for Stowmarket, and in the same year was appointed Assistant Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (the third Marquess of Salisbury). From 1901 to 1903 he was Parliamentary Private Secretary to George Wyndham, Chief Secretary for

Ireland. After losing his seat in 1906 he was for some years connected as secretary with the Union Defence League which had been established in London by his friend Walter Long (Lord Long of Wraxall). After unsuccessfully contesting North Salford in 1910 he was returned later in the year for Croydon. During the First World War he was a British Red Cross officer in France, Switzerland, Russia, and North America. In 1917 he accompanied Mr. Balfour on his mission to the United States and afterwards acted as his Private Secretary at the Peace Conference in Versailles. In 1919 he was appointed a director of the Suez Canal, a position which he held until 1939. He was principal British delegate to the International Congress of Navigation in Cairo in 1926, and in Venice in 1931. His publications included "War Pictures Behind the Lines" (1915), "Lord Balfour, a Memory" (1930), "The Pursuits of Leisure" (1929), "Trodden Ways, 1895-1930" (1930), "Vacant Thrones" (1930), and "Songs of the Clachan" (1939), a book of verse. In recognition of his services to the Red Cross in Russia the Tsar conferred on him the honorary rank of general. He also had the Grand Cordon of the Nile and was a Commander of the Legion of Honour. In 1902 he married Jeanne Marie, daughter of Edward Langtry. They had three sons and one daughter.

30. Romain Rolland, French thinker and writer of distinction, was born on January 29, 1866, and educated at the Ecole Normale, Paris (1886-89), and in Rome (1889-91). After his marriage in 1892 he was entrusted with an official mission which took him back to Italy, where he collected material for his thesis on the history of opera in Europe before Lully and Scarlatti. In 1897 he returned to the Ecole Normale as lecturer on the history of art, and in 1903 he went to the Sorbonne, where a chair of the history of the art of music had been created for him. In 1910 he resigned to devote himself to writing. By far his greatest work was "*Jean Christophe*," published in ten volumes, which made a deep impression on his generation, and gained for him the Nobel Prize for Literature as well as the French Academy's Grand Prize of Literature. The first three volumes of "*Jean Christophe*," which was evolved from the ideals of the period of German culture represented mainly by Goethe and Beethoven, were regarded by critics as among the best works in French literature. During the First World War he published a series of articles, "*Au-dessus de la Mêlée*," in which he tried to judge the conflict from the point of view of the interests of mankind in general. He also wrote books against the military mentality, and as a result was accused, without justification, of being pro-German. Perhaps his most original contributions to culture were his books on the Indian thinkers and religious leaders, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. He also wrote two plays, *Danton* and *Le 14 Juillet*, but neither gained any great success. Rolland, who remained in France during the German occupation, died at Vezelay, Yonne.

INDEX

- AALAND** Islands, 268
ABBEY National Building Society, 323
ABDULLAH, Emir (Transjordan), 286, 287
ABERCORN, Duke of, 116
ABERCROMBIE, Professor Patrick, 114
ABYSSINIA, 211
ACBY, Dr. (Switz.), 247
ACLAND, Sir Richard, 105
ACUTT, Mr. F. H. (S. Africa), 136
ADDISON, Lord, 13
ADDISON, W. G., "Religious Equality in Modern England," 339, 353
ADELPHI Theatre (Music), 371
ADMIRALTY Islands, 297
ADOLF Hitler line, 52, 53
AFRICA, UNION OF SOUTH, 135
 Administrative Changes, 140
 Civil aviation policy, 136
 Empire Premiers' Conference, and, 138
 Gold-mining industry, 137
 Immigration policy, 136-7
 Indian problem, 139-40
 Industrial development, 136, 137
 Industrial Development Corporation, 137
 Natal, Indian problem in, 139-40
 Nationalist Party, 138-9
 Pan-African policy, 139
 Pegging Act, the, 139, 140
 Post-war planning, 136, 137, 138
 Premier's tour, 138
 Railway development, 136
 Social security plans, 137; native populations, 137
 United Party Congress, 139
 War production effort, 135
 Woollen textile industry, 137-8
AGATE, James, "Ego 6," 335; "Red Letter Nights," 335
AGNEW, Messrs. (Art), 361, 363
AGRICULTURAL produce prices, 10, 113-4
AGRICULTURAL workers' wages, 10
AGRICULTURE (Science), 374
AGUIRRE y Salinas, Colonel (Salvador), 322
AIRBORNE attack on Holland, 77-8
AIRCRAFT industry, 401
AIRCRAFT Production, Ministry, 23
AIR Estimates, 21-3
AIR FORCE prisoners murdered by Germans, 47
AIR offensive, British and American, on Germany and Occupied territory, 1-3, 15, 21, 32, 111, 265
 Area bombing, 2; protests against bombing damage, 2, 14
 Bombing policy, 3, 14, 15-16, 22, 34, 55; change in, 34
 Daylight raids, 2, 16, 21, 32
 French coast lines, on, 55
AIR offensive, *cont.*
 Luftwaffe eclipsed, 21, 34, 56
 Pinpoint raid at the Hague, 244
 Rail and communications, on, 34, 55, 111
AIR raids, enemy, 21, 32, 60, 111
 Casualties, 21, 32, 112
 London, 21, 112
 See also Flying Bombs
AIR transport regulation: White Paper, 90
AKYAB, 32, 168
ALBANIA, 241
 Collaborationist Government resigns, 241
 Great Britain, relations with, 241
 Guerrilla warfare, 241; organisation, 241
 Land Forces, Adriatic, in, 241
 National Liberation Army, 241
ALBERT Canal, 76
ALBERT Hall (Music), 370; Promenade Concerts, 369
ALDRICH, Mr. Winthrop (U.S.A.), 309
ALDRIDGE, James, "The Sea Eagle," 345
ALDWYCH Theatre, 365
ALEXANDER, RT. HON. A. V.:
 Navy Estimates, 24-5
 Shipbuilding industry, 94
 Shipping situation, 25
 U-boat war, 24
ALEXANDER, Sir Frank: Lord Mayor of London, 330
ALEXANDER, Field-Marshal, 13, 52, 53, 79, 185, 236
ALEXANDER, Mr. J. A. (Australia), 154
ALFIERI, Sgr. (Italy), 183
ALINGTON, Adrian, "Rosie Todmarsh," 345
ALLIED Advisory Council (It.), 183
ALLIED Command, changes in, 75
ALLIED Control Commission, 185
ALVES, Dr. (Brazil), 320
AMALGAMATED Studios (Cinema), 366-7
AMBEDKAR, Dr. B. R. (India), 165
AMERICA. *See under* United States
AMERICAN Army Air Force, 2, 21, 32, 34
AMERICAN Chemical Society, 386
AMERICAN war artists' pictures, 360
AMERY, RT. HON. L. S., 70, 163, 164, 168
 (Lit.), "The Framework of the Future," 340
AMMON, Mr. C. G., M.P., barony, 323
ANAND, Mulk Raj, "The Barber's Trade Union," 346
ANDERS, General (Poland), 206
ANDERSON, RT. HON. SIR JOHN
 Budget, 37-41
 Civil Servants' Pensions Bill, 25

- ANDERSON, RT. HON. SIR JOHN, *cont.*
 Gold Standard, 42
 International Monetary Fund, 42
 Pay-as-you-earn Income Tax Bill, 12
 Social security measure, 95
 War Expenditure, 9, 40, 46
- ANDO, General (Japan), 299
- ANDORRA, 257
- ANGLO-AMERICAN Airborne Army, 77-8
- ANGLO-AMERICAN relations, 31, 34, 115
- ANGLO-IRANIAN Oil Company, 289
- ANGLO-SOVIET Trade Union Committee report, 90
- ANGLO-SPANISH relations, 249-60 *passim*
- ANTHONI, M. (Finland), 269, 276
- ANTIBIOTICS (Science), 379
- ANTONESCU, Marshal (Rumania), 222, 223, 225
- ANTONESCU, Mihai (Rumania), 223
- ANTWERP, 75, 88, 91, 242
- ANZIO beach landing, 4-5, 13, 16, 53
- APOLLO Theatre, 365
- APPEAL Courts decisions (Law), 406-7
- ARABIA, 288
 Arabia-American Oil Co., 288
 Mecca execution, 289
 Oil exploitation projects in, 288-9
 Pan-Arab Conference, and, 288, 290
 Pipe-line project, 289
- ARAB UNITY:
 ALEXANDRIA Conference, 280-1, 288, 289-91
 British Government, White Paper policy, 290
 Delegates and participants, 290
 Economic and Financial problems, 290, 291
 Egypt, and, 280-1, 289
 Inflation problem, 291
 Iraq, and, 289, 291
 Palestine, and, 283, 284-5, 289, 290
 Production development objective, 291
 Saudi-Arabia, and, 288, 290
 Taxation resolutions, 291
 Yemen, the, 288, 290
- ARAKAN front, 32-3, 168
- ARANHA, Dr. (Brazil), 320
- ARAUQUISTAIN, Sñr. (Spain), 254
- ARCISZEWSKI, M. (Poland), 209
- ARDENNES, the, von Rundstedt's thrust in, 111, 115, 314
- ARGENTINA, 315
 Army rising, 316
 Axis Powers, attitude to, 315-6, 317
 Constitution under Farrell regime, 317-8
 Earthquake, 318
 Economic, 317
 Farrell Government, 316-8; people's attitude, 317, 318; recognition question, 317, 320
 Great Britain, relations with, 315, 316, 317
 Grupo de oficiales unidos, the, 315, 316
- ARGENTINA, *cont.*
 Isolation, 316, 317
La Prensa, 317
 Military position, 318
 Political parties dissolved, 315
 President Ramirez's position, 315-6
 Press control, 315, 317
 Railways award, 318
 United States, relations with, 311, 315, 316, 317; Press and cinema restrictions, 317
 War criminals, attitude to, 318
- ARMOUR, Mr. Norman (U.S.A.), 260
- ARMY:
 Estimates, 23-4
 Man-power problem, and, 23
 Pay and Allowances, 24
 Training and Equipment, 23
- ARNHEM, Airborne attack on, 78-9, 87, 245
- ARRESE, Sñr. José Luis (Spain), 252
- ARROYO del Rio, President (Ecuador), 321
- "ARSENIC and Old Lace," 365
- ART exhibitions: retrospect, 359
- ARTISTS' International Association, 361
- ARTS and Crafts Society's Show (Art), 360
- ARTS Theatre, 366
- ASHMOLEAN Museum, 362
- ASHTON, Helen, "Yeoman's Hospital," 344
- ASKOUTSIS, M. (Greece), 234
- ASSOCIATED British Pictures, 367
- ASTRONOMY (Science retrospect), 382
- ATHLONE, Countess of, 127
- ATHLONE, Earl of, 122, 123, 127, 129
- ATKIN, Lord: Obit., 407, 447
- ATKINS, J. W. H., "English Literary Criticism," 334
- ATLANTIC Charter, 17, 43, 176, 200, 315
- ATLANTIC City Conference. *See* U.N.R.R.A.
- ATTLEE, RT. HON. C. R.
 Town and Country planning compensation clauses, 86
- AUNOS, Sñr. (Spain), 253
- AUSTRALIA, 142
 Advisory War Council, 147-8
 Air Force activities, 151
 Air trainees in Canada, 153
 Aircraft production, 148-9
 Australia-N.Z.: Affairs Secretariat, 144; Agreement, 142-5, 155
 British Fleet: Pacific headquarters, 151
 Budget, 149-50
 Canberra Conference (Aust.-N.Z.), 142-4, 155
 Canadian Mutual Aid, and, 150, 152, 153
 Civil aviation, 144, 153
 Constitution Alteration Referendum, 146-7
 Country Party, 147, 148
 Diplomatic, 154
 Dominion Premiers' Conference, and, 146
 Financial, 150
 Flying boat repair depot, 148
 Food and Dairy Industries, 149

AUSTRALIA, *cont.*

- Food production, 149
- France : relations with, 154
- Governor-Generalship, 150, 153
- High Commissioner (London), 154
- Immigration, 143
- Income tax, 150 ; pay-as-you-earn, 152
- Japanese p.o.w. mutiny, 153
- Labour shortage, 149
- Legislation, 146 ; programme, 151
- Lend-Lease, and, 145-6, 150
- Liberal Party revival, 148
- MacArthur, General : appreciation, 150-1
- Man-power situation, 149
- Military forces in the war, 148, 151 ; casualties, 148
- Navy, 148, 151
- Pacific South Seas policy (Aust.-N.Z.), 142-4
- Pacific War, and, 145, 146, 153 ; campaign in 1944, 150-1
- Parliament, Federal, 146
- Parliamentary delegates' visit, 152
- Post-war reconstruction, 146, 151
- Premier's tour, 144-6
- Printers' strike, 153
- Public Relations Officers, 154
- Railway gauge standardisation, 152
- Referendum, 146-7
- United Australia Party, 147-8
- United States : appreciation, 151
- War effort, 145-6, 148-50, 152
 - Expenditure, 150
 - Loans, 150
 - Production, 148-9
- NEW SOUTH WALES :
 - Bush fires, 152
 - Government, 152
 - Journalists' strike, 153
- QUEENSLAND :
 - Labour Government, 151-2
- SOUTH AUSTRALIA :
 - Government, 152
- VICTORIA :
 - Bush fires, 152
- AVERY, Mr. Sewell (U.S.A.), 307
- AVIATION :
 - Transatlantic record, 328
 - London-Ottawa non-stop, 329
- AVRANCHES, 71, 73, 74
- AZZOLINI, Sgr. (Italy), 185

BACH Choir, 370

BADOGLIO, Marshal (Italy), 16, 84, 105, 108, 184, 198, 226

BAGRIANOFF, M. (Bulgaria), 238, 239

BAHREIN Island, 288-9

BAILLIEU, E. L., bequest, 331

BAKER, Sir Herbert, "Architecture and Personalities," 336

BAKER, Mr. Noel, 9

BALCON, Mr. Michael (Cinema), 367

BALFOUR, Capt. Rt. Hon. H. H., 100, 124

BALLET (Music), 373

BALTIC Mercantile and Shipping Exchange, bicentenary, 328

BALTIC STATES, 199, 202-5

ESTONIA, 203-5

Arrests, 204

Collaborationist defence measures, 204, 205

Conscription by Germany, 203-4

Germans, attitude to, 204

Government, 205

Self-Administration, 204

Klooga concentration camp, 205

Military position, 204-5

National Government in Tallinn, 205

Russian occupation, dread of, 204

LATVIA, 202

Eastern frontier defences, 202

Independence movement, 202

Military position, 202

Russian invasion, 202

Underground movement, 202

LITHUANIA, 202-3

Churches' attitude in, 203

Conscription by Germany, 202-3

General mobilisation, 203

Military position, 203

Russian invasion, 203

Self-defence units, 202

Underground movement, 203

BANGERSKIS, General (Latvia), 202

BANK of England, 325, 329

Governorship, 326

(Lit.), 337

Note issue, 391, 393

Returns, 393

BANK rate, 393

BANKERS' Clearing House : Returns, 394 ; Turnover, 390

BANKHEAD, Tallulah (Cinema), 368

BANTOCK, Sir Granville (Music), 369

BARBER, Samuel (Music), 369

BARBIROLLI, Mr. John (Music), 370, 373

BARBOUR, Mr. and Mrs. G. F., gift, 327

BARCLAY, Mr. J. G. (N.Z.), 161

BAREA, Arturo, "Lorca," 334

BARING, Sir Evelyn, 140, 142

BARKER, George, "Eros in Dogma," 347

BARKLEY, Senator (U.S.A.), 303, 304

BARLOW Report, 49-50

BARNARD, Mr. E. J. (N.Z.), 155

BARROWCLOUGH, Maj.-Gen. (N.Z.), 155

BARTÓK (Music), 372

BASIC English, development, 30-1

BASTIANINI, Sgr. (Italy), 183

BATES, H. E., "Fair Stood the Wind for France," 344

BATISTA, Dr. President (Cuba), 321

BAUM, Vicki, "Berlin Hotel," 345

BAX, Sir Arnold (Music), 369

BEASLEY, Mr. John (Australia), 142, 148

BEAVERBROOK, Lord, 8, 30, 46, 87, 314, 324

BECHARA Khoury (Lebanon), 288

BECK, Colonel-General (Germany), 190

BECKWITH, Reginald (Drama), 365

BEECHAM, Sir Thomas (Music), 370 ;

(Lit.), "A Mingled Chime," 336, 373

- BEER** duties, 38, 40
BELGIUM, 241
 Antwerp, 75, 242
 Brussels captured, 75
 Coastal evacuation, 241
 Communist Party, 242, 243
 Currency stabilisation, 242
 Discontent and unrest, 243
 Drapeau Rouge, 243
 Financial adjustments, 242
 Food and fuel situation, 243
 German oppression, 241
 Government returns to Brussels, 242
 Independence Front, 243
 King Leopold, 242
 Liberation, 75-6, 242
 Military situation, 75-6, 77, 79, 88, 89, 115, 243
 Pierlot Government, 242, 243
 Regent elected, 242
 Resistance movement, 103, 105, 241; disarmament, 242-3
BELL, Adrian, "Sunrise to Sunset," 345
BENES, President Dr. (Czech.), 210, 213, 214
BENNETT, H. S., "Shakespeare's Audience," 335
BENTWICH, Norman, "Judea Lives Again," 341
BERDYAEV, Nicolas, "Slavery and Freedom," 338
BERENDSEN, Mr. C. A. (N.Z.), 154, 161
BEREZOWSKI, M. (Poland), 209
BERG, Alban (Music), 371
BERGER, Collaborator (Germany), 189
BERLE, Mr. A. A. (U.S.A.), 46, 313, 314
BERLIN bombed, 2, 21, 22, 32
BERLING, General (Poland), 209
BESSARABIA, 199, 222
BEST, Dr. Werner (Germany), 262, 264
BEVAN, Mr. Aneurin, 37, 107
BEVERIDGE, Sir William, 95, 96, 331; "Full Employment in a Free Society," (Lit.), 337, 351
BEVERIDGE plan (and New Social Insurance Scheme), 81-2, 94, 399
BEVIN, RT. HON. ERNEST :
 Building Trade plan, 30
 Defence Regulation IAA, 36, 37
 Demobilisation scheme, 96
 Employment after the War, 50
 Greek crisis speech, 108
 Joint industrial relations machinery, 20
 Man-power reallocation, 96
 Miners, warning to, 20
 Wages Councils Bill, 114
BHOPAL, The Nawab of (India), 166
BIAK Island, 298
BIDAULT, M. (France), 181
BIERUT, M. (Poland), 207, 209
BILAINKIN, George, "Maisky," 340
BINYON, Laurence, "The Burning of Leaves and Other Poems," 347
BIOCHEMISTRY (Science), 378
BIOLOGICAL Sciences, retrospect, 374
BIOLOGY (Science), 380
- BIRMINGHAM** :
 Barber Institute of Fine Arts, 362, 363
 City Orchestra, 373
BIRTHDAY Honours, 327
BJORNSSON, Hr. Sveinn (Iceland), 267
BLACK list (Economic warfare), 45
BLACK-out relaxed, 330
BLAMEY, General Sir T. (Australia), 145
BLANC, General (France), 181
BLASKOWITZ, Colonel-General (Germany), 188
BLEHR, M. (Norway), 272
BLISS, Mr. Arthur (Music), 372, 373
BLOOD transfusion (Science), 379
BLUNDEN, Edmund, "Shells by a Stream," 347
BOARD of Trade, 102
BOAT-Race result, 325
BODMER, Frederick, "The Loom of Language," 337
BOHEMIA. See Czechoslovakia.
BOJLOFF, M. (Bulgaria), 238
BOLIVIA, 319
 Argentina, relations with, 317, 319
 Axis, policy towards, 319
 Government recognition question, 319
 Great Britain, relations with, 319
 Ministerial resignations, 319
 Montevideo Conference, 319
 Rebellion, 319
 Tin miners' strike, 319
 U.S.A., relations with, 311, 319
BOMB damage protests, 2, 14
BONE, Miss Phyllis M., R.S.A., 324
BONOMI, Sgr. (Italy), 185, 186, 187
BOOSEY and Hawkes (Music), 371
BORDEAUX, 181
BOR-KOMOROWSKI, General (Poland), 206, 207
BORMANN, Hr. (Germany), 192, 193
BORROWDALE :
 Seathwaite Farm, 327
BOSWELL, Mr. C. W. (N.Z.), 161
BOTANY, Science retrospect, 374
BOTTAI, Sgr. (Italy), 183
BOULT, Sir Adrian (Music), 369, 370
BOWES-LYON, Miss Lillian, "Evening in Stepney," 348
BOWLES, Mr. Chester (U.S.A.), 304
BOWRA, C. M., "Sophoclean Tragedy," 334; *ed.* "A Book of Russian Verse," 334
BOYS, Sir C. Vernon, Obit., 436
BRACKEN, Mr. John (Canada), 126
BRADLEY, General (U.S.A.), 73, 75
BRAHMS, Caryl, "No Nightingales," 346
BRAITHWAITE, Major, 31
BRATIANU, Dr. (Rumania), 222
BRAZIL, 319
 Argentina, relations with, 320
 Army in the war, 319
 Bolivia, relations with, 320
 Constitution question, 320
 Development plans, 320
 Foreign relations, 320; Dr. Aranha resigns, 320

BRAZIL, cont.

Oil development plans, 320

War effort of, 319

BRERETON, J. L., "The Case for Examinations," 342**BRERETON, Lieut.-General (U.S.A.)**, 77**BRETTON Woods Conference**, 309, 387-8, 409**BRICKER, Governor (Ohio, U.S.A.)**, 305, 307**BRIDIE, James (Drama)**, 365**BRINDLEY, Harold H.**, *Obit.*, 430**BRITISH-AMERICAN Parliamentary Association**, 31**BRITISH Broadcasting Corporation** :

Appointments, 326

Basic English development, and, 31

Music, 369, 370, 372

BRITISH Colour Council (Art), 359**BRITISH Commonwealth of Nations**, 138, 144

Heads of Missions, 157

BRITISH Council, 30**BRITISH Museum** :

Gifts to, 363

BRITISH War achievements :

Prime Minister on, 15

BRITTEN, Benjamin (Music), 371**BROADCAST Music**, 372**BROGAN, D. W.**, "The American Problem," 340, 354**BROMFIELD, Louis**, "Mrs. Parkington," 343, 355**BRONOWSKI, J.**, "A Man Without a Mask," 336**BROOKE, Mr. Claxton (Canada)**, 131**BROOKE, Sir Basil (N. Ireland)**, 116, 117, 118**BROWDER, Mr. Earl (U.S.A.)**, 306**BROWSE, Lillian**, "Sickert," 336**BRUCE, Mr. S. M. (Australia)**, 154**BRUSSELS**, 75, 103, 105, 242**BRYANT, Arthur**, "Years of Victory, 1802-1812," 339; "The Years of Endurance," 339**BUCHAREST**, 222, 223, 224**BUDAPEST**, 199**BUDGET**, 37-41, 389**BUILDING development policy**, 30, 63**BUILDING Society merger**, 323**BULGARIA**, 237

Allied bombing, 237

Anti-Semitic measures relaxed, 238

Armistice terms, 240-1

Bojiloff Government resigns, 238

Emancipation, 238-9

Fascist organisations liquidated, 239

Gendarmerie, protective, 237

German hold on, 237, 238, 239

Germany, war against, 240-1

Government changes, 238, 239, 240

Great Britain, relations with, 84, 239

Neutrality policy, 239; Russian reaction, 240

Partisans amnestied, 238, 239

Russia: relations with, 237-8, 239, 240; war declaration, 240; armistice, 240

BULGARIA, cont.

Tripartite Pact, and, 240

Turkey, relations with, 239

Unrest, 237

Volte face, 237-9

War declaration, 240; armistice, 240

Yugoslavia, relations with, 227-8, 240

BURCHELL, Mr. C. J. (Canada), 123**BURLINGTON House (Art)**, 359*Burlington Magazine*, 364**BURMA** :

Burma Road, reopening, 167

Campaign in, 32-3, 35, 59-60, 83, 112-3, 167-8, 294-5

American forces, 59; General Stilwell's forces, 60, 167, 294

Casualties, 60

Chinese forces in, 33, 59, 113, 167, 294-5

East Africans in, 112, 113

Fourteenth Army, 33, 60, 83, 112, 167

S.E.A.C. troops achievements, 167

Post-war reconstruction, 168

"Blue Print for Burma," 168

Self-government, British aim, 168

BURRELL, Sir William : art gift, 323**BUSH, Alan (Music)**, 369**BUSINESS premises vote**, 51**RUSSELL, Rev. Dr. F. W.** *Obit.*, 431**BUTLER, Mr. Harold**, 327**BUTLER, HON. R. A.**, 7-8, 26, 27, 46, 68**BY-ELECTIONS**, 5, 18

War-time Elections Bill, 69

BYRD, Senator (U.S.A.), 308**BYRNES, Mr. (U.S.A.)**, 308**CADOGAN, Sir Alexander**, 130, 310**CAEN fighting**, 58, 71**CAILLAUX, M. Joseph, M.A.**, *Obit.*, 471**CAIN, James M.**, "The Postman Always Knocks Twice," 343; "Mildred Pierce," 343**CALAIS, capture of**, 79**CALLENDAE, Harold**, "A Preface to Peace," 340**CAMBRIDGE Theatre (Music)**, 370**CAMERON, Mr. Basil (Music)**, 369**CAMERON, Senator D. (Australia)**, 149**CAMPBELL, Mildred**, "The English Yeoman," 339**CAMPION, Sarah**, "The Pommy Cow," 344**CANADA**, 122

Agriculture, 128

Air Estimates, 124

Budget, 128

Cabinet changes, 131, 132, 134

Cabinet crises, 134-5

Civil aviation plans, 125, 131-2

Commonwealth air training plan, 124

Conscription problem, 129, 132-5

Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, 124

Defence Minister resigns, 132

Diplomatic, 123 *note*

CANADA, *cont.*

- Eire, relations with, 125
- Empire Conference, and, 126-7
- Export Credits, 129
- Family Allowances, 129, 131
- Government Departments, new, 122, 131
- Great Britain: financial assistance to, 39
- Home Defence Army, 133
- Income tax, 128
- Industrial Development Bank, 129
- King's Speech, 122, 123
- Legislation, 129
- Man-power problem, 132-5
- Mutual Aid Act, 124, 125
 - Vote of Credit, 128
- Mutual aid agreements, 98, 124-5, 161
- National Resources Mobilisation Act, 132, 133
- Naval Estimates, 124
- Pacific campaign, and, 130
- Parliament, 122, 129, 133, 135
- Political parties, 123-4, 126
- Progressive Conservative Party, 126
- Quebec Conference, 129-30
- Reconstruction, Department of, 122
- Social Credit, 126
- Social Welfare, Department of, 122
- U.N.R.R.A., contribution to, 128
- Veterans' Affairs, 122, 129
- Victory Loans, 126
- ALBERTA :
 - General Election, 128-9
 - Social Credit in, 126, 128
- NEW BRUNSWICK :
 - General Election, 129
- QUEBEC :
 - Bloc Populaire, 129
 - General Election, 129
 - Social Credit in, 126
- SASKATCHEWAN :
 - General Election, 127-8
- CANADIAN artists' exhibition, 360
- CANCER research (Science), 380
- CANTERBURY : King's School, 330
- CANTERBURY, Archbishop of: Most Rev. William Temple, Obit., 467
- CAPITAL issues, new, 391, 393
- CARCELLER, Sñr. (Spain), 252, 253, 258
- CARNegie Institute, Washington, 384
- CARRETTA, Dr. Donato (Italy), 185
- CARUSO, Pietro (Italy), 185
- CASEY, Mr. R. G. (Bengal), 163
- CASSINO, 3, 5, 14, 32, 52
- CASTREN, M. (Finland), 280
- CATLOS, General (Slovakia), 214, 216
- CATTO, Lord, 326
- CAVE, Sydney, "The Christian Estimate of Man," 342
- CECIL, Algernon, "A House in Bryanston Square," 336
- C.E.M.A., 362, 372
- CEMENT Makers' Federation, 330
- CENTRAL Water Advisory Committee, 35
- CHAMBERS, Sir E. K., "Shakespearean Gleanings," 335

- CHANTREY Bequest purchases (Art), 359
- CHARLES, Prince (Belgium), 242
- CHELtenham Art Gallery, 362
- CHEN Cheng, General (China), 295
- CHEN Li-fu, Mr. (China), 295
- CHERBOURG, fight for, 58, 71
- CHERWELL, Lord, 129
- CHESTERFIELD children, gift to, 323
- CHIANG Kai-shek, General (China), 293, 294, 295, 296, 311
- CHICAGO : Civil Aviation Conference, 90, 115, 131, 132, 314
- CHICHESTER, Bishop of, 214
- CHIFLEY, Mr. J. B. (Australia), 142, 149-50
- CHILD, Nellise, "If I Come Home," 343
- CHILD Health : gift towards, 329
- CHILDBIRTH :
 - Quadruplets, 325, 327, 331
 - Triplets, 325
- CHILDREN : gift to, 323
- CHILE, 320
 - Argentina, relations with, 317, 320
 - President and internal affairs, 320
 - Radical Party, 320-1
 - Soviet Russia, relations with, 321
- CHINA, 293
 - American air bases evacuated, 294
 - Chiang Kai-shek, General, 293, 294, 295, 296, 311
 - Chungking, 296
 - Communist Party co-operation, 295
 - Czechoslovakia, and, 211
 - Economic, 295
 - Kuomintang, the, 293, 295, 311
 - Military situation, 293-4, 296, 301
 - Northern Burma, 33, 59, 60, 113, 167, 294-5, 301
 - Ministry reorganised, 295-6
 - Nanking : Japanese sponsored president dies, 296
 - Supplies question, 295
 - U.S.A., relations with, 293, 295, 311
 - General Stilwell recalled, 294, 311
 - War effort reorganisation, 295
- CHINDITS, the, 33, 60, 167
- CHRISTIAN, King of Denmark, 266, 267
- CHRISTIE'S Sales (Art), 359, 363
- CHU Chia-hua, Dr. (China), 295
- CHURCH, Richard, "British Authors," 335
- CHURCHILL, Mrs., 129
- CHURCHILL, RT. HON. WINSTON S.
 - Air offensive, on, 15-16
 - Atlantic Charter, 17, 43, 54
 - Basic English, 30-1
 - Belgium, 105, 106, 108
 - Broadcast address : Housing policy, 30
 - Bulgaria, 84
 - Civilian production : man-power problem, 97
 - Coalition Government, the, 93
 - Dissolution and General Election, 93, 101
 - Dominion Premiers' Conference, 43-4
 - Education Bill, 26-7, 45 ; confidence motion, 26-7
 - Eire, 31

- CHURCHILL, RT. HON. WINSTON S.,
cont.
 Empire economic co-operation, 43
 Equal pay for equal work, 45
 Export trade, prospects for, 102
 Flying bombs, the, 61-3
 Foreign affairs review, 16-17, 53-5, 73
 France, relations with, 73; French
 National Committee, 54, 55, 73, 93;
 recognition of de Gaulle's Govern-
 ment, 93; visit to Paris, 182
 Government's conduct of the War, 15-18
 Greece, 54, 104-9, 232, 236, 237
 Visit to Athens, 109
 Housing, 30
 Imperial Preference, 43
 India, British Forces welfare, 167
 Invasion of the Continent, 56, 57, 72-3,
 138; casualties, 71-2; Riviera land-
 ing, 75
 Italian campaign, 13, 75, 83
 Italy, 16, 54, 84, 105, 185; Count
 Sforza, 105, 108
 Japan, the war against, 16, 83, 146
 King's Speech debate, 101
 Labour Party attitude to, 103, 108
 Lend-Lease, future of, 102
 Man-power and civilian production, 97
 Moscow conversations, 92-3
 Mutual Aid Agreement with U.S.A., 43
 Pacific zone campaign, 83
 Parliamentary programme, the, 101
 Parliamentary prolongation Bill, 93
 Party strife, attitude to, 85, 93
 Poland and Russia, 17, 54, 84, 93, 110
 Epic of Warsaw, 207
 Quebec Conference, 82, 83, 92, 129, 130,
 311
 Spain and General Franco, 54, 55, 251,
 254, 255
 Town and Country Planning Bill, 85
 Turkey, 53
 War survey, 15, 72, 83; Britain's War
 Achievement, 15; Size of British
 Armies, 83
 Yugoslavia, 17, 54, 92, 93
 Otherwise mentioned, 5, 12, 138, 171, 314
 CIANO, Count (Italy), 183
 CINEMA, retrospect, 366; growth of
 monopoly, 366-7; Films Council com-
 mittee's report, 367; British pictures,
 367-8; war pictures, 368; American
 studios, 368; French and Russian
 realism, 368
 CITRINE, Sir Walter, 89
 CITY and Guilds College, 330
 CITY of London representation, 51, 87
 CIVIL aviation, 8-9, 22, 46, 87, 90-1
 British Government policy, 90-1
 Minister for, 87
 Montreal meeting, 131
 CIVIL Aviation Conference, Chicago, 90,
 115, 131, 132, 314
 CIVIL Defence Services, 113
 CIVIL Employment Reinstatement Bill
 * (Act), 6-7, 404-5
 CIVIL Servants' Income Tax, 12
 CIVIL Servants' Pensions Bill, 25
 CIVIL Service Recruitment, 99
 CIVIL Service Trade Unions case, 90
 CLAPHAM, Sir John, "The Bank of
 England," 337
 CLARK, Senator Champ (U.S.A.), 313
 CLAUSEN, Fritz (Denmark), 265-6
 CLAUSEN, Sir George, Obit., 473
 CLAY, Mr. Henry: appointment, 327
 CLAYTON, Mr. (U.S.A.), 313
 CLEWES, Winston, "The Violent Friends,"
 346, 357
 CLODIUS, Dr. (Germany), 223
 COAL Industry, 18-21; new agreement,
 36-7; wages rates strikes, 18-20
 COAL Trade retrospect, 398
 COALITION Government and the Parties, 6,
 18, 92, 106
 COASTAL Command, 25, 111
 COATES, W. P. and Z. K., "History of
 Anglo-Soviet Relations," 340
 COCKS, Mr. Seymour, 104
 COIT, Dr. Stanton, Obit., 429
 COLDWELL, Mr. M. J. (Canada), 134
 COLLIER, E. C., ed. "A Victorian Diary,"
 337
 COLNAGHI, Messrs. P. D. & Co. (Art),
 361
 COLOMBIA, 321
 President Lopez, assault on, 321
 COMEDY Theatre, 365
 COMFORT, Alex., "The Power House,"
 344; "Elegies," 348
 COMMODITY prices, 397
 COMPANY Law, Reform committee, 403
 COMPULSORY enlistment, 97
 CONDITIONS of Employment Order, 114
 CONGREVE, William (Drama), 364
 CONNALLY, Senator (U.S.A.), 314
 CONSOLIDATED Refineries Ltd., 289
 CONTEMPORARY Art Society, 361
 CONVOY system, 24-5
 CONWAY, E. S., "Post-War Employment,"
 337
 COOK, Mrs. F. H.: gift, 327
 COOK Islands, 156
 COOPER, Mr. Frank (Queensland, Aust.),
 151
 COPLAND, Aaron (Music), 371
 COPPARD, A. E., "Ugly Anna," 347
 COPYRIGHT (Law), 406
 CORBETT-ASHBY, Mrs., 18
 CORKEY, Rev. Professor (N. Ireland), 116
 COSGRAVE, Mr. W. T. (Eire), 118
 COSMIC rays (Science), 383
 COSTA, Colonel (Portugal), 260
 COSTELLO, Congressman (U.S.A.), 306
 Cost of living and subsidies, 38-41
 COTTON Industry, 400
 COULET, M. (France), 180
 COUNCIL for the Encouragement of Music
 and the Arts, 362, 372
 COURT of Appeal decisions (Law), 406-7
 COUBTAULD-THOMSON, Baron, 323
 COWARD, Sir Henry, Obit., 445

- COWARD, Noel (Drama) "Blithe Spirit," 365; "Private Lives," 365; (Cinema), 258, 368
- CRAIGMYLE, Lord, Obit., 462
- CRANBORNE, Lord, 3, 25
- CRERAR, General, 88
- CRIPPS, RT. HON. SIR STAFFORD, 70, 117
- CROCE, Sgr. Benedetto (Italy), 184, 185
- CROKER, Lucy H., "The Peckham Experiment," 339
- CROYDON Philharmonic Society, 370
- CROZIER, William P., Obit., 438
- CRUM, Dr. Walter E., Obit., 443
- CUBA, 321
- Cyclone devastation, 321
- Presidential election, 321
- CUNDALL, Mr. Charles, R.A., 324
- CUNNINGHAM, Admiral Sir Andrew, 235
- CURTIN, Mr. J. (Australia), 127, 142-52 *passim*; tour, 144-6; Dominion Premiers' Conference, and, 145, 146; war review, 146
- CURTIS, W. A., "Jesus Christ the Teacher," 342
- CUSTOMS and Excise, 33, 38, 40
- CUTHBERTSON, Ely, "Summary of the World Federation Plan," 340
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 210
- CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT IN LONDON, 210
- Administrative agreement with Soviet Russia, 200, 210, 211
- Diplomatic, 211
- French National Committee, and, 210-11; joint statement with, 211
- Government changes, 211-12
- International conferences, participation in, 211
- Liberation, preparatory work for, 210, 211, 212, 216
- State Council continuance decree, 212
- Turkey, relations with, 211
- U.N.R.R.A., and, 211
- ARMED FORCES OF, THE, 212-13, 215
- Czech Protectorate Government Army, 212
- French Forces of the Interior, with, 213
- Great Britain, in, 212
- Italy, in, 212
- London Government declaration, 215
- Soviet Russia, in, 212-13, 215
- Yugoslav National Army, with, 213
- BOHEMIA-MORAVIA, 217
- Administration, 217
- Allied air raids over, 217
- Banks, 217-18
- Cultural life, 217; Newspapers, 217; Schools, 217
- Currency issue, 218
- Food position, 218
- German exploitation, 217
- Guerrilla warfare, 218
- Nazi terrorism, 218
- Police rule, 218
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA—
- BOHEMIA-MORAVIA, *cont.*
- Skoda works, 216
- Slovak rising repercussions, 218
- Unrest after D-day, 217, 218
- CARPATHIAN UKRAINE, 213
- Anti-Jewish measures, 213, 214
- Guerrilla activities, 213
- Hungarian military administration, 213
- Liberation, 213-14
- Russian campaign in, 213
- SLOVAKIA, 214
- Bratislava Government, 214, 216
- Czech-Slovak relations, 216
- Deserters from Axis armies in, 212, 214
- Economic conditions, 214
- German pressure, 214, 215
- Guerrilla activities, 214, 215
- Jews, fate of, 216
- Martial law, 215
- National debt, 214
- Rising against German domination, 213, 214, 215-16
- Slovak National Council, 215, 216
- DAFOE, John Wesley, Obit., 426
- DAHL, Col. A. D. (Norway), 273
- DAIRY Cattle Bill, 47
- DALAL, Sir Ardeshr (India), 166
- D'ALTON, Mr. Thomas (Australia), 142
- DALTON, Rt. Hon. Hugh, 49, 68, 367
- Location of industry, 49
- Surplus War Stores disposal, 68-9
- DALYELL, Lt.-Col.: gift, 329
- DALYELL, Mrs.: gift, 329
- DAM, Professor Henrik, 330
- DAMASKINOS, Archbishop (Greece), 236, 237
- DANE, Clemence, "He Brings Great News," 346
- DARLAN, Admiral (France), 311
- DARNAND, M. (France), 177, 181
- DAVIES, Lord, Obit., 446
- DAVIES, Rhys, "The Black Venus," 344
- DAWSON, G. Geoffrey, Obit., 470
- DAY, Mr. Stephen (U.S.A.), 313
- D-DAY, Normandy landing, 56 *et seq.*
- DEAKIN, Captain, 17
- DEANE, Phyllis, "The Future of the Colonies," 341
- DÉAT, Marcel (France), 177
- DE BONO, Marshal (Italy), 183
- DEDMAN, Mr. J. J. (Australia), 142
- DEFENCE Regulations, 1AA, 37, 90; 18B, 52
- DE GAULLE, General (France), 55, 73, 93, 127, 178-81, 198, 256, 257, 311
- DEGOLYER, Mr. Everette (Brazil), 320
- DEHYDRATION, 52
- DEJONGEN, David Cornel, "Light Sons and Dark," 343
- DELATRE de Tassigny, General (France), 181

- DELEGATED legislation, control of, 46
 DE MADARIAGA, Sñr., "The Heart of Jade," 346, 357
 DEMANY, M. (Belgium), 243
 DEMOBILISATION plans :
 White paper, 80
 DEMPSEY, General, 71, 75, 89
 DENMARK, 261
 Aalborg aerodrome, 265
 Allied armed forces : Free Danes in, 266
 Cinema industry : German plan against, 261
 Copenhagen, incidents in, 263-4
 General strike, 263-4
 Curfew, 263, 264
 Dansk Industri-Syndikat, 263
 Freedom Council, 264, 266
 German terrorism, 262, 263, 265 ;
 repression, 261-2
 Copenhagen, 264
 Germans make concessions, 264
 Gestapo crimes, 265
 Gestapo Headquarters destroyed, 265
 Iceland's separation, 266, 267
 Kaj Munk murdered, 262
 Nazi Party decline, 265-6
 Police force disrupted, 265
 Resistance Movement, 261-2, 265 ;
 planned policy, 262-3
 German counter measures, 261-2, 263
 Royal Air Force activities over, 265
 Royal Palace police guard attacked, 265
 Sabotage, 261, 265
 Schalburg Corps, 261, 263, 264 ; indis-
 criminate shooting by, 263
 Soviet Russia, and, 366
 Strike spreads to provinces, 264
 Tivoli Amusement Park, 261, 263
 DENT, H. C., "Education in Transition," 342
 DEPARTMENT of National Service Enter-
 tainment, 372, 373. *See* E.N.S.A.
 DERBY winner (Newmarket), 328
 DE RODINO, Sgr. (Italy), 184
 DE SELINCOURT, E., *ed.* "Poetical Works
 of William Wordsworth," 336
 DE STEIN, Mr. Edward : gift, 327
 DE STEIN, Miss G. : gift, 327
 DETAINED persons (Regulation 18B), 52
 DE VALERA, Mr. Eamon (Eire), 118, 120,
 121, 125
 DEWEY, Governor (U.S.A.), 302, 304, 305,
 307, 308, 310, 312, 313
 DICKSON, Lovat, "Out of the West
 Land," 344
 DIEPPE Landing, the, 33
 DIES, Martin (U.S.A.), 306
 DIETL, Col.-General (Germany), 188-9,
 277
 DIETRICH, Commander Sepp (Germany),
 188
 DILL, Field-Marshal Sir John Greer, *Obit.*,
 468
 DILLON, Mr. John (Eire), 119
 DIPLOMATIC ban, pre-invasion, 34
 DISABLED Persons Employment Act, 404
 DISEASE (Science), 377, 378-9
 DIVORCE causes (Law), 403, 406
 DIVORCE Courts, arrears, 10-11, 403
 DIXON, Sir Owen (Australia), 154
 DOENITZ, Admiral (Germany), 189
 DOISY, Professor Edward, 330
 DOLLMANN, Col.-Gen. (Germany), 188
 DOMINION Premiers' Conference, 43-4
 DORIA-PAMPHILI, Prince Philippo (Italy),
 184
 DORIOT, M. (France), 177
 DORTMUND-EMS canal bombed, 111
 DOS PASSOS, John, "Number One," 343
 DOUBLE Summer Time, 326, 330
 DOUGLAS, Mr. Justice (U.S.A.), 308
 DOUGLAS, Senator J. G. (Eire), 121
 DOUGLAS, Rev. T. C. (Canada), 128
 DRAKEFORD, Mr. A. S. (Australia), 142
 DRAMA retrospect, 364
 "DRAVIDISTAN," 165
 DRING, Mr. William, A.R.A., 326
 DROBNER, Dr. (Poland), 207, 209
 DROUGHT, 328
 DRURY, Edward Alfred, R.A., *Obit.*, 475
 DUBLIN :
 Trinity College Historical Society, 120
 DUCA, Lt.-Col. (Argentina), 316
 DUCHESS Theatre, 365
 DUCLAUX, Mme., *Obit.*, 429
 DUGAN, Sir Winston (Vict., Aust.), 153
 DULLES, Mr. John Foster (U.S.A.), 310
 DU MAURIER, Daphne (Drama), 365
 DUMBARTON Oaks, Four Power Conversa-
 tions, 130, 171, 201, 309 ; Text of Pro-
 posals, 411 ; A Commentary : British
 Government views, 99-100
 DUNBABIN, Mr. Thomas (Australia), 154
 DUNKIRK, 76
 DUNN, Mr. (U.S.A.), 313
 DUNNE, Irene (Cinema), 368
 DUNSANY, Lord, "Guerrilla," 344
 DUPLESSIS, M. (Canada), 129
 DUPUY, M. Pierre (Canada), 123 *n.*
 DURANTY, Walter, "U.S.S.R.," 340
 DURHAM, Miss Mary Edith, *Obit.*, 470
 DUTCH New Guinea, 298
 EALING Studios (Cinema), 367
 EARLY, Mr. Stephen (U.S.A.), 130
 EARP, F. R., "The Style of Sophocles,"
 334
 ECONOMIC Intelligence Department, 45
 ECONOMIC policy : post-war employment
 and trade, 47-51
 ECONOMIC research :
 Houblon-Norman fund, 329
 ECONOMIC Warfare, Ministry of, 45, 100
 ECUADOR, 321
 Guayaquil revolt, 321
 Peru, relations with, 321
 Presidential election troubles, 321
 EDDINGTON, Sir A. Stanley, *Obit.*, 472
 EDE, Rt. Hon. J. Chuter, 8

EDEN, RT. HON. ANTHONY :

- Anglo-American Parliamentary relations, 31
- Belgium, 103
- Dominion Premiers' Conference, 44
- Dumbarton Oaks Conference, 99, 171
- French National Committee, 55, 73
- German execution of R.A.F. personnel, 47
- Greece, 92, 104, 106, 109, 233, 234, 236
- House of Commons Disqualification Bill, 12
- Housing, 28
- Hungary : anti-Jewish measures in, 220
- Japanese treatment of war prisoners, 11
- King's Speech, 101
- League of Nations, 171
- Moscow, 92
- Paris, 92, 182
- Polish-Soviet relations, 110
- Quebec Conference, 82, 83
- Spain, 249, 251, 255

EDINBURGH University :

- Chair of Dermatology : gift, 331
- Principal, 326

EDUCATION Bill (Act), 7-8, 26-7, 45-6, 68, 404

- [Clause 82], 26, 45
- Grants to local authorities, 27
- Lords' amendments on, 68
- Roman Catholic schools, 27

EDUCATIONAL reform :

- Fleming Public Schools Committee report, 66-7
- McNair Committee report, 45, 46

EDWARDS, Mr. Ebenezer, 89**EGGESTON, Sir F. (Australia), 154****EGYPT, 280**

- Al Azhar University, 282
- Allies, the, and, 281
- Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, and, 281
- Arab States Conference, and, 280-1, 289
- Cabinet changes, 281
- Cost of living, 282
- Economic difficulties, 282
- Elections, 281
- Great Britain, relations with, 281
- Hospitals reform, 282
- King, the, and Cabinet, 281 ; and Sudan, 282
- Malaria epidemic, 282
- Palestine, future of, and, 280-1
- Parliament, 281
- Political internees liberated, 281
- Political scandal, 282
- Sudan question, 281, 282
- Wafd, the, 281
- Wafd Ministry dismissed, 280, 281

EICHHOLZ, Mr. W. : bequests, 328**EIRE, 118**

- Agriculture, 122
- Arterial Drainage Bill, 121
- Bread, 122
- Canada, relations with, 125
- Children's Allowances Act, 122
- Civil aviation, 122

EIRE, *cont.*

- Coras Iompair Eireann, 119, 122
 - Czech Foreign Minister's visit, 119, 120
 - Electricity position, 121
 - Electrification scheme, 121
 - Farmers' group, 118
 - Fianna Fail, 118
 - Fine Gael, 118, 121
 - Foreign policy, 119-20
 - Fuel and power, 121
 - General Election, 118
 - German financial liabilities plan, 120
 - Imperial Preference idea, 119
 - Independent candidate's plan for Ireland, 119
 - Irish Institute for International Affairs, 121
 - Labour Party split, 118
 - National Transport Co., 119, 122
 - Neutrality attitude, 120, 121, 125
 - Political, 118-9
 - Political parties position, 118
 - Post-war plans, 121-2
 - Post-war policy (Fine Gael), 121
 - Senate election, 119
 - Stocks Tribunal, 118, 119
 - Transport Bill, 118, 119
 - Travel ban, 31, 120
 - United Kingdom, relations with, 31, 119, 120
 - U.S.A., relations with, 31, 119-20, 311
 - War criminals question, 120
- EISENHOWER, Lt.-General Dwight D. (U.S.A.), 1, 14, 56, 57, 72, 74, 77, 138, 157, 180, 302, 311**
- ELECTORAL Reform, Speaker's Conference, 11, 51, 69-70**
- Candidates' expenses, 69, 70
 - Redistribution of seats, 11
- ELECTORAL truce, 5-6**
- ELIOT, T. S., "Four Quartets," 347**
- ELIZABETH, H.M. Queen, 369**
- ELIZABETH, Princess, 325, 326, 369**
- ELKIN, Robert, "Queen's Hall," 334**
- ELLIS, Hilda R., "The Road to Hel," 334**
- ELLIS-FERMOR, Miss, "Essays and Studies," 335**
- EMERGENCY Powers Act, 67-8**
- EMERSON, Sir Herbert (League), 174**
- EMPIRE unity, 43**
- ENGLISH Association, The (Lit.), 335 ; "England," 347**
- E.N.S.A. (Department of National Service Entertainment), 372, 373**
- ENSOR, R. C. K., "A Miniature History of the War," 341**
- ENTOMOLOGY (Science), 376**
- ERCOLI, Ercole, (Italy), 184**
- ERLANGER, Professor Joseph, 330**
- ERSKINE, General, 243**
- ESCAUT Canal, 76, 77**
- ESSENDON, Lord, Obit., 447**
- EVANS, B. Ifor, "English Literature," 335**
- EVATT, Dr. H. V., K.C. (Australia), 142, 143, 144, 148, 152**
- EVE, Sir Malcolm Trustram, 77**

- EXCESS Profits Tax**, 33, 39-40, 41
EXCHEQUER Bonds, 391
EXPORT trade, 39, 48; returns, 93-4
- FABRICUS, Johan**, "Night Over Java," 344
FADDEN, Mr. A. W. (Australia), 147, 148
FALAISE Gap, 74, 180
FALK, Bernard, "The Berkeleys of Berkeley Square," 337
FALKENHORST, General (Germany), 274
FAMILY allowances, 94, 95
FARINACCI, Sgr. (Italy), 185
FARLEY, Mr. (U.S.A.), 308
FARMER, Sir John Bretland, Obit., 428
FARRELL, General (Argentina), 316-8, 320
FARRELL, James T., "A Father and His Son," 343
FEIERABEND, Dr. L. (Czech.), 211
FEILGIEBEL, General (Germany), 190
FILM industry, 402
FILMS Council, 367
FINANCE and Commerce retrospect, 387
FINE Art Society, 361
FINLAND, 276
 Armistice proposals, 277; final, 279
 Axis, breaks with, 279
 Budget, 280
 Censorship, 277
 Constitutional amendment, 279
 Germany, relations with, 195, 278, 279-80; promises aid, 195, 278; troops withdrawn, 279-80; attack on Hogland, 279-80
 Government changes, 279, 280
 Linkomies, 278, 279; Hackzell, 279; Castren, 280; Paasikivi, 280
 Karelian Isthmus warfare, 278
 Linkomies' Government and peace proposals, 276, 277, 278
 Peace party agitation, 276, 277, 278
 Presidency, 277-8
 Russian air raid on Helsinki, 276; Karelian campaign, 277-8
 Ryti's pledge to Hitler, 278
 Social Democratic Party, 276, 278, 280; M. Tanner and, 276, 280
 Soviet Control Commission in, 279
 United States, relations with, 276, 278
FIREMEN Artists, exhibition, 360
FIRE Services Act, 1941, 70
FIRTH, Mr. A. M. (New Zealand), 130
FISH, Mr. "Ham" (U.S.A.), 313
FISHES (Science), 376
FITTON, Mr. James, A.R.A., 325
FITZGERALD, Brian Vesey, "Gypsies of Great Britain," 339
FLEMING, Lord, Obit., 467
FLEMING Public Schools Committee, 8; Report, 66-7
FLORENCE, capture of, 72, 79
FLYING bombs, the, 60-3, 76, 111, 115, 205, 255, 359, 364, 369; V2, 111-12, 115, 364
- FLYING bombs, cont.**
 Casualties and damage, 62, 76-7, 112
 Counter-Measures Committee, 76
 Prime Minister's statement, 61-3
FOLKIERSKI, Professor (Poland), 209
FONTANNE, Lynn (Drama), 365
FOOD policy, 6
FOOD situation, 52
FOOT, Mr. Robert, 326
FOOTBALL, England-Scotland, 325
FORDE, Mr. F. M. (Australia), 142, 148, 152, 153
FOREIGN Exchanges, 392
FOREIGN policy, Labour Party, and, 103
FORMOSA, 300
FORRESTAL, Mr. James (U.S.A.), 157
FOWLER, Sir Ralph H., Obit., 452
FRANCE, 177
 GERMAN OCCUPATION:
 Allied air raids, 179
 Coastal areas evacuation, 179
 Food problem, 179
 French Forces of the Interior, 180, 181
 Labour exploitation by Nazis, 177
 Maquisards, the, 177
 Haute-Savoie fighting, 177
 Paris, general strike, 180
 Resistance Movement, 177, 178, 179, 181
 Nazi reactions to, 177
 Vichy Government reconstituted, 177; flees to Germany, 181
 NATIONAL LIBERATION COMMITTEE IN ALGIERS, 178, 179; Communist members, 179
 Budget, 178; war expenditure, 178
 Czechoslovak Government, and, 210-11
 Great Britain, relations with, 179, 180
 Financial agreement, 178
 Recognition question, 55, 73, 93
 Mutual Aid Agreement, 178
 Plan for Government after Liberation, 178
 Ordinance of administration, 178
 Provisional Government of French Republic, 179; recognition question, 179, 182, 210-11
 Pucheu trial, 179
 United States, relations with, 73, 93, 311
 Normandy landing by Allies, 56-8, 71-5, 79, 180; rôle of the French, 179-80
 South coast landing, 74, 181
 Liberation, 72, 73-5, 180, 181; Paris, 180
 LIBERATED FRANCE:
 Administration, 180
 Collaborationists, proceedings against, 181-2
 Consultative Assembly enlarged, 182
 de Gaulle, enthusiasm for, 180
 F.F.I. disarmament, 181
 Food and fuel situation, 182
 Military, 182
 Nationalisation of industry demand, 182

FRANCE—

LIBERATED FRANCE, *cont.*

- Press censorship relaxed, 181
- Provisional Government takes over, 180; returns to France, 181; recognition, 182, 193
- Republic proclaimed, 181
- Soviet Russia, treaty with, 182; Text, 421
- Trade Unions (C.G.T. and C.F.T.C.) reappear, 181
- "Vichy French State" abolished, 181

FRANCHISE reform, 11, 51

FRANCO, General (Spain), 198, 249-60 *passim*, and *see* SPAIN

FRANK, Herr K. H. (Czech.), 217

FRANKFORT bombed, 2, 32

FRASER, Admiral Sir Bruce, 151

FRASER, Professor Sir John: appointment, 326

FRASER, Lindley, "Germany Between the Two Wars," 341

FRASER, Rt. Hon. Peter (N.Z.), 127, 154, 156-7, 158, 159, 160, 161

FREED, Mrs. Lan, "Morality and Happiness," 342

FREISLER, Roland (Germany), 190

FRENCH Committee of National Liberation. *See* France

FREYBERG, Lt.-Gen. Sir Bernard, V.C. (N.Z.), 155, 162

FRICK, Dr. Wilhelm (Czech.), 217

FROMM, Col.-Gen. (Germany), 189, 190, 191, 192

FUJIWARA, Mr. (Japan), 299

FULL Employment: White Paper, 47-51

GANDHI, Mr. (India), 70, 164, 165

GANDHI, Mrs. (India), 164

GARDNER, W. H., "Gerard Manley Hopkins," 336

GARNETT, Maxwell, "The World We Mean to Make," 342

GARRICK Theatre, 365

GARSON, Greer (Cinema), 368

GASCOIGNE, David, "Poems, 1937-1942," 347

GASSER, Professor H. S., 330

GAUTIER, Dr. Raymond (League), 173

GENERAL Election and Party intentions, 91-2

GENETICS (Science), 376

GEORGE VI, H.M. King, 113

GEORGE, Major Gwilym Lloyd, 19, 36

GEORGIEFF, M. Kimon (Bulgaria), 240

GERBBANDY, Professor (Holland), 245

GERMANY, 187

Administration overhaul, 194

Air war problems, 194, 196

Army dominated by Nazi Party, 188-9, 193; Hitler's warning against opposition, 189; break with Prussian tradition, 190, 193

Axis disintegration, 195-6

GERMANY, *cont.*

Cultural activities reduced, 194

Draconian sentences, 194

Food and rationing, 195, 197

Foreign policy, 195, 196

Goebbels as Reich Plenipotentiary, 192

Himmler's position, 189, 191, 192, 197

Hitler, assassination attempt on, 189-93

Court of Honour set up, 190

People's Court, the, 190

Reward for arrest of Goerdeler, 191

Victims, the, of the Nazi bosses, 190-1, 192

Hitler's silence, 197; New Year's Eve Address, 197

Home Army comb-out, 192

Home Front disintegration, 194, 197; living conditions, 195, 196

Japanese alliance, the, 195

Military defeats, the, 187, 194. *See Subject Headings*

Military leaders purged, 187, 188; command remodelled, 188

Military oath changed, 193

Military salute replaced, 190

Neutral States, and, 196

New Army units, 192-3

Propaganda, 195, 196, 197; air raids on London as, 196-7

Re-settlers return to the Reich, 196

Total mobilisation measures, 192

Volksturm, the, 193

War material production increase, 193

Wehrmacht Act amendment, 193

And see under Subject Headings

GHORMLEY, Admiral (U.S.A.), 156

GIBBONS, Stella, "The Bachelor," 345

GIBBS, Philip, "The Battle Within," 344

GIBSON, Charles Dana, Obit., 475

GIBSON, Wilfrid, "The Outpost," 347

GIELGUD, John (Drama), 364

GIFTS to the Nation, 323, and *see* National Trust

GIL, Colonel (Colombia), 321

GILBERT, General (Argentina), 316

GIL ROBLES, Sr. (Spain), 254

GIRAUD, General (France), 179

GIURGIU, M. (Rumania), 224

GLASGOW, Sir William (Australia), 129

GLASGOW Corporation: gift to, 323

GLEADOWE, R. M. Yorke, Obit., 465

GLENDAY, Roy, "The Future of Economic Society," 338

GLOBE Theatre, 365, 368

GLOUCESTER, H.R.H. Duke of, 360

GODBOUT, M. (Canada), 129

GODFREY, Walter H., "Our Building Inheritance," 343

GOEBBELS, Dr. (Germany), 188, 190, 192, 194, 197, 255

GOEHR, Walter (Music), 371

GOERDELER, Karl (Germany), 191

GOERING, Field-Marshal (Germany), 189, 192

GOGARTY, St. John, "Mad Grandeur," 344

GOLD and Silver, 392

GOLD standard, 42
 GOLDSMITHS' Choral Union, 371
 GOLLAN, General (Slovakia), 214
 GOOCH, G. P., "Courts and Cabinets," 339
 GOODHART-RENDEL, Captain H. S.: gift, 326
 GOODYEAR, R., "Mrs. Loveday," 345
 GORBATOR, Boris, "Soviet War Stories," 346
 GORDON, George, "Shakespearean Comedy and Other Studies," 335
 GOTHIC line, 79
 GOUDGE, Elizabeth, "Green Dolphin Country," 346, 356
 GOVERNMENT changes, 87, 100
 GOVERNMENT factories, disposal plans, 69
 GOWRIE, Lord, 153; Earldom, 329
 GRABSKI, M. (Poland), 208
 GRACE, Dr. Harvey, Obit., 430
 GRAHAM, Gwethalyn, "Earth and High Heaven," 344, 356
 GRAMOPHONE recordings, 373
 GRANDI, Count (Italy), 183, 185
 GRANT, Sir Robert McVitie: gift, 331
 GRANT, Mr. William (N. Ireland), 117
 GRAVES, Charles L., Obit., 438
 GRAVES, Robert, "The Golden Fleece," 346
 GRAYDON, Mr. Gordon (Canada), 123
 GREECE, 231
 German occupation, under, 231, 233
 Currency situation, 234
 Guerrilla activities, 231, 233; rivalry, 231, 234
 Military position, 234
 National Bands, co-operation agreement, 231
 GOVERNMENT IN EGYPT, 231, 232;
 ITALY, 234; AND ATHENS, 234
 Army: M. Papandreu's statement, 232
 Athens: popular demonstration, 235;
 rival factions clash, 234, 235;
 E.A.M. attack on, 236
 British forces' position, 104, 236, 237
 Caserta Conference, 234, 236
 Communist assurances, 235
 Conference under Abp. Damaskinos, 109, 236-7
 Currency situation, 234
 Damaskinos, Abp., appointed Regent, 237
 E.A.M., E.D.E.S., E.K.K.A., E.L.A.S. 231 *et seq passim*
 E.A.M. defiance of Government, 104, 235-6
 Epirus fighting, 237
 Food situation, 231, 236
 Guerrilla forces and disbandment, 106, 235
 King George's position, 109, 231, 232, 233, 237
 Lebanon Conference, 232, 234; agreement, 232-3; E.A.M. leaders' attitude, 233; British advice on Greek unity, 234

GREECE, *cont.*

GOVERNMENT IN EGYPT, *etc.*, *cont.*
 Left Wing position, 233
 National Militia (E.L.A.S.), 235
 Naval and Military mutinies, 231-2, 233
 Papandreu Government, 232; mission for national unity programme, 232; new Cabinet, 233; all-party Government, 234
 Political parties, the, 232, 233; rival factions clash, 234, 235
 Scobie, General, negotiates with E.A.M., 236
 Tsouderos resigns, 231
 Venizelos resigns, 231
 BRITISH GOVERNMENT POLICY, 105, 106, 109-10, 232, 233, 234, 236-7; public concern, 104; Commons debates, 104-6
 GREENWICH Royal Observatory, 382-3
 GREENWOOD, RT. HON. ARTHUR, 18, 26, 37, 65, 107, 108
 GRETTON, Rt. Hon. John: barony, 323
 GREW, Mr. (U.S.A.), 313
 GREY, C. G., "The Luftwaffe," 341
 GRIERSON, Sir Herbert, "Critical History of English Poetry," 334, 348
 GRIFFIS, Mr. (U.S.A.), 268
 GRIFFITH, Gwilym O., "Interpreters of Man," 342
 GRIGG, Sir Edward, 100
 GRIGG, Sir James, 23-4
 GRIMWADE, Mr. W. Russell: gift, 331
 GRITTLETON House sale (Art), 363
 GROENER, General (Germany), 188
 GROMYKO, Mr. (Russia), 310
 GUAM, 300
 GUDERIAN, Col.-Gen. (Germany), 188
 GUEDALLA, Philip, 341, "Middle East (1940-42)," 341; Obit., 473
 GUIBAN, General (Switz.), 248
 GUNBY Hall Estate: gift, 327
 GUSTAV Line, 4, 5, 52
 GUTHRIE Lecture, 384
 GUTT, M. (Belgium), 242
 GYSLER, Dr. (Switz.), 247
 HACHA, President (Czech.), 217
 HACKZELL, M. (Finland), 279, 280
 HADLEY, W. W., "Munich Before and After," 340
 HAGELIN, Hr. Albert (Norway), 272
 HAGGARD, Stephen, "I'll Go to Bed at Noon," 333-4; "The Craft of Comedy," 335
 HAGGIS, Mr. Frederick (Music), 371
 HALEY, Mr. W. J., 326
 HALIFAX, Lord, 123, 157; Earldom, 327
 HALL, Dr. Hubert, Obit., 453
 HALLÉ Orchestra (Music), 370, 372, 373
 HALSEY, Admiral (U.S.A.), 161
 HAMID al Pachachi (Iraq), 291
 HAMILTON, Leonard, "Gerard Winstanley," 339

- HANBURY, Captain : gift, 329
 HANNEGAN, Mr. (U.S.A.), 308
 HANNEKEN, General von (Germany), 264
 HANSSON, M. (Sweden), 269
 HANOTAUX, Gabriel, Obi., 437
 HANSTEEN, Maj.-Gen. W. (Norway), 275
 HABBOURS, artificial, the 56, 57, 58
 HARCOURT-SMITH, Sir Cecil, Obi., 435
 HARDIMAN, Mr. Alfred F., R.A., 324
 HARDINGE of Penshurst, Lord, Obi., 454
 HARLECH, Lord, 140
 HARMER, Rt. Rev. John R., Obi., 433
 HARPE, General (Germany), 188
 HARRIS, Roy (Music), 370
 HART, Liddell, "Thoughts on War," 341
 HASE, General von (Germany), 190
 HASSELL, Ulrich von (Germany), 191
 HAUTE-CLOQUE, M. (France), 123 *n.*
 HAWTREY, R. G., "Economic Destiny," 338
 HAYEK, F. A., "The Road of Serfdom," 338
 HAYES, Mr. Carlton (U.S.A.), 260
 HAYMARKET Theatre, 364, 365
 HAZEL, Dr. Alfred E. W., Obi., 458
 HEALTH advancement : gifts, 331
 HEALTH, National, 52
 HEATH-STUBBS, John, "Beauty and The Beast," 348
 HEELIS, Mrs. William : bequests, 324
 HEENAN, John C., "Cardinal Hinsley," 341-342
 HELLDORFF, Graf von (Germany), 191
 HELLMUTH, Oscar (Argentina), 315-16
 HELPMANN, Robert (Music), 373
 HELY-HUTCHINSON, Mr. Victor (Music), 372
 HENRIOT, Philippe (France), 177, 181
 HENRIQUES, Robert, "Captain South and Company," 345 ; "The Journey Home," 345
 HERBERT, A. G., "The Form of the Church," 342
 HERMAN, H., "The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe," 341
 HEVESY, Professor Georg, 331
 HEYKING, Lieut.-Gen. von (Germany), 187
 HIGHWAY system development, 9
 HILL, Senator (U.S.A.), 305
 HILL, D. W., "The Impact and Value of Science," 338
 HILLMAN, Mr. Sidney (U.S.A.), 306, 308
 HILTON, John, "Rich Man, Poor Man," 337 ; "The Story of Dr. Wassell," 343
 HIMMLER, Herr (Germany), 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197
 HINDLEY, Sir Clement D. M., Obi., 440
 HINKSON, Pamela, "Golden Rose," 346
 HITCHCOCK, Alfred (Cinema), 368
 HITLER, Herr (Germany), assassination attempt on, 189-93 ; warns against Army opposition, 189 ; the public and his silence, 197 ; mentioned, 60-1, 219, 222, 223
 HOARE, Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel, 249, 250, 255, 256, 260 ; viscounty, 256, 328
 HODSON, Sir Arthur W., Obi., 444
 HODZA, Dr. Milan, Obi., 448
 HOEFNER, Col.-General (Germany), 190
 HOFMEYER, Mr. H. (S^t Africa), 138
 HOGGEN, Lancelot (Lit.), 337 ; "Inter-glossa," 337
 HOGG, Mr. Quintin, 95
 HOLDEN, Inez, "There's No Story Here," 344
 HOLDSWORTH, Sir W. S., Obi., 425
 HOLLAND. *See* Netherlands
 HOLLAND, Sir Thomas, 326
 HOLLAND-MARTIN, Robert M., Obi., 429
 HOLLANDIA, Japanese base, 298
 HOLMES, General (U.S.A.), 313
 HOME Guard, 113 ; disbandment, 113 ; (Law), 406
 HORE BELISHA, Rt. Hon. Leslie, 87
 HORMONES (Science), 377, 380
 HORNER, Joyce, "The Wind and the Rain," 345-6
 HORTHY, Admiral (Hungary), 219, 220
 HOSPITALS, voluntary : National Health Scheme, 13
 Hot Springs food conference, 6
 HOUBLON-NORMAN fund, 329
 HOUGHTON, Alan, "Parts of Barbary," 339
 HOUGHTON, Claude, "Passport to Paradise," 345
 House of Commons :
 Disqualification Bill, 12
 Rebuilding : Committee's report, 96
 Redistribution of Seats Bill (Act), 51, 80, 405
 HOUSING programme, 27-8, 65-6, 77, 84, 103 ; war damaged houses, 28, 77 ; pre-fabricated houses, 28, 30, 66 ; Portal houses, 66, 103 ; subsidies, 28-9, 66 ; land and compensation, 29, 30 ; Premier's statement, 30 ; Temporary Housing Bill, 66, 84 ; cost and rent, 84
 HOUSMAN, Laurence, "Samuel the King-maker," 347, 358
 HOWE, Mr. Clarence D. (Canada), 125, 131
 Ho Ying-chin, General (China), 295
 HUBE, General (Germany), 188
 HUDSON, RT. HON. R. S., 9-10, 47, 113-14, 117
 Agricultural prices, 9-10, 113-14
 Dairy Cattle Bill, 47
 Livestock industry, 114
 HUGGINS, Sir Godfrey (S. Rhodesia), 138, 140, 141
 HUGHES, Mr. (Australia), 147, 148
 HUKAWNG Valley, 33, 167, 294
 HULL, Mr. Cordell (U.S.A.), 119, 157, 220, 248, 310, 313, 317
 HUNGARY, 219
 German attitude to, 219 ; troops in Budapest, 219
 Jews, persecution of, 220 ; deportations, 220
 Churches protest, 220
 Foreign indignation, 220-1
 Kallay Government, 219

HUNGARY, cont.

- Latakos Government, 221
- Left Wing groups dissolved, 219
- Military situation, 221
 - Budapest invested, 221
 - Russian envoys shot, 221
- Newspapers suspended, 219; *Pester Lloyd*, 219
- Rumania, and, 221
- Russian advance, 219, 221
- Szalasy *coup d'état*, 221
- Sztojay Government, 219, 221
- Trade Union funds confiscated, 219
- Transylvania, 221
- LIBERATED TERRITORY :
 - Provisional Government, 222
 - War declared on Germany, 222
- HUNTER, Mr. E. W. : gift, 328
- HUTCHINSON, Mr. Walter (Art), 364
- HUXLEY, Elspeth, "Race and Politics in Kenya," 341
- HUXLEY, Julian, "On Living in a Revolution," 338; "The Future of the Colonies," 341
- HYDE, President Dr. Douglas (Eire), 118
- HYNE, C. J. Cutcliffe W., Obit., 433

IBARRA, Sr. Velasco (Ecuador), 321

IBSEN (Drama), 364

ICELAND, 266

- Cabinet, 267
- Constitutional change, 266
- Denmark, Act of Union cancelled, 266
- Hot water supplies from springs, 267
- King Christian's messages, 266, 267
- League of Nations, 175
- President elected, 266, 267
- Republic inaugurated, 266

IKES, Mr. Harold (U.S.A.), 288

ISAN Sabis, General (Turkey), 230

ILSLEY, Mr. J. L. (Canada), 128

IMPERIAL Chemical Industries : research Fellowships, 328

IMPHAL, 35, 59, 112, 167

INCOME Tax, 33

- Pay-as-you-earn, 12; (Offices and Employments) Act, 405

INDIA, 70, 162

- Agricultural production plan, 70, 165-6
- Bengal famine, 162, 163
 - Commission of Inquiry, 163
- "Bombay Plan," the, 165
- British Forces welfare investigation, 166-7
- British Government, and, 70
- Calcutta-Assam-Yunan pipe-line, 167-8
- Chamber of Princes :
 - Committee resignations, 166
- Conciliation Committee proposal, 165
- Congress Party, 163, 164; "Quit India" resolution, 164
- Cripps offer, the, 163
- Détenu*, the, 163-4
- Economic development plans, 70
- Epidemics, 163

INDIA, cont.

- Food production and distribution organisation, 162
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 70, 164, 165
 - Grow More Food campaign, 163
- Industrial enterprises and the States, 166
- Manipur fighting, 35, 59, 112, 167
- Moslem League, 164
- National Government, efforts towards, 164-5; Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations, 165
- "Pakistan," 164
- Political, 70, 163-5
- Post-war planning, 165, 166
- Reconstruction Committee's Report, 166
- Separatism, 165
- States, the, 166
- Viceroy and Congress Party, 164
- War effort, 162
- INDUSTRIAL health : gifts, 331
- INFANT mortality, 52
- INGER, General (Czech.), 211
- INLAND Water Survey, 35, 36
- INÖNÜ, President (Turkey), 229, 230
- INSTITUTE of Physics, 384, 386
- INSURANCE, 399
- INTERNATIONAL Monetary Fund, White Paper, 41-3, 391
- INTERNATIONAL Red Cross, 207
- INTERNATIONAL Understanding, British Society for (Lit.), 341
- INVASION of the Continent : preparatory, 1, 3, 15, 32-4, 53, 55, 73; D-day, 56 *et seq*; Riviera landing, 74, 181
- IRAN (PERSIA), 292
 - Government changes, 292
 - Great Britain, relations with, 292
 - Oil concession question, 292
 - Saudi-Arabia, protest to, 289
 - Soviet Russia, relations with, 292
 - U.S.A., relations with, 292
- IRAQ, 291
 - Arab Unity, Alexandria Conference, and, 289, 291
 - Palestine problem, 291-2
 - U.S.A., relations with, 292
- IRELAND, NORTHERN, 116
 - Agriculture, 117
 - Belfast Corporation powers, 116
 - Budget, 117
 - Education White Paper, 116, 117
 - Food production, 117
 - Health Ministry, 117
 - Housing Trust proposal, 116-7
 - Imperial contribution, 117
 - Industrial, 117
 - Ministerial changes, 116, 117
 - Prime Minister, 118
- IREMONGER, F. A., "The Cathedral Foundations," 342
- IRGENS, Hr. (Norway), 272
- IRISH Institute of International Affairs, 121
- IRON and Steel industry, 398

IRWIN, Margaret, "Young Bess," 346

ISMAIL, Sir Mirza (India), 165

ISOTOPES (Science), 383-4

ITALY, 182

Allied assistance in, 186

U.N.R.R.A., 186

Allies, co-operation with, 16

Anti-Semitic laws abolished, 183

Badoglio Government, 16, 54, 183, 198

Communist co-operation, 184

Reconstituted, 184

Resigns, 184

Bonomi All Party Government, 185, 186, 187

Cabinet dissensions, 186

Reconstitution, 186

Communist Party, 184

Confederation of Labour, declaration, 186

Diplomatic relations, 183, 186

Economic, 186-7

Fascists eliminated, 183, 184, 185

German controlled :

Curfew, 183

Political trials, 183

Sabotage and strikes, 183

Great Britain, relations with, 54, 105, 186, 314 ; Commons debate, 16, 18

Industrial, 187

Jurisdiction, 183, 185-6

King Victor Emmanuel, 16, 54, 184

Lieutenant-General : Prince Umberto, as, 84, 184

Military situation, 182

Campaign, 3-5, 13-14, 16, 32, 52-3, 58-9, 72, 79, 112. *And see under Names of Places*

Naples, 184, 185

National Liberation Committee, 183-4

Nettuno landing, 4-5, 183

Northern. *See* German-controlled *supra*

Rome, conditions in, 183

Allied Armies in, 53, 184

Black market, 184

Foot riots, 187

Government returns to, 185

Press control, 186

Reorganisation, 184

Sicily, conditions in, 187

Separatist movement, 187

JACKSON, Mr. F. Ernest, A.R.A., 326

JACQUES, Dr. Reginald (Music), 370

JALBRZYKOWSKI, Mgr. R. (Lithuania), 203

JALLAND, Trevor G., "The Church and the Papacy," 342

JAMES, Norah C., "Enduring Adventure," 344

JAPAN, 296

Aircraft production speed-up, 297, 298

Air Force, 296, 297, 299

Air raid precautions, 298, 300

Air raids, 300, 301

Casualties, 277, 299, 301

JAPAN, *cont.*

Convoy losses, 297

Defensive measures at home, 296, 299-300

"Home Guard," 300

Food problem, 298

Formosa bombed, 300

Government changes, 299

Greater East Asia Ministry, 299

High Command reorganisation, 297-8

Fleet, the, 296, 297, 299, 300-1

Actions off Saipan, 299 ; off Leyte, 300-1

Role of, 300

Naval losses, 299, 301

Prisoners of war maltreated, 11

Shipbuilding, 297

Shipping and aircraft losses, 296, 297, 299

Shipping position, 298

Soviet Russia, relations with, 301

Fisheries Convention, 301

Sakhalin concessions, 301

War situation, 296, 297, 301

Burma, 33, 59, 60, 113, 167, 294-5, 301

China, 293-4, 296, 301

Pacific, Central and South West, 296-301 *passim*.

See also under Place Names

JAPANESE, campaign pay, 81

JEDRYCHOWSKI, M. (Poland), 207

JENKINS, Elizabeth, "Elizabeth and Helen," 345

JENSEN, Johannes Vilhelm, 331

JET propulsion plane, 326

JINNAH, Mr. (India), 164, 165

JOHNSON, Celia (Cinema), 368

JOHNSON, Martin, "Art and Scientific Method," 335

JOHNSTON, Rt. Hon. Thomas, 36, 84

JONES, Mr. Frederick (N.Z.), 154, 158

JONES, Jack, "The Man David," 337

JONES, Miss Jennifer (Cinema), 368

JONES, Sydney R., "Thames Triumphant," 343

JORDANA, Count (Spain), 250, 256

JOWITT, Sir W., Minister of National Insurance, 87, 94, 95, 96

JOYCE, James, "Stephen Hero," 343

JUDGES, Supreme Court : additional appointments, 10, 403

JUIN, General (France), 180, 181

KABALEVSKY (Music), 370

KALEWA, 112, 167

KALLAY, M. (Hungary), 219

KANELLOPOULOS, M. (Greece), 233

KARSKI, M. J. (Poland), 210

KARTALIS, M. (Greece), 233

KAZIN, Alfred, "On Native Grounds," 337

KEITEL, General (Germany), 278

KEITH, Professor A. Berriedale, Obit., 463

KEKONI, General (Finland), 277

- KELLER**, Adolph, "Christian Europe To-day," 342
KELVIN Lecture, 386
KENT, H.R.H. Duchess of, 360
KERR, Admiral Mark E. F., Obit., 427
KERSH, Gerald, "The Horrible Dummy," 347
KERSTENS, Mr. P. (Netherlands), 246
KETTON-CREMER, R. W., "Norfolk Portraits," 337
KEYES, Sidney, "The Cruel Solstice," 348
KEYNES, Lord, 42-3, 102, 388
KEYNES Plan, 41
KIELAND, Axel, "Live Dangerously," 344
KING Edward's Hospital Fund for London, 328
KING, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie (Canada), 123-35 *passim*, 326; Empire Conference, and, 126-7
KING's Speech, 101-3
KINLOCH-COOKE, Sir C., Obit., 459
KIRBY, Mr. Alan (Music), 370
KIRKENES captured, 273
KLAUSNER, Joseph, "From Jesus to Paul," 342
KLUGE, Field-Marshal von (Germany), 188, 193
KNIGHT, W. F. Jackson, "Roman Vergil," 334, 349
KNOX, Colonel W. F. (U.S.A.), 157, 289; Obit., 439
KNOX, W. L., "Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity," 342
KOENIG, General (France), 180
KOHIMA, 35, 59, 167
KOISO, General (Japan), 299
KOLLONTAY, Madame (U.S.S.R.), 277
KOPP, Dr. (Estonia), 204
KORDA, Sir Alexander (Cinema), 306, 367; gift, 330
KORTEN, General (Germany), 189
KOSSAK, Mme. Z. (Poland), 210
KOVOS, C. (Lit.), 341
KRATOCHVIL, General (Czech.), 212
KRAUS, Oskar, "Albert Schweitzer," 342
KRULS, Col. H. J. (Netherlands), 246
KUBILIUNAS, General (Lithuania), 203
KUKIEL, General (Poland), 209
KULLMANN, Dr. G. G. (League), 174
KUNG, Dr. H. H. (China), 295
KWAPINSKI, M. (Poland), 209
- LABOUR** Party Annual Conference, 53, 106-8
LABOUR Party, 6, 37; and General Election, 92, 107
LA GUARDIA, Mayor (U.S.A.), 314
LAIRD, John, "The Device of Government," 338
LAKE District gifts to National Trust, 324
LAMBERT, S. H., "Portrait of Gideon Power," 345
LAND and reconstruction, 29, 30
LAND Forces Adriatic, 241
LANE, Margaret, "Where Helen Lies," 345
- LANG**, Lord, 2, 14
LANGSTONE, Mr. Frank (N.Z.), 161
LASKI, Professor Harold J., 106; "Faith, Reason and Civilisation," 338
LATAKOS, General (Hungary), 221
LATHAM, Lord, 29
LAUREYS, Dr. Henry (Canada), 123 *n.*
LAVAL, M. Pierre (France), 248
LAVRIN, Janko, "Tolstoy," 334
LAW, Rt. Hon. Richard K., 130, 260
LAW retrospect, 403
LEACOCK, Professor Stephen B., "How to Write," 333; Obit., 435
LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 169
 Budget, 172
 Economic and Financial Department, 172; research work reports, 172; Trade and Commercial Policy, 172; Relief and Reconstruction, 172; Economic Security, 172; International Currency Experience, 173; publications, 172-3
 Future of the League, 169-72; official discussions, 170-1; the year's work, 172
 Health organisation, 173; international action on biological remedies, 173; Penicillin, 173; drug traffic control, 173
 International Labour Organisation, 175
 German Press attacks on, 175
 Governing Body, expenditure programme, 176
 Philadelphia Conference, 175-6; agenda, 175; Declaration, 175-6; Text, 422; liberated countries declaration, 176
 Russia, and, 175, 176
 Membership, 169
 Permanent Central Opium Board, 173
 Social Services' work:
 Drug traffic control, 173
 Prevention of Prostitution, 173-4
 Refugees, International Assistance to, 174; Intergovernmental Committee, 174
LEBANON Agreement, 232, 233. *See* Greece
LEBANON, THE, 287
 Arab Conference, and, 288
 Arab States collaboration policy, 288, 290
 Customs monopoly, 287
 Independence position, 287
 Syro-Lebanese Convention on Common Interests, 287-8
 Tobacco monopoly, 287
LECLERC, General (France), 180
LEEDS Art Gallery, 362
LEEMING, Mr., 140
LEESE, Lt.-Gen. Sir Oliver, 161
LEGER Galleries (Art), 361
LEGGETT, Sir Frederick, 176
LEGHORN, 59, 72
LEHMANN, John, "The Sphere of Glass," 347

- LEHMANN, Rosamond, "The Ballad and the Source," 345
 LEICESTER Galleries (Art), 361
 LEIPZIG bombed, 2, 21
 LEISHMAN, J. B., "Friedrich Hölderlin, Selected Poems," 348
 LEITH-HAY-CLARK, Major Norman : gift, 327
 LEITH Hill Place : gift, 332
 LEJEUNE-JUNG (Germany), 191
 LEND-LEASE, 39, 98-9, 102, 388 ; reciprocal aid, 39, 98
 LENTAIGNE, General, 167
 LEON, Derrick, "Tolstoy : His Life and Work," 334
 LEOPOLD, King of the Belgians, 242
 LEQUERICA, Sr. José-Felix (Spain), 256, 258, 259
 "LESKOV, N. S., The Tales of," 346
 LESLIE, Doris, "Folly's End," 346
 LESTER, Mr. Sean (League), 170
 LEUSCHNER, Wilhelm (Germany), 191
 LEVIN, H., "James Joyce," 336
 LEWIS, Cecil, "Pathfinders," 344
 LEWIS, D. B. Wyndham, "Ronsard," 334
 LEYTE Island, 300-1
 LIABILITIES (War Time Adjustment) Act, 405
 LIBERAL Party and General Election, 91-2
 LIBERATED territories administration plans, 55
 LIE, Jonas (Norway), 272
 LIE, Hr. Trygve (Norway), 275
 LIETZMANN, General Commissioner (Estonia), 203
 LIFANOV, M. (Russia), 154
 LINCOLNSHIRE : gift to, 328
 LINDISFARNE Castle : gift, 327
 LINKLATER, Eric (Drama), 365
 LINKOMIES, M. (Finland), 278, 279
 LIPPMAN, Walter, "U.S. War Aims," 340, 354
 LITERATURE retrospect, 333 ; production of new books, 333 ; restrictions on paper, 333 ; literary criticism and biography, 333-6 ; essays, 334 ; arts, 335 ; biographies and memoirs, 336-7 ; language, 337 ; politics, 337-8 ; economics, 337-9 ; historical works, 339-40 ; contemporary themes, 340-1 ; religion and philosophy, 341-2 ; educational discussion, 342 ; novels, 343-6 ; short stories, 347 ; poetry, 347-8 ; music, 373 ; scientific, 374-81 *passim*
 LIVERPOOL (Art), 362
 LIVERPOOL Philharmonic Orchestra, 370, 372, 373
 LLEWELLIN, Colonel Rt. Hon. J. J., 52
 LONDON : City Reconstruction plan, 68
 LONDON House, 330
 LONDON : Lord Mayor, 330
 LONDON Philharmonic Orchestra, 369, 370, 371, 372
 LONDON planning, Abercrombie plan, 114
 LONDON Region Civil Defence Choir, 371
 LONDON Symphony Orchestra, 369, 370, 372
 LONDON University, 331
 LONG, Basil K., Obit., 426
 LONG, Mr. Breckinridge (U.S.A.), 313
 LONGFORD, Earl of, "Poems From the Irish," 347-8
 LONSDALE, Earl of, Obit., 437
 LONSDALE, Frederick (Drama), 365
 LOPEZ, President (Colombia), 321
 LOVEDAY, Mr. Alexander (League), 172
 LOW, Mr. Solon (Canada), 126
 LUBBOCK, Alfred B., Obit., 459
 LUCA DE TENA, Marquis (Spain), 254
 LUCE, Mrs. (U.S.A.), 307
 LUMBRALLES, Dr. (Portugal), 260
 LUNT, Alfred (Drama), 365
 LUPINO, Ida (Cinema), 368
 LUTYENS, Sir Edwin L., Obit., 425
 LUXMORE, Rt. Hon. Lord Justice, Obit., 407, 462
 LUZON, 300
 LYDFORD Gorge : gift, 323
 LYONS, Col. Sir Henry G., "The Royal Society," 334, 349 ; Obit., 455
 LYRIC Theatre, 365
 LYTTELTON, Rt. Hon. Oliver, 102
 MACARTHUR, General Douglas (U.S.A.), 149, 150, 298, 300, 304, 305
 MACARTNEY, M. H. H., "One Man Alone," 340
 MCCRAKEN, Esther (Drama), 365
 MACDONALD, Mr. Angus (Canada), 124
 MACDONALD, Mr. J. S. (Canada), 123 *n.*
 MCEWEN, Mr. (Australia), 147, 148
 MACKAY, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Iven (Australia), 154
 MCKELL, Mr. W. J. (N.S.W., Aust.), 152
 MACKENZIE, Compton, "The North Wind of Love," 343
 MACKENZIE, Mr. Ian (Canada), 131
 MCLAGAN, Mr. A. (N.Z.), 159
 MACLEAN, Brigadier, 17
 MACLEISH, Mr. (U.S.A.), 313
 MACMICHAEL, Sir Harold (Palestine), 284
 MACMILLAN, Mr. Harold, 106, 236
 MACMURRAY, Fred (Cinema), 368
 MCNAIR, Dr. J. B. (Canada), 129
 MCNAIR Committee report, 45, 46
 MCNARY, Senator (U.S.A.), 304
 MCNAUGHTON, General (Canada), 132, 133
 MACNEICE, Louis, "Spring Board," 347
 MCTAGUE, Mr. Charles T. (Canada), 126
 MACH, Herr A. (Czech.), 214
 MACK, Marjorie, "The Educated Pin," 345
 MACKIESIEZ, Stanislaw, "Colonel Beck and his Policy," 340
 MACZEK, General (Poland), 206
 MADARIAGA, Sr. (Spain), 254
 MADARIAGA, Senor Salvador de, "The Heart of Jade," 346, 357
 MAE, Dr. (Estonia), 204
 MAGNETIC storms (Science), 383

- MAGNIN, Colonel (France), 181
 MAHER Pasha (Egypt), 281, 282
 MAIR, G. H., "English Literature—Modern," 335
 MAITLAND-WILSON, Gen. Sir Henry, 75, 138, 235, 241
 MAJER, Mr. Vaclav (Czech.), 211
 MAKIN, Mr. N. J. (Australia), 142, 148, 151
 MAKRAM, Ebeid Pasha (Egypt), 281, 282
 MALAN, Dr. D. F. (S. Africa), 138
 MALCOLM, Sir Ian Zachary, Obit., 475
 MALLALIEU, J. P. W., "Very Ordinary Seaman," 344
 MANCINI, Sgt. (Italy), 184
 MANDEL, M. Georges (France), 181; Obit., 450
 MANHOOD, H. A., "Lunatic Broth," 347
 MANIPUR, Japanese threat to, 35, 59
 MANIU, Dr. (Rumania), 222
 MANNERHEIM, Marshal (Finland), 276, 277, 278, 279
 MANNING, Mr. E. C. (Canada), 128
 MANOIILESCU, M. (Rumania), 224
 MAN-POWER: and the Services, 23; reallocation of, 96; civilian employments, 97
 MARIANA Islands, 299, 315
 MARINOFF, General (Bulgaria), 240
 MARION, Paul (France), 177
 MARQUAND, John P., "So Little Time," 344
 MARSEILLES, 181
 MARSHALL Islands, 296, 297, 315
 MARTIN, Mr. John (S. Africa), 138
 MARTINDALE, Helen, "From One Generation to Another," 337
 MARTINEZ, President (Salvador), 321, 322
 MARTIN-HARVEY, Sir John, Obit., 442
 MARUSITCH, M. (Yugo.), 227
 MASARYK, Mr. Jan (Czech.), 120, 121, 211, 212
 MASEFIELD, John, "New Chum," 335
 MASON, F. Van Wyck, "End of Track," 343
 MASSIGLI, M. (France), 181
 MATEU, Sñr. (Spain), 256
 MATRIMONIAL Causes (War Marriages) Act, 405
 MATTINSON, Sir Miles, Obit., 431
 MAUGHAM, Lord, "The Truth About Munich," 340
 MAUGHAM, Mr. W. Somerset: gift, 330; (Lit.), "The Razor's Edge," 343, 358; (Drama), "The Circle," 364
 MAURA, Don Miguel (Spain), 257, 258
 MAYBANK, Senator (U.S.A.), 305
 MECCA, 289
 MEDICAL Services: National Health Scheme, 13
 MEDTNER (Music), 370
 MELBOURNE University: gifts to, 331
 MEMEL, 203
 MENDE, Tibor, "Hungary," 341
 MENDELSSOHN, Peter de, "The Hours and the Centuries," 344
 MENEMENJOGLU, M. (Turkey), 229
 MENENDEZ, General Andres (Salvador), 322
 MENTHON, M. (France), 181
 MENUHIN, Yehudi (Music), 370
 MENZIES, Mr. R. G. (Australia), 145, 147, 148, 153
 METROPOLITAN Water Board, 328
 MEYER, J. P., "Max Weber and German Politics," 341
 MEYERSTEIN, E. H. W., "Azure," 348
 MICROBIOLOGY (Science), 379
 MIDDLE East Agricultural Conference, 290
 MIDDLE East League of Nations, 290
 MIDDLE East Supply Centre, 290, 291
 MIDGLEY, Mr. H. C. (N. Ireland), 117
 MIHAILOVITCH, General (Yugo.), 17, 225, 226, 227
 MIKLOS, General (Hungary), 221, 222
 MIKOLAJCZYK, M. (Poland), 207, 208, 209
 MILDER, Mr. Max (Cinema), 367
 MILITARY situation, 1, 32, 52
See under place names and subject-headings
 MILK, producers, concession to, 10; supply problem, 47
 MINDORO, 301
 MINWORKERS' Federation, 19, 20, 21
 MINING Association of Great Britain, 19, 326
 MINISTERIAL changes, 87, 100
 MITCHELL, Air Chief Marshal, Sir W. G. S., Obit., 456
 MOBILISATION effort (Great Britain), 97-8
 MODEL, Col.-Gen. (Germany), 188, 193
 MOFFATT, Rev. James, Obit., 448
 MOFFATT, James, "The Thrill of Tradition," 342
 MOGG, R. P., "For This Alone," 348
 MOHAMMED Saed (Iran), 292
 MOLOTOV, M. (Russia), 92, 222, 223, 240
 MOLUCCAS, the, 300
 MONETARY policy, 41-3, 391
 MONEY, Sir Leo Chiozza, Obit., 462
 MONEY market, 390
 MONTE Cassino Abbey, 14, 32
 MONTGOMERY, Field-Marshal, 57, 58, 73, 74, 75, 88, 138, 206
 MONTGOMERY-MASSINGBERD, Lady: gift, 327
 MONTGOMERY - MASSINGBERD, Field-Marshal Sir A.: gift, 327
 MONTREUX Convention, 229, 230
 MOORE, Rev. Robert (N. Ireland), 117
 MOORE, Thòmas Sturge, Obit., 451
 MOORISH Youth Association, 290
 MORAN, Lord, 129
 MORGAN, Charles, "Portraits in a Mirror," 333
 MORGAN, Joan (Drama), 365
 MORGAN, J. Pierpont: Art sale, 363
 MORGENTHAU, Mr. Henry (U.S.A.), 311
 MORGENTHAU Plan, 41
 MORRISON, RT. HON. HERBERT:
 Delegated legislation, 46
 Electoral Reform, 11

- MORRISON, RT. HON. HERBERT, *cont.*
 Emergency Powers Act, 67-8
 Fire Services Act, 70
 Flying Bombs, 61
 Indemnity Bill for, 70
 Redistribution of Seats Bill, 87
 Regulation 18B, 52
 War-time elections, 69
 Workmen's Compensation, 95
- MORRISON, RT. HON. W. S. :
 Town and Country Planning Bill, 64-5, 84-5, 86
- MOSLEM League, 164, 165
- MOSS, C. B., "The Christian Faith," 342
- MOTOB industry, 402
- MOTOR traffic roads development, 9
- MOUNTBATTEN, Admiral Lord Louis, 32, 83, 167
 Press Conference on Burma campaign, 59-60
- MOUSA Effendi Alami (Palestine), 284-5
- MOYNE, Lord, 100, 234, 284 ; *Obit.*, 469
- MOYNIHAN, Mr. Rodrigo, A.R.A., 325
- MULCAHY, General Richard (Eire), 118, 121
- MULLICK, Mr. P. B. (India), 163
- MULLINS, Claude, "Crime and Psychology," 343
- MUMFORD, L., "The Condition of Man," 338
- MÜNCH, M. Charles (Music), 370
- MUNCH, Edvard, *Obit.*, 428
- MUNK, Kaj, Pastor (Denmark), 262
- MUNNINGS, Sir Alfred (Art), 325, 359
- MUNRO, John A. R., *Obit.*, 430
- MUNSTER, Lord, 166, 167
- MURAVIEFF, M. Constantine (Bulgaria), 239
- MURPHY, Mr. Robert (U.S.A.), 311
- MURRAY, Mr. John G., of Clava : gift, 328
- MURRAY, John M., "Adam and Eve," 338
- MURRAY, Dr. K. A. H. : Rectorship, 327
- MUSIC retrospect, 369
- MUSIC, Royal Scottish National Academy of, 329
- MUSSOLINI, Signor (Italy), 183, 340
- MYERS, Leopold H., *Obit.*, 437
- MYITKINA, 33, 59, 294
- NAGANO, Admiral (Japan), 298
- NAHAS Pasha (Egypt), 280, 281, 282, 289, 290
- NARBETH, John Harper, *Obit.*, 443
- NASH, Hon. Walter (N.Z.), 159, 160, 161, 175
- NATIONAL accounts, 33
- NATIONAL Art Collections Fund, 363
- NATIONAL Council of Y.M.C.A., 362
- NATIONAL Debt, 388 ; interest, 40
- NATIONAL Farmers' Union, 10
- NATIONAL Fund, the, 326
- NATIONAL Gallery of British Sports and Pastimes, 364
- NATIONAL Gallery (Art), 360, 363 ; (Music) Concerts, 371
- NATIONAL Gallery of Scotland, 363
- NATIONAL Health Service proposals, 12-13, 27
- NATIONAL Portrait Gallery, 360
- NATIONAL Service Act, 96
- NATIONAL Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 327
- NATIONAL Trust, 323-9 *passim*, 332 ; Scotland, 328, 330
- NATIONAL Union of Journalists, 89
- NAVY Estimates, 24-5
- NEDITCH, General (Serbia), 225
- NEELD, L. W. : Art sale, 363
- NELSON, Mr. Donald (U.S.A.), 295
- NEMEC, Mr. Frantisek (Czech.), 211, 213, 214
- NETHERLANDS, THE, 244
 Arnheim failure repercussion, 245
 Central Registry at The Hague bombed, 244
 Food and fuel position, 245
 Germans, the : and Dutch Labour, 244 ; military despotism, 244
 Inundations exacerbate popular feeling, 244
 Liberated area : food and conditions in, 245-6
 Military situation, 77-9, 87-9, 111, 244, 245
 Railway strike and aftermath, 245
 Resistance Movement, 244, 245 ; "Diving," 244 ; underground Press, 244
 South Holland liberated, 89
 Waterway strike, 245
- GOVERNMENT IN LONDON :
 Administrative appointments, 246
 East Indies Affairs Commissioner, 246
 Liberation problems, 246
 Military and Naval, 246
 Special State of Siege decree, 246
 Treaties and Agreements, 246-7
 War effort, 246
- NETTUNO landing, 4-5, 183
- NEW Britain, 296, 297
- NEW English Art Club, 361
- NEW Guinea campaign, 298
- NEW Ireland, 297
- NEW Theatre (Drama), 364, 365
- NEW Year Honours, 323
- NEWALL, Governor-General Sir Cyril (N.Z.), 155, 156
- NEWALL, Professor Hugh F., *Obit.*, 431
- NEWMAN, Bernard, "Balkan Background," 341
- NEW ZEALAND, 154
 Air Force, 156, 158
 British Commonwealth of Nations, and, 154
 Budget, 159-60
 Canberra Conference (Aust.-N.Z.), 142-4, 155, 157
 Canada, relations with, 161
 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, 156-7
 Diplomatic, 161

NEW ZEALAND, *cont.*

- External policy, 154
 - Financial, 161
 - Food production and man-power, 159
 - Great Britain, and, 157, 159, 160-1
 - High Commissionerships, 161
 - Immigration policy, 157
 - Island territories, the, 156
 - Lend-Lease, 160
 - Local Elections Bill, 158
 - Man-power problem, 158, 158-9
 - Maori land claims, 156
 - Maori war effort, 156
 - Meat rationing, 159
 - Military Forces Overseas, 155, 158, 161 ;
 - Italy, 157, 159, 161-2 ; tributes to, 161-2
 - Military replacement scheme, 159
 - Municipal Elections, 158
 - Mutual Aid Agreement, 161
 - Navy, 156, 158 ; Merchant Navy, 158
 - Pacific policy, 154-5, 157
 - Pacific warfare, 155-6, 157, 161
 - Parliament, 155, 156
 - Labour Party, 155
 - Speaker appointed, 155
 - Premier's tour, 156-8
 - Social legislation, 156
 - Soviet Russia, relations with, 161
 - Statute of Westminster, and, 156
 - Trade statistics, 160
 - U.S.A., relations with, 155, 156-7
 - Victory Loan, 160
 - War casualties, 158
 - War effort, 155 ; Savings, 160
 - War expenditure, 159-60
- NICARAGUA, 175
- NICHOLLS, Hon. G. H. (S. Africa), 140
- NICHOLS, Robert M. Bowyer, Obit., 474
- NICHOLSON, Hubert, "Here Where the World is Quiet," 344
- NICHOLSON, Norman, "Five Rivers," 348
- NICOLSON, Harold (Lit.), 342, 347
- NIJMEGEN, 78
- NIMITZ, Admiral (U.S.A.), 151, 156, 300, 301
- NIVEN, David (Cinema), 368
- NIZER, Louis, "What To Do With Germany," 341
- NOBEL prizes, 330, 331
- NOEL-BAKER, Mr. P., 9
- NORMAN, Mr. Montagu, 326 ; barony, 329
- NORMANDY, Battle for, 56-8, 71-5 ; D-day, 56, 57, 71
- NORWAY, 270
- Concentration camps, 272
 - Finland : German evacuation harassed, 274-5
 - Finmark, German devastation of, 273-4 ; compulsory evacuation, 273, 274
 - Food position, 273
 - German food requisitions, 273
 - Garrison, 273
 - Occupation costs, 273
 - Labour mobilisation plans, 270-1, 272
 - Gestapo activities, 270, 272, 274

NORWAY, *cont.*

- Home Front leadership, 270, 271
 - Liberation in North Norway, 273
 - Mobilisation struggle, against, 271
 - "National Labour Service," 271
 - Nasjonal Samling mobilised, 272
 - Potato crop failure, 273
 - Prisoners and slave labourers in, 273
 - Quisling's position, 272 ; party dissensions, 272
 - Railway communications cut, 274
 - Resistance Movement, 270, 271, 274 ;
 - German counter-measures, 272
 - Russian campaign in, 273
 - Sabotage, 271, 274
 - Underground Press, 272
 - Westfalen catastrophe, 272
- GOVERNMENT IN LONDON, 275
- Agreements with Allied Nations, 275
 - Armed Forces activities, 273, 274, 275
 - International Conferences, participation in, 275
 - Liberation, preparations towards, 275, 276
 - Merchant Navy, 275
 - Prime Minister's broadcast on Government intentions, 276
 - Russia, relations with, 275
 - Sweden, relations with, 275
 - War effort, 275
- NOYES, Alfred, "The Edge of the Abyss," 335
- NUFFIELD Foundation, 329, 330, 331
- NUGENT, Sir Roland (N. Ireland), 116
- NUNN, Sir Percy, Obit., 473
- NURI es Said (Iraq), 289, 291
- NURTEZA Qualikhan Bayatt (Iran), 292
- NUTRITION (Science), 378
- NYASALAND, 141-2
- NYE, Senator (U.S.A.), 313
- NYGAARDSVOLD, Hr. Johan (Norway), 276
- OAKHAM Castle : gift, 329
- OBERON, Merle (Cinema), 368
- O'BRIEN, Kate (Drama), 365
- O'BRIEN, Margaret (Cinema), 368
- O'CONNOR, Frank, "Crab Apple Jelly," 347, 358
- ODATE, Mr. Shigeo (Japan), 299
- O'HIGGINS, Dr. T. F. (Eire), 118
- OIL and Rubber industries, 401
- OLAV, Prince (Norway), 275
- OLBRIGHT, General (Germany), 190, 191
- OLD Vic (Drama), 364
- OLIVIER, Laurence (Drama), 364 ; (Cinema), 368
- ONslow, Lord, "Sixty-Three Years," 337
- OPERA and Ballet retrospect, 373
- OPTICS (Science), 384
- ORR, Sir John, 6
- OSMOND, Percy H., "Isaac Barrow," 341
- OSOBKA-MORAWSKI, M. (Poland), 207, 209
- OSSORIO y Gallardo, Sr. (Spain), 254

- O'SULLIVAN, Mr. Donal (Eire), 120
 OVERSEAS assets and liabilities, 38, 39, 388
 OXFORD University :
 Faculty of Music, 323
 Gifts to, 328, 330, 331
 Lincoln College, 327
 New College, 331
 Nuffield College, 327
 Polish Faculty of Law, 325
 Ruskin memorial : gift, 328
 St. Hugh's College : gift, 331
 University College mastership, 331
 OXFORD University Press, 326
- PAASIKIVI, M. (Finland), 276, 277, 280
 PAGE, Sir Earle (Australia), 148
 PAGET, General Sir Bernard, 138
 PAKISTAN, 164
 PALAU Islands, 300
 PALÆOLOGUE, Maurice, Obit., 472
 PALESTINE, 283
 American pronouncements, reaction,
 283, 287, 292
 Arab Conference, and, 283, 284-5, 289,
 290
 British White Paper (1939), and, 283-4
 Budget, 285
 Cost of living, 285
 Currency position, 285
 Industrial development, 285, 286
 Inflation, 285
 Jewish immigration, 283, 284
 Loans flotation, 285
 Lottery bonds, 285
 National income, 285
 Political, 283
 Price stabilisation, 285
 Taxation, 285
 Terrorism, 284
 United States, relations with, 283
 War production, 286
 PALMER, John Leslie, Obit., 455
 PALUFFO, General (Argentina), 317
 PANFEROV, F. (Lit.), 347
 PAPANDREOU, M. (Greece), 232, 233, 234,
 235, 236, 237
 PARAGUAY, 175, 317
 PARANJPYE, Sir Raghunath (India), 154
 PARIS, liberation of, 180
 PARKER, Mrs. Dehra (N. Ireland), 116
 PARKER, Louis N., Obit., 460
 PARLIAMENT : reassembly, 7, 35, 83 ;
 prorogation, 101 ; Tenth Session, 101
 PARLIAMENTARY prolongation Bill, 93
 PARLIAMENT'S invitation to Congress, 31
 PATCH, General (U.S.A.), 75, 83, 181
 PATMORE, Derek, "Images of Greece," 340
 PATTERSON, Mr. John (Canada), 128
 PATTON, General (U.S.A.), 74
 PATULIN (Science), 379
 PAUL, Leslie, "The Annihilation of Man,"
 338
 PEARSE, I. H., "The Peckham Experi-
 ment," 339
 PEARSON, Mr. Lester B. (Canada), 130
- PECKHAM Health Centre, 339
 PECKOVER, Miss Alexandrina : gift, 325
 PEENEMUNDE, 61
 PEÑARANDA, ex-President (Bolivia), 319
 PENICILLIN, 173, 379
 PENN, William : tercentenary, 330
 PENSIONS (Social Security Bill), 94, 95
 PEPPER, Senator (U.S.A.), 305
 PERHAM, Margery (Lit.), 341
 PERKINS, Miss Frances (U.S.A.), 175, 176
 PERON, Colonel (Argentina), 316, 317, 318
 PERSIA. *See* IRAN
 PÉTAIN, Marshal (France), 256
 PETHICK-LAWRENCE, Rt. Hon. F. W., 86
 PETRE, Miss Maude D., "Alfred Loisy,"
 341
 PHILADELPHIA, Declaration of, 422. *See*
 League of Nations
 PHILIPPINES, American approach to, 300,
 315 ; landing on Leyte, 300-1 ; on
 Mindoro, 301
 PHOENIX Theatre, 365
 PHYSICAL Sciences : retrospect, 382
 PHYSICAL Society, 385, 386
 PHYSIOLOGY (Science), 377
 PIERLOT, M. (Belgium), 105, 242, 243, 254
 PIGEON, Walter (Cinema), 368
 PILET-GOLAZ, M. (Switz.), 247, 248
 "PILGRIM, David," "The Grand Design,"
 346
 PILGRIM Trust (Art), 360
 PISSARRO, Lucien, *ed.* "Camille Pissarro,"
 336 ; Obit., 449
 PLANT Physiology (Science), 375
 PLASTIRAS, General (Greece), 236
 PLECHAVICIUS, General (Lithuania), 202
 POLAND, 205
 Committee of National Liberation.
 See Lublin Committee *infra*
 Cultural activities, 210
 Curzon Line problem, 207-8 ; Russian
 attitude, 208
 Eastern Front armed forces, 208
 Expatriates' work for the Allied cause,
 205
 Home Army activities, 206, 207 ;
 Warsaw epic, 206-7
 Jews, fate of, 209-10
 Losses of population, 210
 Lublin Committee, 200, 201, 207, 208,
 209 ; becomes Provisional Polish
 Government, 209 ; acts against London
 Government, 207-8, 209
 Majdanek "death camp," 209
 Military forces achievements, 205-6,
 210 ; in Italy, 79, 206 ; in Normandy,
 206 ; across France, 206 ; in Belgium,
 88, 206 ; at Arnheim, 78, 206
 Provisional Polish Government, 209 ;
 policy, 209. *See* Lublin Committee
 supra
 Russo-Polish differences, 207-8 ; Russia's
 demands, 208 ; British policy, 110
 Switzerland : Polish prisoners in, 210
 Warsaw rising, 206-7
 Workers' Party, 209

POLAND, *cont.*

POLISH GOVERNMENT IN LONDON :
 Cabinet dissensions, 208-9 ; new
 Government formed, 209
 Constitution of 1935, and, 208
 Lublin Committee, and, 207, 208,
 209
 Mikolajczyk resigns, 209
 Moscow discussions, 208 ; second
 meeting, 208
 Peasant Party attitude, 209
 Russia, and, 198, 200, 207, 208
 POLLARD, Dr. A. W., *Obit.*, 432
 POLLOCK, Bertram, "A Twentieth
 Century Bishop," 342
 POLLOCK, Colonel, 185
 POMEROY, Mr. Jay (Music), 370
 POPE, Alexander, centenary (*Lit.*), 335
 POPE, H. H. the, 249
 POPULATION problems (Science), 381
 POPULATION : Royal Commission, 21
 PORPHYROGENIS, M. (Greece), 233, 234
 PORTAL, Lord, 27, 28-9, 30, 77, 100
 PORTAL houses, 66, 103
 PORTER, Lord (Coal-Mining award), 18,
 21, 36
 PORTUGAL, 260
 Bread scarcity, 260
 Budget, 260
 Cabinet changes, 260
 Constitution revision, 261
 Economic, 260
 Great Britain, relations with, 45, 260
 East African facilities grant, 260
 Japan and Portuguese Timor, 261
 Wolfram export, 45, 260
 POTTER, Beatrix (Mrs. William Heelis) :
 bequests, 324
 POWER, Mr. C. G. (Canada), 124, 134
 POYNTON, Dr. A. B., *Obit.*, 464
 PRAGIER, Professor (Poland), 209
 PRAIN, Lt.-Col. Sir David, *Obit.*, 434
 PREFABRICATED houses, 28, 30, 66
 PRICES and wages, 39, 41, 49
 PRIESTLEY, J. B. (Drama), 365
 PRINCES Theatre (Music), 373
 PROFUMO, Lieut.-Col., M.P., 96
 PROKOFIEV (Music), 370
 PROKOSCH, Frederic, "Chosen Poems,"
 347
 PROPORTIONAL representation, 11, 87
 PROSSER, Rt. Rev. David L., Archbishop
 of Wales, 330
 PUBLIC DOCUMENTS :
 Bretton Woods Conference, Summary of
 Agreements, 409
 Empire Prime Ministers' Statement, 408
 Franco-Soviet Treaty, 421
 International Organisation, Proposals
 for Establishment of, 411
 Philadelphia, Declaration of, 422
 Public Schools Committee report, 66
 PUCHEU, M. (Vichy France), 179, 181
 PUDNEY, John, "Ten Summers," 347
 PURCHASE tax, 38
 PURITCH, M. (Yugo.), 226

QUEBEC Conference, 82, 129-130 ; joint
 statement, 130
 QUILLER-BOUCH, Sir Arthur T., *Obit.*,
 442 ; "Memoirs and Opinions," 333 ;
 "Q's Shorter Stories," 333
 QUISLING, Major (Norway), 270, 271, 272
 RABAU, 296
 RABI, Professor Isidor Isaac, 331
 RACIAL minorities question, 25-6
 RACKHAM, Harris, *Obit.*, 434
 RACZKIEWICZ, M. (Poland), 209
 RADESCU, General (Rumania), 225
 RADFORD, Mr. H. T. : gift, 323
 RAILWAY travel restrictions, 33
 RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, Mr. C. (India), 164
 RALSTON, Col. J. L. (Canada), 127, 132,
 133, 134, 135
 RAMIREZ, President (Argentina), 315, 316
 RANK, Mr. Arthur (Cinema), 366, 367
 RATTIGAN, Terence (Drama), 365
 READ, Herbert, "A World within a
 War," 347
 RED Cross Society : gift to, 327
 REDISS, Gestapo chief (Norway), 272
 REDISTRIBUTION of Seats Bill, 80, 87
 REED, Carol (Cinema), 368
 REFUGEES problem, 174
 REGAL Cinema, 367
 REGULATION IAA, 37, 90 ; 18B, 52
 REID, Forrest, "Young Tom," 346, 358
 REID and Lefèvre Gallery (Art), 361-2
 REITH, Lord, 29
 REITZ, Colonel Hon. Deney's (S. Africa),
 140 ; *Obit.*, 466
 RELIGIOUS education, 8, 26
 RENAULT motor works, 182
 RENDULIC, General L. (Germany), 188,
 273, 274, 275
 RENIER, G. J., "The Dutch Nation," 339
 RENNER, H. D., "The Origin of Food
 Habits," 343
 RENT Restriction Act cases (Law), 406
 RENTOUL, Sir Gervais, "This Is My Case,"
 337
 RESEARCH, expenditure on, 40
 REVENUE Estimates, 389
 REWALD, John, *ed.* "Camille Pissarro,"
 336
 REYNOLDS, Mr. A. P. (Eire), 119
 REYNOLDS, Senator (U.S.A.), 313
 RHODESIA, Northern, 141-2
 RHODESIA, SOUTHERN, 140
 Amalgamation question, 141-2
 General Election prospects, 141
 Governorship, 142
 Immigration question, 140-1
 Industrial expansion plans, 140
 Parliamentary prolongation, 141
 Post-war planning, 140, 141
 RIBBENTROP, Herr (Germany), 195, 278
 RICHARDSON, Mr. Albert E., R.A., 324
 RICHARDSON, Ralph (Drama), 364
 RIDER, Anne, "The Nine Bright Shiners,"
 348

- RIGA**, 202
RIGBY, Sir Hugh M., Bt., Obit., 451
RIMINI, 79, 112
RIOS, President (Chile), 320
RIZA Pahlavi, Shah (Persia), Obit., 452
ROADS development, 9
ROBERTS, S. C., *ed.* "Q's Shorter Stories," 333
ROBERTSON, Howard, "Architecture Arising," 343
ROBERTSON, Mr. Norman (Canada), 126
ROBINSON and Foster (Art), 363
ROBINSON, Heath, Obit., 460
ROCKEFELLER, Mr. (U.S.A.), 313
ROCKET bombs, 111-2, 115, 364
ROEHM, Captain (Germany), 193
ROLA-ZYMERSKI, General (Poland), 208
ROLLAND, Romain, Obit., 476
ROLLESTON, Sir H. D., Bart., Obit., 461
ROME, 4, 16-17; conditions in, 183; Allied Armies in, 53, 184; reorganisation, 184
ROMER, Lord, 407; Obit., 457
ROMER, M. (Poland), 208
ROMMEL, Field-Marshal (Germany), 188, 193
ROOSEVELT, Mrs. (U.S.A.), 129
ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT (U.S.A.):
 Civil aviation, 9
 Congress and, 303-4
 Dumbarton Oaks Conference, 310
 Greece, 109
 Invasion preparations, and, 56
 Italy, 84, 185, 186
 National Service Act, 302-3
 Palestine, 287
 Philadelphia Conference, 175
 Presidential campaign, and, 302, 304, 308, 312-3; Teamster's Speech, 312
 Quebec Conference, 82, 129, 130, 311
 Spain, 251
 Vice-Presidency, and, 308
 Otherwise mentioned, 43, 145, 171
ROPER, Mr. Elmer (Canada), 129
ROSS, Mr. J. G. (Canada), 152
ROSS, Jean, "Strangers Under the Roof," 345
ROSSONI, Sgr. (Italy), 185
ROTHENSTEIN, John, "Augustus John," 336
ROWSE, A. L., "The English Spirit," 339; "Poems Chiefly Cornish," 348
ROYAL Academy, 359, 360
 Summer exhibition, 359
ROYAL Air Force:
 Air Minister's review of work of, 21-2.
 Artists' exhibition, 360
 Germany, air offensive against. *See* Air Offensive
 Gift to, 332
ROYAL Astronomical Society, 383
ROYAL Choral Society, 370
ROYAL Exchange (Music), 372
ROYAL Institute of Chemistry, 325
ROYAL Institute of Painters in Oils, 360, 361
ROYAL Navy: gift, 332
ROYAL Philharmonic Society, 370
ROYAL Society: Statutes amendment, 330
ROYAL Society of Arts, 386
ROYAL Society of British Artists, 361
ROYAL Society of Miniature Painters, 361
ROYAL Society of Painter-Etchers, 361
ROYAL Society of Painters in Water Colours, 360, 361
ROYAL Society of Portrait Painters, 360
ROYDEN, Sir Thomas: barony, 323
RUBBER industry, 401
RUBBER, synthetic, 386
RUMANIA, 222
 Antonescu and peace, 222-3
 Allied Control Mission in, 224
 Anti-Semitic laws annulled, 225
 Armistice: terms, 224
 Arrest of politicians, 223, 224
 Bucharest, 222; bombed by Allies, 223; by Germans, 224
 Emergency decrees, 223
 Dictatorship overthrown, 223
 Germany, relations with, 222, 223, 224; military defeats repercussion, 223
 Germans, attack Rumanian forces and people, 224; expelled from Rumania, 224
 Government: under Antonescu, 222-3; under Senatescu, 223, 225; under Radescu, 225
 King Michael, 222, 223
 Mobilisation measures, 222
 Peace party in, 223
 Popular attitude to the War, 222, 223
 Refugees, 222
 Russian invasion and campaign, 222, 223
 Russian olive branch, 222, 223
 Transylvania, 223, 224
RUNDSTEDT, Field-Marshal von (Germany), 111, 115, 188, 190, 193
RURAL pie scheme, 52
RUSKIN, John: memorial gift, 328
RUSSIA. *See* SOVIET RUSSIA
RUTHENIA, Subcarpathian, 213, *See* Czechoslovakia
RUTTER, Owen, Obit., 454
RYTI, President (Finland), 278
SADLEIR, Michael, "Things Past," 335
SADLER's Wells Company, 373
ST. MARTIN's Theatre, 365, 366
SAIPAN Island, 299
SAKA, M. Hasan (Turkey), 229
SALAZAR, Dr. (Portugal), 260
SALISBURY, Frank O., "Portrait and Pageant," 336
SALMON, Professor E. T., "A History of the Roman World," 339
SALTONSTALL, Governor (Mass., U.S.A.), 305
SALVADOR, 321
 Amnesty of political prisoners, 322
 Discontent, 322
 Military revolt, 321-2
 Presidency changes, 322

- SAMOA, Western, 156
 SAMUEL, Lord, 29, 285
 SAN Bernardino Strait, naval action, 301
 SANGRONIZ, Sñr. (Spain), 256, 257
 SAN Marino, 79
 SAN Martin, Dr. Raman Grau (Cuba), 321
 SANDYS, Mr. Duncan, 76, 100, 103
 SAREPU, Sir Tej Bahadur (India), 165
 SARAJOGLU, M. (Turkey), 229
 SAUDI-ARABIA, 288, 289, 290
 SAUNDERS, Hilary St. G., "Per Ardua," 341
 SAVAGE, Mr. M. J. (N.Z.), 157
 SAVILLE Theatre, 365
 SAVOY Theatre, 365
 SCHELDT estuary, 76, 88
 SCHLAUCH, Margaret, "The Gift of Tongues," 337
 SCHMUNDT, General (Germany), 189
 SCHOERNER, General (Germany), 188
 SCHOOL-leaving age, 7, 26, 46
 SCHRAMM, Mr. L. W. (N.Z.), 155
 SCHUSTER, Sir Claud, K.C. : barony, 327
 SCHWARZSCHILD, Leopold, "Primer of the Coming World," 338
 SCIENCE retrospect, 374
 SCIENTIFIC research, 380
 SCOBIE, General, 109, 234, 235, 236
 SCOTLAND : Water Supply, 35
 SCOTT, Sir Giles Gilbert, 96
 SCOTT, Walter Sidney, "The Athenians," 336
 SCOTT, Mr. W. D. (N. Ireland), 117
 SCOVELL, Miss E. J., "Shadows of Chrysanthemums," 348
 SCULLY, Mr. W. J. (Australia), 152
 S.E.A.C. troops achievements, 167
 SEA warfare, 3, 15, 24, 296-301
 SECONDARY education, 7
 SEDGWICK, Misses : gift, 323
 SELBIE, Rev. W. B., D.D., Obit., 440
 SELBORNE, Lord, 45
 SENATESCU, General (Rumania), 223, 225
 SERAPHIS, General (Greece), 233, 234
 SERGIUS, Metropolitan and Exarch (Baltic States), 203
 SETON-WATSON, R. W., "A History of the Czechs and Slovaks," 339
 SEYLER, Athene, "The Craft of Comedy," 335
 SFORZA, Count (Italy), 103, 105, 184, 185, 186, 314
 SHAKESPEARE (Lit.), 335 ; (Drama), 364 ; (Cinema), 368
 SHAW, Mr. G. B. : gift, 329 ; (Lit.), "Everybody's Political What's What ?" 337, 350 ; (Drama), 364
 SHAW, Mrs. George Bernard : bequest, 324
 SHAW, Mr. Howland (U.S.A.), 313
 SHAW, Reginald, "The Bank of England (1694-1944)," 337
 SHEARMAN, Richard, "The Unready Heart," 345
 SHEDDEN, Sir F. (Australia), 145
 SHIGEMITSU, Mr. (Japan), 299
 SHIMADA, Admiral (Japan), 298
 SHINWELL, Mr. E., 43
 SHIPBUILDING and Shipping retrospect, 399 ; industry prospects, 94
 SHIPPING losses, 3, 24, 111
 SHIPPING policy, 25
 SHIPTON, Eric, "Upon That Mountain," 343
 SHIRLEY, Andrew, "John Constable," 336
 SHOSTAKOVITCH (Music), 370
 SHUTE, Neville, "Pastoral," 344
 SHUTTLEWORTH, Mr. Alfred : bequest, 328
 SIANTOS, M. (Greece), 235
 SILVER, 392
 SIMON, Brian, "A Student's View of the Universities," 342
 SIMON, RT. HON. VISCOUNT, 11, 14, 21, 406
 Monuments and Antiquities protection, on, 14
 SIMON, S. J. (Lit.), 346
 SIMONDS, Rt. Hon. Sir Gavin T. : barony, 326
 SIMONOV, Konstantin (Lit.), 347
 SINCLAIR, RT. HON. SIR ARCHIBALD :
 Air Estimates, 21-3
 Civil Aviation, 22
 R.A.F., review of work of, 21-2
 SINCLAIR, Major Maynard (N. Ireland), 117, 118
 SITWELL, Edith, "Green Song and Other Poems," 347
 SITWELL, Sir Osbert, "Sing High, Sing Low !" 334
 SITWELL, Sacheverell, "Splendours and Miseries," 334
 SLADEN, Douglas, "My Long Life," 335
 SLESSER, Sir Henry, "A History of the Liberal Party," 339
 SLIM, General, 32
 SMEDLEY, Miss Agnes, "Battle Hymn of China," 341
 SMELLIE, K. B., "Our Two Democracies at Work," 340
 SMITH, Alfred Emmanuel, Obit., 463
 SMITH, Mr. A. Halford, 331
 SMITH, Betty, "The Tree in the Yard," 343
 SMITH, J. C., "Critical History of English Poetry," 334, 348 ; "A Study of Wordsworth," 336
 SMITH, R. A. C., "Bath," 336
 SMITH, William Lints, Obit., 446
 SMUTS, Field-Marshal, 123, 137, 138, 139, 140, 281
 SMUTS, Major J. (S. Africa), 138
 SMYTH, Dame Ethel M., Obit., 441
 SNELL, Lord, Obit., 439
 SNOWFALL, 325
 SOCIAL Biology (Science), 380
 SOCIAL insurance scheme, 81-2, 94-5, 399 ; Minister appointed, 95
 SOCIETY of Friends, 330
 SOLOMON Islands, 297
 SOMERS, Lt.-Col. Lord, Obit., 451
 SOMERVILLE, Rt. Hon. Sir D. B., 10, 12
 SOONG, Dr. T. V. (China), 296

- SOSNOKOWSKI, General (Poland), 207, 209
 SOTHEBY'S Sales (Art), 362-3; bi-centenary, 323, 362
 SOVIET RUSSIA (U.S.S.R.), 197
 Allies send supplies to, 199-200
 Bulgaria, and, 199, 200, 237-8, 240
 Czechoslovakia, agreement with, 199, 200, 210
 Educational activities, 201
 Family life protection, 201
 Finland, and, 198, 200, 277-9
 Foreign affairs of constituent Republics, 201
 Foreign policy statement, 200
 France : de Gaulle : Treaty of Alliance, 182, 198
 German atrocities, and, 201
 Industrial areas reconstruction, 201
 Internal development, 201
 Italy, and, 198
 Japan, 201; coal concessions, 201; fishing rights, 201
 League : I.L.O., and, 175
 Liberation progress, effects of, 201
 Man-power concern, 201
 Military operations, 198-9, 202-5, 206; Baltic States, 199, 202, 203, 205; Czechoslovakia, 199; Finland, 198, 277, 278; Hungary, 199, 221; Norway, 199, 273; Poland, 199, 206; Rumania, 199, 223; White Russia, 198
 Orthodox Church, 201-2
 Policy regarding neighbouring States, 200
 Polish Committee of National Liberation, and, 200, 201
 Polish Government in London, and, 198, 200, 207-8
 Religious bodies, attitude to, 201-2
 Rumania, and, 199, 200
 Second front irritation, 197; allayed after Normandy landing, 198
 Spain, and, 198
 Ukrainian Republic, 201
 Western Powers policy, and, 197-8, 200
 SPAAK, M. (Belgium), 242
 SPAIN, 249
 Andorra, 257
 Banking system overhaul, 253
 Bombing of Germany : humanitarian note, 255
 Bombs in shipment cargoes to Great Britain, 249, 251
 Caudillo's neutrality position, 249; attitude to monarchism, 253-4, 259; anniversary speech, 256; Press interview, statement of policy, 259-60; declaration on neutrality, 259
 Churchill speech misrepresentation, 251, 254-5, 259
 Civil War memories revived, 253; "Red Communism in Spain," 253
 Communist "Junta Suprema," the, 256
 *Détenu*s, the, 253
 Diplomatic, 256
 SPAIN, *cont.*
 Domestic policy, 252, 259
 Eastern Front participation, 251
 Economic, 253
 Falangism a doctrine *sui generis*, 252, 256
 Falangist militia dissolution, 252
 Financial, 253
 Foreign Ministry change, 256
 France : relations with, 256-7; de Gaulle Government recognised, 256; frontier incidents, 256-7
 German activities in : Allied protests, 251
 Germany, relations with, 252, 258; technical experts, 252; financial, 252
 Gil Roblés, Sr. : campaign against, 254
 Great Britain, relations with, 45, 249-50; Spain's unneutral assistance to the enemy, 249; Mr. Eden and Spain's neutrality attitude, 251; fake statements as to, 255-6; after D-day, 256; civil aviation discussions, 259
 Italian vessels detention, 251
 Maura "ultimatum," 257-8
 Monarchism repressed, 253, 254, 255, 259
 Neutrality position, 249, 250, 253, 259; and peace sponsorship, 256
 Peace discussions participation, and, 250
 Pope, H.H. the, message to General Franco, 249
 Porlier prison closed, 253
 Press, the, and neutrality policy, 250, 252
 Pro-German influences, 252, 255
 Russia and, 249, 255
 Syndical elections, the, 258
 Tangier, 251, 252, 293
 Tripartite Agreement, 251, 252; dilatoriness, 255
 Unión Nacional Española, 256, 257
 United States, relations with, 249, 250, 251, 258-9; oil embargo, 250, 251; bilateral agreement on civil aviation, 259
 Wolfram question, 45, 251
 SPEAR, Mr. Ruskin : A.R.A., 326
 SPENDER, Sir Wilfrid (N. Ireland), 117
 SPENDER, Mr. Percy (Australia), 147, 148
 SPONECK, Graf (Germany), 187
 SPRING, Howard, "Hard Facts," 345
 STALIN, Marshal (Russia), 17, 18, 92, 109, 171, 292
 STANKOVITCH, M. (Yugo.), 225
 STANLEY, Colonel Rt. Hon. Oliver, 141, 142
 STANWYCK, Barbara (Cinema), 368
 STAPELDON, Olaf, "Sirius," 346
 STARACE, Sgr. (Italy), 185
 STARNES, Congressman (U.S.A.), 306
 STASSEN, Commander (U.S.A.), 304, 305
 STATUTE of Westminster, 156
 STAUFFENBERG, Col. Graf von (Germany), 189, 191
 STEIGER, M. Eduard von (Switz.), 249
 STEINBECK, John (Cinema), 368

- STENTON, F. M., "Anglo-Saxon England," 339
- STERN, Miss G. B., "Trumpet Voluntary," 335
- STERN, Professor Otto, 331
- STETTINIUS, Mr. E. R. (U.S.A.), 34, 310, 313, 314
- STEVENSON, Sir D. M., Obit., 450
- STILWELL, General (U.S.A.), 60, 167, 294
- STIMSON, Mr. Henry L. (U.S.A.), 157
- STINESPRING, W. K. (Lit.), 342
- STIRBEY, Prince (Rumania), 222
- STOCK Exchange, 392
- STOLL, E. E., "From Shakespeare to Joyce," 335
- STOUT, Dr. G. F., Obit., 456
- STRAIGHT, Michael, "Make This The Last War," 340
- STRAND Theatre, 365
- STRIKES, unofficial, 20; legislation against, 37
- STRONG, Anna Louise, "Wild River," 346
- STRONG, L. A. G., "The Director," 343
- STRONG, Rt. Rev. Dr. T. B., Obit., 445
- STRONGE, Sir Norman (N. Ireland), 117
- STUDD, Sir J. E. Kynaston, Obit., 427
- STURGES Preston (Cinema), 368
- STURROCK, Mr. F. C. (South Africa), 136
- STUTTGART bombed, 2, 32
- SUBASITCH, Dr. (Yugo.), 226
- SUBSIDIES, 38-40
- SUDAN, 281, 282
Gordon College development, 283
Northern, Advisory Council, 282-3
Provincial Councils, 283
University, 283
- SUDBROOK village sale, 323
- SUGIYAMA, Field-Marshal (Japan), 298
- SULTAN, General (U.S.A.), 294
- SUMMER time: (Double Summer time), 326, 330
- SUMNER, B. H., "Survey of Russian History," 340
- SUÑER, Srñ. Serrano (Spain), 250, 256
- SUPREME Court of Judicature (Amendment) Act, 10, 403
- SURIGAO Strait, naval action, 301
- SURPLUS war stocks disposal plan, 68
- SURREY: "Hatchlands": gift, 326
- SURTAX, 33
- SVINHUFUD, Dr. P. E., Obit., 432
- SVOBODA, General Ludvik (Czech.), 212
- SVOLOS, General (Greece), 234
- SWEDEN, 267
Aaland Islands, and, 268
Air traffic incidents, 268
Ball-bearings exports, 45, 267-8
Budget, 269
Civilian air services, 269.
Elections, 268-9; party positions, 268-9
Finland, relations with, 269
German military maps incident, 268
Germany, relations with, 268, 269;
air courier traffic, 268; trade relations, 267-8, 269
Government, 269
- SWEDEN, *cont.*
Great Britain, relations with, 45, 267
King, The, 220
Neutrality position, 269
Reconstruction, finance measures, 269
Shipping position, 268
U.S.A., relations with, 267, 268, 269
War criminals question, 269
- SWINHOPE, Swinhope House, 324
- SWINNERTON, Frank, "A Woman in Sunshine," 345
- SWINTON, Lord, 87, 100
- SWITZERLAND, 247
American bomber internees, 248
Anti-Communist laws repealed, 249
Federal Elections, 247
Labour Party, 248
Ministerial changes, 247
Mobilisation ordered, 248
Presidency, 249
Refugees incursion regulations, 248;
refusal of asylum, 248
Russia, relations with, 247
Schaffhausen bombing tragedy, 248
Social Democrats, the, 247, 248
Socialist Party and relations with Russia, 247
Sweden, Trade Agreement, 249
Trade, external, resumption, 248
United States, relations with, 248
- SYMINGTON, Mr. H. J. (Canada), 131
- SYMONS, Julian, "The Second Man," 348
- SYRIA, 287
Arab Conference, and, 288, 290
Customs monopoly, 287
Greater Syria idea, 288
Independence position, 287
Lebanon: "Common Interests" Convention with, 287-8
Tobacco monopoly, 287
- SZALASY, M. (Hungary), 221
- SZOMBATHELY, General (Hungary), 219
- SZTOJAY, M. (Hungary), 196, 219, 221
- TAFT, Senator (U.S.A.), 304
- TAIT, Vice Admiral Sir Campbell, 142
- TAIT, Dr. James, Obit., 449
- TALBOT, Miss Matilda: gift, 329
- TANGIER, 251, 252, 293
German Consulate closed, 293
- TANNER, M. (Finland), 276, 280
- TARNOWSKI, M. (Poland), 209
- TATA's Iron and Steel Co., 165, 166
- TATE Gallery, 362, 363; gifts to, 363
- TAXATION, 38, 40, 389
- TEACHERS, Teaching profession:
McNair Committee report, 45
Remuneration, 26
Shortage of teachers, 7, 8, 46
Women, and marriage, 26
- TEDDER, Air Chief-Marshal, 1, 33
- TEHERAN Conference, 1, 33
- TEMPLE, Most Rev. William, "The Church Looks Forward," 342; Obit., 467
- TEMPLE Newsam (Art), 362

- TEMPLEWOOD** of Chelsea, Viscount, 328.
See also Hoare, Sir Samuel
TEMPORARY Housing Bill, 66, 84
TERBOVEN, German Governor (Norway), 271
TEWFIK Abul Huda (Transjordan), 286
TEXTILE industries, 400
THAKURDAS, Sir Purshotamdas (India), 165
THOMPSON, Captain Charles A. (Av.), 328
THOMPSON, Edward, "Robert Bridges," 335; "100 Poems," 347
THOMPSON, Sir Henry F. H., Obit., 444
THOMPSON, Randall (Music), 370
THOMPSON, Lt.-Col. S. H. Hall (N. Ireland), 116
THOMSON, Col. Sir Courtauld: barony, 323
THORDARSON, Hr. (Iceland), 267
THORNDIKE, Sybil (Drama), 364
THORS, Hr. (Iceland), 267
TIDDIM, 35, 112
TIEF, Otto (Estonia), 205
TILTMAN, Mrs. Hessel, "A Little Place in the Country," 336
Times, The, Air Edition, 329; celebration, 331
Times Literary Supplement, The, 333
TINIAN, 300
TINPLATE industry, 398
TIPPETT, Michael (Music), 371
Tirpitz sunk, 111
TISO, Fr. (Czech.), 214, 216
TISO, Dr. Josef (Czech.), 216
TITO, Marshal (Yugo.), 17, 225, 226, 227, 240, 241
TIXIER, M. Adrien (France), 176
TOGLIATTI, Sgr. Palmiro (Italy), 184, 185
TOJO, General (Japan), 297, 298, 299
TOLBUKHIN, General (Russia), 240
TOLSTOY (Lit.), 334
TOOTH, Messrs.: Art exhibitions, 361
TORY Reform Committee, 51, 65
TOULON liberated, 181
TOWN and Country Planning Bill (Act), 63-5, 84-7, 404
TOWNEND, W., "The Fennelfords," 344
TOYNBEE, Philip, "The Barricades," 345
TRADE Disputes Act (1927), 90
TRADES Union Congress, 20, 89-90
TRANSJORDAN, 286
 Arab Conference repercussions, 286
 Diplomatic, 286
 Government resigns, 286
 Great Britain, relations with, 286
 Independence movement, 286
 Palestine and Zionism question, 287
 Treaty negotiations, 286
 United States, relations with, 287
TRANSYLVANIA, 221, 223, 224
TREND, J. B., "The Civilisation of Spain," 341
TREVELYAN, Dr. G. M., "English Social History," 333, 337, 351; gift, 326
TREVELYAN, R. C., "Windfalls," 336; "The Eclogues and the Georgics," 348
TRILLING, Lionel, "E. M. Forster," 335
TROTT zu Solz, von, Councillor (Germany), 191
TRUELLE, M. (France), 256
TRUK, American assault on, 297
TRUMAN, Senator (U.S.A.), 308
TSATSOS, Professor (Greece), 233
TSIRIMOKOS, M. (Greece), 234
TSOUDELOS, M. (Greece), 231
TUKA, Dr. (Slovakia), 214
TUNNICLIFFE, Mr. Charles F., A.R.A., 326
TURGEON, Mr. W. F. A. (Canada), 123 *n.*
TURKEY, 228
 Black Sea traffic suspended, 229
 British Military Mission, 222
 Budget, 231
 Cabinet changes, 229
 Chrome exports question, 228
 Food situation, 231
 France, and, 229
 Germany, relations with, 228, 229
 Diplomatic relations severed, 229
 Government's internal policy, 230
 Great Britain, relations with, 228, 229
 Martial law in Istanbul, 230
 Montreux Convention, and, 229, 230
 National Debt, 231
 Nationalisation of industry, 231
 Neutrality policy, 228
 Pro-Nazi proclivities in, 230
 Pan-Turanianism, 230
 Russia, relations with, 230
 United Nations, relations with, 228, 229, 230
TURNER, Miss M. H.: gifts (Art), 363
U-BOAT menace, 3, 11, 24, 50
UKHRUL, 59
ULLSTEIN, H., "Rise and Fall of the House of Ullstein," 341
ULUOTS, Professor (Estonia), 204
UNCLE Billy's Children's Fund, 323
"UNFINISHED Business" (Lit.), 340
UNEMPLOYMENT problem, 47-51, 65
UNITED Artists' Corporation (Cinema), 367
UNITED Society of Artists, 361
UNITED STATES, 302
 Aldrich bilateral exchange scheme, 309
 American Labour Party, 306
 Anti-poll-tax Bill, 306
 Bretton Woods Conference, 309; summary of Agreements, Text, 409
 Chinese-American relations, 294, 311
 Churches, Federal Council of: peace programme, 310
 C.I.O.: Committee for Industrial Organisation, 306, 307
 Civil aviation, and, 314
 Commodity Credit Corporation, 303
 Communist Party, 306
 Congress and the President's domestic policies, 303-4
 D-day news, 307
 Democratic Convention, 308

UNITED STATES, *cont.*

- Democratic Party, the, 304, 305
 - Negro suffrage question, 305, 308
 - Southern revolt, the, 305-6, 308
 - Dies Committee, 306
 - Dumbarton Oaks conversations, 302, 309-11
 - Foreign policy, public anxiety, 311, 314
 - France : de Gaulle recognition question, 311
 - Germany, post-war treatment of, 311-2
 - Isolationism, 313, 314
 - Labour unions, the, 303
 - Legislation proposals, 303-4
 - Montgomery Ward case, 306-7
 - National Labour Relations Board, 307
 - National Service Act proposal, 303
 - New Deal, the, 305, 306
 - Oil resources development, and, 314
 - P.A.C., Political Action Committee, 306
 - President's Message to Congress, 302-3
 - Presidential Election, 302, 304, 313
 - Congressional results, 313
 - Nominations, 307, 308
 - Soldier's vote, the, 313
 - Quebec conversations, 311
 - "Regimentation" attitude to, 303
 - Republican Convention, 307
 - Republican Party and the nominations, 304, 307
 - Secretaryships, the, 313-4
 - Six Pillars of Peace programme, 310
 - Stabilisation Statute, 303, 304
 - Supreme Court decision on negro suffrage, 305
 - Tax Law, 303
 - Vice-Presidential nominations, 307, 308
 - War effort, 315
 - War, the, 307, 314 ; D-day news, 307
 - Willkie, Mr. Wendell, 304-5, 307, 312 ; Obit., 464
- UNIVERSITIES representation, 11, 87
- U.N.R.R.A., 9, 174, 186, 200, 211
- British contribution, 9
 - Canadian contribution, 128
 - Montreal meeting of Council, 130-1
 - Refugees problem, and, 174
- URBAN Development, 63-4
- URGEL, Bishop of (Spain), 257
- USTINOV, Peter (Drama), 365
- UTHWATT Plan, 63, 64
- UZUNOVITCH, M. (Yugo.), 225

- VALIDATION of War-Time Leases Act, 405
- VANDERBERG, Senator (U.S.A.), 310
- VAN DER BIJL, Dr. H. J. (S. Africa), 135, 136
- VAN ECK, Dr. H. J. (S. Africa), 137
- VANIER, General (Canada), 123 *n.*
- VANSITTART, Lord, "Green and Grey," 348
- VARGAS, President (Brazil), 320
- VAUDEVILLE Theatre, 365
- VEESENMAYER, Herr (Germany), 196
- VENIZELOS, M. Sophocles (Greece), 231, 233

- VICTOR Emmanuel, King (Italy), 16, 54, 184
- VICTORIA and Albert Museum, 360
- VIEST, General (Czech.), 211
- VILLAGES, sale of, 323, 324
- VILLAROEL, Major (Bolivia), 319
- VILNA, 203
- VIRUS diseases (Science), 374
- VITAMINS (Science), 378
- VLASOV, M. (Russia), 154
- VOELK, Maj.-Gen. (Germany), 187
- VON PAPEN, Herr (Germany), 229
- VUKOSLAVLYEVITCH, Professor (Yugo.), 227
- VULCHEFF, Colonel (Bulgaria), 240
- VULLIAMY, C. E., "Doctor Philligo," 346
- V-WEAPONS, 60-1. *See* Flying Bombs
- WAGE rates and cost of living, 39, 49
- WAGES Councils Bill, 114
- WALCHEREN, Island of, 87, 88, 275
- WALDMAN, Milton, "Elizabeth and Leicester," 339
- WALES, Archbishopric, 330
- WALKER Art Gallery, 362
- WALKER, E. A., "Colonies," 341
- WALKER's Galleries (Art), 361
- WALLACE, Sir Cuthbert S., Obit., 443
- WALLACE, Mr. Henry (U.S.A.), 157, 295, 308
- WALLACE, Kathleen, "Grace on Their Doorstep," 345
- WALPOLE, Sir Hugh, "Katherine Christian," 343
- WANG Ching-wei (China), 296
- WANG Shih-Chieh, Dr. (China), 295
- WAR Artists' Advisory Committee, 360
- WAR artists' pictures, 359, 360
- WAR criminals' question :
Eire statement, 120
- WAR expenditure, 9, 33, 40, 46
- Government borrowings, 38, 332
- WAR Refugee Board (U.S.A.), 174
- WAR Savings :
"Salute the Soldier," 326
- WAR wounds and diseases (Science), 379
- WARBURG Institute, 331
- WARD, A. C. (Lit.), 335
- WARD, Mr. E. J. (Australia), 142
- WARD, Maisie, "G. K. Chesterton," 335
- WARREN, Governor (Calif., U.S.A.), 305
- WAR-TIME Elections Bill, 69
- WASILEWSKA, M. (Poland), 209
- WASSILIEWSKI, Wanda (Lit.), 347
- WATER Supply Bill, 35-6
- WAVELL, Field-Marshal, Lord, 162-6
- passim* ; (Lit.), "Other Men's Flowers," 347
- WEATHER, 325
- WEBB, Mr. P. C. (N.Z.), 154
- WEDEMEYER, Major-General (U.S.A.), 167, 295, 296
- WEDGWOOD, Miss C. V., "William the Silent," 339, 352
- WEIZMANN, Dr. (Palestine), 286
- WELDON, George (Music), 373

- WELLES, Sumner, "The Time for Decision," 340
 WELLS, H. G., "'42 to '44," 338
 WERTH, Alexander, "Leningrad," 340
 WESTMINSTER Theatre, 365
 WESTMORLAND: gift to National Trust, 326
 WESTON, Christine, "Indigo," 346
 WESTON, Mary, "My Friend America," 340
 WESTWOOD, Mr. William: barony, 323
 WEWAK, 298, 299
 WHISTLER, Lt. Rex John, Obit., 453
 WHITEHOUSE, Mr. J. Howard: gift, 328
 WHITTLE, Group Captain, 326
 WHYTE, A. J., "The Evolution of Modern Italy," 339, 353
 WICKHAM, Lt.-Col., 152
 WILD, Rev. J. H. S., 331
 WILDENSTEIN, Messrs. (Art), 362
 WILENSKI, R. H., "Sickert," 336
 WILKINS, Vaughan, "Prodigal Pageant," 346
 WILKINSON, Miss Ellen, 106
 WILL cases (Law), 405-6
 WILLIAMS, Charles, "The Region of the Summer Stars," 348
 WILLIAMS, Clanton W., "Uncle Sam," 340
 WILLIAMS, Dr. R. Vaughan (Music), 371, 373; gift, 332
 WILLIAMSON, Mr. F. W.: bequest, 323
 WILLINK, Rt. Hon. Henry U., 13, 28, 35, 36, 65, 66, 84
 WILLIS's Rooms (Art), 363
 WILKIE, Wendell Lewis (U.S.A.), 304, 307-8, 312; Obit., 464
 WILSON, Mr. D. (N.Z.), 161
 WINGATE, Maj.-Gen. Orde C., 33, 60, 167; Obit., 434
 WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, Esmé, "The Price of Liberty," 340
 WINTERTON, Earl, 29
 WIRMER, Herr (Germany), 191
 WISBECH: Bank House, 325
 WITZLEBEN, Field-Marshal von (Germany), 190
 WOLD, Hr. Terje (Norway), 275
 WOLF, A., "Higher Education in Nazi Germany," 342
 WOLFERT, Ira, "Tucker's People," 343
 WOMEN's Auxiliary Services, 81
 WOMEN: equal pay for equal work principle, 26
 WOMEN Journalists, Society of: jubilee, 327
 WOMEN, mobilisation of, 98, 389; distribution in Services and in industry, 98; return to civil life, 97
 WOOD, Sir Henry J. (Music), 369; Obit., 457
 WOODHEAD, Sir John (India), 163
 WOODWARD, Sir A. S., Obit., 458
 WOOLF, Virginia, "A Haunted House," 343, 355
 WOOLTON, Lord, 29, 30, 47, 77
 WORKMEN's compensation, 82, 95, 96, 399
 WYLIE, I. A. R., "Strangers Are Coming," 344
 WYNDHAM's Theatre, 365
 YALE, D. Udney, "Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary," 334
 YATES, Peter, "The Motionless Dancer," 348
 YEATS, J. B., "Letters to His Son W. B. Yeats and Others," 335, 349
 YEATS-BROWN, Major Francis, Obit., 474
 YEMEN, the, 288, 290
 Y.M.C.A. centenary, 327
 YONAI, Admiral (Japan), 299
 YOUNG, Francis Brett, "The Island," 347
 YUGOSLAV ART EXHIBITION, 359
 YUGOSLAVIA, 225
 Allied aid to, 225
 Amnesty, 227
 Belgrade recovered, 227
 Bulgaria, agreement with, 227-8, 240
 Chetniks, the; Marshal Tito's warning to, 227
 Democratic National Union, 225-6
 Distress, 228
 Emigré Government, the, 17, 226
 Reconstruction under Dr. Subasitch, 226-7
 Policy of unity with Tito, 227
 German conflict with Partisans, 225; counter moves to Liberation Committee, 225
 Great Britain, and, 17, 226
 Italy, post-War frontier arrangement with, 226
 King Peter's position, 226, 227; effort for national unity, 226; marriage, 226
 Liberation forces under Tito, the, 225, 226
 Macedonia freed, 227
 Mihailovitch's position, 17, 225-6, 227
 Military situation, 225, 227; Germans in retreat, 227
 National Committee of Liberation, 17, 225, 226, 228
 Marshal Tito declares policy, 227
 Russia, and, 226, 227
 U.N.R.R.A. and, 228
 YUI, Mr. O. K. (China), 295
 ZARUBIN, Mr. G. N. (Russia), 123 n.
 ZEITZLER, General (Germany), 189
 ZERVAS, Colonel (Greece), 233, 234
 ZEUGOS, M. (Greece), 234, 235
 ZIONIST Federation, 281
 ZOOLOGY, Science retrospect, 375
 ZSEDENYI, Professor B. (Hungary), 222

